

THE  
SLAVONIC  
(AND EAST EUROPEAN)  
REVIEW

A Survey of the Slavonic Peoples,  
Their History, Economics, Philology and Literature

VOLUME FOURTEEN

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## POETRY

Я ПЕРЕЖИЛЪ

*Translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER PUSHKIN by*

MAURICE BARING

I've lived to bury my desires,  
And see my dreams corrode with rust;  
Now all that's left are fruitless fires  
That burn my empty heart to dust.

Struck by the storms of cruel Fate,  
My crown of summer bloom is sere;  
Alone and sad I watch and wait,  
And wonder if the end is near.

As conquered by the last cold air,  
When winter whistles in the wind,  
Alone upon a branch that's bare  
A trembling leaf is left behind.

## A POLISH MISCELLANY

*Translated, in the original metres, by WATSON KIRKCONNELL*

JAN KOCHANOWSKI (1530-1584)

### TO HIS LADY

THY name, sweet lady, that my glad lips love,  
That my pen joys to celebrate in rhyme,  
Shall in my lines a lasting honour prove  
And proud preëminence in future time.  
Should men high porphyry in tribute raise

In sculptured grace, adorn'd with molten gold.  
 To give thy worth and beauty fitting praise,  
 Yet would the lustre of that work grow old.  
 Nor pillar nor Egyptian monument  
 Can ward off ineluctable decay,  
 For fire and deluge all their rage will vent  
 And time's harsh envy waste their stones away.  
 Only my deathless verse thy fame uprears  
 Above the rapine and the wreck of years.

SEBASTJAN GRABOWIECKI (1540-1607)

#### CLEAR MATUTINAL LIGHT

Clear matutinal light  
 And cool nocturnal shade,  
 Come, chant omnipotent your deep devotion !  
 Praise God, thou mountain height,  
 For all that He has made ;  
 Praise Him ye fields and forests, streams and ocean !—  
 For Master of all motion  
 In fountain or in flower,  
 He grants the bud its rainbow grace,  
 The crystal spring its sparkling face,  
 Yet shuts and opens heaven by His power,  
 And, vast and awful, hath  
 Drawn us to Him, remembering not His wrath.

ANDRZEJ MORSZTYN (1613-1693)

#### TO HIS MISTRESS

Your sweet eyes are not eyes, but radiance of the sun  
 Before whose dazzling light all reason is undone ;

Your sweet lips are not lips, but coral, soft and red,  
 That binds our every sense with bonds of crimson thread.

Your sweet breasts are not breasts, but shapes divinely bright  
 That capture our warm will in fetters of delight.

Thus reason, sense and will are slaves to the behests  
 Of light and hue and form in eyes and lips and breasts.



FRANCISZEK KARPIŃSKI (1741-1825)

SONG ON THE BIRTH OF OUR LORD

OUR God is born, vast powers tremble;  
The Lord of heaven—a naked child.  
Infinites their sway dissemble,  
While light grows dim and flames are mild.  
Bidding His glorious reign farewell,  
A mortal's lot to undergo,  
Th' Incarnate Word is come to dwell  
In flesh among us here below !

What hast thou, heaven, more than earth?  
God now has cast away thy pride,  
And here with men is come to birth,  
To love and suffer at their side.  
Impossible it seems to tell  
That He should share our guilt and woe.  
Th' Incarnate Word is come to dwell  
In flesh among us here below !

His birthplace is a wretched shed;  
A crib, the cradle where He lies;  
Rough shepherds are about His bed,  
And hay, and oxen's gentle eyes.  
To humble folk this grace befell—  
We greet Him ere earth's great ones know.  
Th' Incarnate Word is come to dwell  
In flesh among us here below !

Yet afterwards, as we adored,  
Came kings the Infant to behold  
And offer tribute to the Lord  
Of myrrh and frankincense and gold.  
The Deity accepts as well  
All gifts that rustic hands bestow.  
Th' Incarnate Word is come to dwell  
In flesh among us here below !

Hold up Thy hand, O Babe Divine,  
And bless the country that we love  
With counsels good and ways benign  
And holy power from above;

## THE SLAVONIC REVIEW.

Protect our homes, ill fate repel,  
 And favour to this hamlet show !  
 Th' Incarnate Word is come to dwell  
 In flesh among us here below !

ADAM MICKIEWICZ (1798-1855)

## THE GRAVE OF THE POTOCKA

IN pleasant gardens in the land of spring  
 You died, sweet rose ! For memories of the past  
 Into your pure, soft-petall'd bosom cast  
 The maggot of nostalgic suffering.  
 Thick through the northern skies a myriad stars  
 Mark a bright highway to the land you loved ;  
 Ah, did your homesick eyes, that thither roved,  
 Burn that high path as you escaped life's bars ?  
 I, too, am fated to an exile's end.  
 Strangers will lay me here in alien earth.  
 But when some wandering poet shall attend  
 Your grave with tribute in the tongue of home,  
 Dreaming some lonely lyric into birth,  
 My dust will wake and call to you to come.

BOHDAN ZALESKI (1802-1886)

## THE CEDAR

I HAVE a homeland with our Father, God,  
 In the infinity of endless time.  
 O nurse of fleeting shadows and vain rhyme,  
 Terrestrial Poland, why this long, dark road ?

Poland ! Thou art a sprig from Eden's groves  
 That hands divine have planted as they please—  
 There on the plain, between two mighty seas,  
 Thou growest to a cedar that God loves.

O cedar, Polish cedar, heavenly plant,  
 Up-soaring, fresh and green and flowerless,  
 Songs of a century thy praise express  
 Where birds by prairie, stream and woodland chant.

O cedar of my homeland, ages long  
 Have my compatriots been forced to stray  
 Like birds of heaven that ever fly away  
 And tarry but an instant here in song.

But yesterday, the little birds, my mates,  
 Rested amid thy branches here apart ;  
 And like a tethered nightingale, my heart  
 Was stirred to sing aloud our tragic fates.

Green cedar, singing cedar, now arise !  
 And raise, Ah raise, unto the Lord of lords  
 Thy cedarn wreaths and songs, for He awards  
 At last a long release from lonely sighs.

Mysterious cedar, cross-like and prophetic,  
 Within thy shade a spring of tears and blood  
 Wells blessed forth to swell each hidden bud  
 To immortal flowers, fragrant and poetic !

I have a homeland with our Father, God,  
 In the infinity of endless time.  
 O nurse of fleeting shadows and vain rhyme,  
 Terrestrial Poland, why this long, dark road ?

JULJUSZ SŁOWACKI (1809-1849)

#### ROME

IN that waste plain I wept with sudden tears :  
 " O Rome ! The Rome thou wert has passed away."  
 Only a wandering shepherd lent his ears.

Ruined before me, in blue haze there lay  
 Pale palaces along the Apennines ;  
 Above them stood this chapel, vast and gray.

Behind me was the shore ; in snowy lines  
 Upon the sea, a fleet of vessels slept  
 Like swans beside that spot of ruined shrines.

I gazed ; and great grief seized me ; and I wept  
 To watch an east wind shake and drive those sails  
 Like wraiths across the blue, as on it swept.

And great fear came upon me as their veils  
 Vanished away—and I alone remained,  
 There by Rome's ruins and forgotten trails.

Such tears as then I shed I ne'er attained  
 In all my life—when questioned by the sun,  
 A jeering god : " Is this where Rome once reigned ? "

ZYGMUNT KRASIŃSKI (1812–1859)

#### WAITING FOR SUNRISE

Oh, for the day when Polish armies sweeping  
 Onward to freedom hail our thralldom ended !  
 When shall my eyes behold that morning splendour ?—  
 Waiting for sunrise, I grow blind with weeping.

How glorious that day that waits and falters !  
 But now fat worms through Poland's corpse are creeping,  
 And wanton strokes destroy our sacred altars.  
 Waiting for sunrise, I grow blind with weeping.

Ah, the years flow, the years flow on and perish.  
 Still unfulfill'd our phantom hope is sleeping ;  
 Loss is our lot, and far the gain we cherish.  
 Waiting for sunrise, I grow blind with weeping.

We have so loved, yet still drink hatred's poison ;  
 So longed for light, yet taste black vigil-keeping.  
 Others, indeed, will see sweet freedom's foison. . . .  
 Waiting for sunrise, I grow blind with weeping.

CYPRJAN NORWID (1821–1883)

#### THE PILGRIM

ABOVE all states is he, in height of state  
 As when above low houses some tall tower  
 Soars high in air. . . .

You muse that I'm not master of my fate,  
 My mansion's but a tent, a shifting bower  
 Of camel's hair.

Yet I, too, reach aloft to heaven's heart;  
 As if I were a pyramid's high peak,  
 Its blue enfolds me.

And I, too, have of earth as large a part,  
 Where'er I go, as any foot can seek;  
 And mercy holds me.

JAN KASPROWICZ (1860-1926)

THE DREAMING MOUNTAINS FELL ASLEEP "

The dreaming mountains fell asleep  
 In purple veils of autumn mist;  
 The sunlight on the stubbled fields  
 Shone amber gold and amethyst.

Slow dust was settling to bestain  
 The birch-leaves' crimson oriflamme—  
 O melancholy hour of grief,  
 O melancholy autumn calm !

And I depart, for Time commands  
 Nor leaves a trace, my tale to tell.  
 O mountains, O bare harvest plain,  
 O silent season of farewell !

ZENON PRZESMYCKI (" Miriam "), (b. 1861)

AT DUSK

EXTINGUISH'D memories no more amaze  
 Our silence in these shadows, where the haze  
 Of faint and dreamy light is half descried.  
 But now, beneath thy fingers, echoes sighed  
 Like ghosts of fountains lispings of old days.

A weird and wordless whisper, like some phrase  
 Mumbling of irrecoverable praise. . . .  
 From dim panes fades the purple light of pride  
 Extinguish'd.

Slow tides of dusk engulf the wearied gaze,  
 And darkness flows through all the woodland ways;

Yet something haunts the silence ; phantoms hide,  
 Faint as the scent of blooms that late have died  
 Or midnight staring from dead eyes with rays  
 Extinguish'd.

KAZIMIERZ PRZERWA-TETMAJER (b. 1865)

### IN THE FOREST

With slow and dreamy motion  
 In the clear blue withholden,  
 Go clouds of velvet glory,  
 Snow-radiant and golden.

Sometimes athwart the heavens,  
 The swallow, swart and slender,  
 Slips like a silvered arrow  
 Across the sun's bright splendour.

A silver frame encircles  
 The calm and shining meadow ;  
 Along its brooks of opal  
 Float flakes of golden shadow.

Down through the dim green forest  
 Light streams in emerald lustres,  
 Or pierces through the branches  
 With rays in burning clusters.

On skies, green fields and forests  
 Its radiance suffusing,  
 The great sun drifts and gazes,  
 High in its blue path musing.

JAN LEMAŃSKI (1866-1934)

### THE WALL

How sweet, in heat and hunger, is the scent  
 From hidden arbours, fountains dripping ease,  
 Green palms that whisper heavenly symphonies  
 And cactus reaching hands of blandishment !

Yet hast thou, Death, here stifled every voice?  
 What does this wall enfold in idleness?  
 Nought lives but this clear fount, whose waters press  
 Swift, melting, to the sea, with tinkling noise.

Woven of shadows is this cool retreat;  
 A satyr, hid in ivy, waves his hand;  
 Dark cypresses in monkish musing stand;  
 The fountain from its basin splashes fleet.

Behind the wall, where rock and blue sea mingle,  
 The crashing breakers thunder on the shingle.

ARTUR OPPMAN (1867-1933)

#### NOVEMBER RAIN

THROUGH the gray silence ran a sudden chill;  
 Strange, echoing voices in the corners woke. . . .  
 Dull on the window-pane, great rain-drops drill  
 Like far-off signals with incessant stroke.

Out in the misty streets, in cold disdain,  
 The autumn bares its teeth and shows its face. . . .  
 And rain in rhythm beats upon the pane  
 With an old soldier's unimpassioned pace.

A highway lined with tombs, vague black and white,  
 Shows through the window; but I mark instead  
 The clamorous rain-drops fill the falling night  
 Like ghostly horns of orchestras long dead.

My shrinking veins are trembling, cold with fears;  
 My heart goes racing like a crazy varlet. . . .  
 And rain-drops on the pane are blurred in tears,  
 Tears that are surely scarlet, scarlet, scarlet. . . .

LEOPOLD STAFF (b. 1878)

#### THE GOLDEN ELEGY

WHERE is a golden goblet filled so deep  
 With golden wine as thou, in hue so bold,  
 O Earth, whom draughts of autumn lull to sleep  
 With all thy dreaming forests changed to gold?

To bud, and bear, and, after bounteous fruit,  
 To perish in surpassing pomp and splendour :  
 That were a fate serene and absolute !  
 My soul craves that last glory of surrender !

O Earth, our mother and our kindly nurse,  
 So meek in spring ! But now that summer's done,  
 Thou hast become—while all else turns to worse—  
 A holy, golden sister of the sun.

Blest be the secret powers that beget  
 Our dark existence with its zeal for duty—  
 Sending us toil and torment, blood and sweat—  
 If life can end in such a flame of beauty !

Then let my days in their dull series die,  
 Perish my yearning heart and all its pain,  
 If in their quiet autumn elegy  
 Blue radiance and golden grace remain !

Love gives thee back the tints that in its keeping,  
 O Earth, drew power from thy mighty breast.  
 Would that our hearts were fair as thou, here sleeping,  
 Could love like thee, and turn as brave to rest ! . . .

LEOPOLD STAFF (b. 1878)

### LIBERTY

STRAITENED am I, O Lord, upon a pillar  
 Of lonely pride, with scarcely room to stand :  
 Stiff as a corpse long cabin'd in a coffin  
                   Are neck and knee and hand.

Beyond all else I thirst for greater freedom.  
 With prairies broad, I pray, my feet endow :  
 That I may kneel, and in the dust before Thee  
                   Press homage with my brow.



## SONNETS BY ADAM MICKIEWICZ

*Translated from the Polish by* BENJAMIN COLLINS WOODBURY *and*  
GEORGE RAPALL NOYES

### GOOD MORNING

Good morning ! Dare I wake her ? Lovely sight !  
Her spirit has half flown to paradise,  
Yet tarries, gleaming in her angel eyes ;  
Just as, half in the sky with dazzling light,  
Half in a silver cloud the sun streams bright.  
The flies torment her lips. With glad surprise  
The sun has touched her eyelids. Now she sighs,  
And I am here to greet her. Lovely sight !

My wish were sweeter, but thy sleepy spell  
Disarms my boldness. Let me ask thee, pray,  
Dost thou arise with gracious heart this day ?  
Good morning ! Yet thy smiling lips still tell  
Me to depart, nor kiss thy hand farewell.  
Good morning ! Dress—and quickly come away.

### GOOD NIGHT

Good night ! We will no longer tarry here :  
May sleep enfold thee on his sable breast !  
Good night ! and may thy heart be soothed by rest !  
Good night ! and respite find from every tear !  
Good night ! and may there echo in thine ear  
The accents of each sound of love confessed !  
And when thy mind grows dim, by love caressed,  
Oh, may my image in thine eyes appear !

Good night ! Turn thy dear eyes toward me once more !  
Give me thy cheeks ; let me thy breast caress !  
Thou wouldst be gone ? Still fastened is thy dress.  
Soon thou wilt turn the key and lock thy door.  
Good night I call, repeating o'er and o'er.  
I would not let thee sleep—for love's duress.

### GOOD EVENING

Good evening ! This of wishes is most sweet.  
Never, when separated for the night,

Or reunited by the morning light,  
Do I take leave with rapture so complete  
As now, emboldened by the eve, I greet  
Thee—even thee, whose cheek serene and white  
Bursts into flame, whose eye becomes more bright,  
When this good wish falls on thine ear, my Sweet !

For those who in companionship are bound  
By common labour, let good morning rise ;  
And let good night the lovers' lot comprise,  
Who solace from their cares in joy have found.  
For those who love and hide love's tender wound,  
Good evening darkens their too ardent eyes.

## GJERZELEZ AT THE INN

*Translated from the Serbo-Croat of IVAN ANDRIĆ by N. B. JOPSON.*

QUITE a number of travellers had gradually collected in the inn near the Višegrad custom-house. The small tributaries of the Drina had overflowed and carried away the wooden bridge on the road to Priboj, and had undermined the roads in some places. The bridge was being built by carpenters, and the road repaired by navvies and convicts. And all who were travelling from Sarajevo to the East put up at the inn near the custom-house, waiting for the bridge to be completed and the roads put into some kind of shape.

The huge rectangular inn was full to bursting. The rooms were as narrow and as packed as the cells in a hive, and in front of them and right round the building ran a narrow ramshackle wooden balcony, on which the travellers' footsteps were incessantly creaking and echoing. Pervading the inn was the stench of cattle stalls and sheep, for rams were slaughtered daily at the end of the yard, and their skins were fastened on the walls to dry.

The people who halted there on their journeying were a motley collection. There was Suljaga Dizdar and three toll gatherers, who were on an official journey. There were two friars from Kreševo who were going to Stambul to lodge some complaint or other. There was a Greek monk. There were three Venetians from Sarajevo, and with them was a young and beautiful woman. The gossip was that they were envoys from Venice who were going overland to the Porte; they even had a firman from the Pasha of Sarajevo and a gendarme to help them, but they kept themselves to themselves, and bore themselves in a distinguished, suspicious way. There was a Serbian, a merchant from Plevlje, with his son, a tall, silent youth with unhealthy red cheeks. There were two merchants from Livno and their horse factors. There were some beys from across the Sava. There was a pale student from the Stambul military academy and his uncle. There were three Albanians, sellers of *salep*. There was a man from Foča who sold knives. There was a weird individual who claimed to be a Hodja from Bihać, and indeed, he seemed to travel wherever his moody, violent impulses led him. There was an Arab who sold drugs and talismans, coral adornments and rings on which he himself carved the buyers' initials. And there was an immense concourse of horse factors and dealers, hucksters and gypsies.

In addition to these travellers the coffee-house was full the

whole day long of its regular loungers, the young men of the district, and the rich, leisured Turks. And the whole day long jokes were cracked, and there was laughter, dancing, the noise of *defs* and *shargiahs*, or of fifes, the rattle of dice on the dry *shesh-besh* board, and the cackling and squealing of fleshly-minded womenfolk with time on their hands. The friars never left their room, and the Venetians left theirs only for a short walk, and even then they walked together.

Gjerzelez was one of the last to come. His progress was preceded by song. He moved at a jog-trot on a white horse with eyes red and bloodshot from the red tassels which kept on flapping against them, and his long boots, embroidered with fine gold, gleamed and played in the wind. He was met by a silence full of wonder and respect, for did he not bear the fame of many conflicts and the strength which inspired fear? Everyone had heard of him, but few had seen him, for he had spent his youth riding between Travnik and Stambul.

The strangers and the village folk gathered round the gate. The servants pounced upon his horse. When he had alighted and come towards the gate, it was seen that he was unusually short and squat, and that he walked slowly and straddle-legged, as those walk who are unaccustomed to go on foot. His arms were inordinately long. He called out "greetings" gruffly and indistinctly, and entered the coffee-house. Now that he had dismounted from his pedestal as it were, the fear and respect waned a little, and now that he had put himself on a level with other people it was possible to approach him and enter into conversation. He liked talking, and his accent had a smack of the Albanian about it, for he had knocked about round Skoplje and Peć for many years. He was slow and unskilful in his speech, words failing him at every moment, as is common enough with men of action; whenever the words would not come, he would spread out his long hands and roll up his eyes, which were as black as any rabbit's and seemed to have no pupils.

Within a few days the magic halo round Gjerzelez had entirely disappeared; he was approached by one after another of these humdrum townsfolk, for they could not resist trying to put him on their own level or even to make him their inferior. And Gjerzelez drank, ate, sang and gambled with them.

On the following day he saw the Venetian lady as she was going with her suite into her room. He cleared his throat, and, striking his knee with his hand, called twice after her :

"Hallo, hallo."

He was aflame with excitement, thrilled at the thought of crushing those delicate joints of her's in his fingers. Such delicacy and beauty near him caused him pain. He let himself go, and naturally became a butt for the ridicule of the townspeople and the loungers, who immediately began to play upon his foible. They gave him advice, they sought to egg him on, to hold him back, to tease and worry him, but all Gjerzelez did was to spread out his hands happily and flash his eyes.

It so happened that Bogdan Cincarin, a poet known throughout half Bosnia, arrived just then from Rogatica. As soon as he broke into song, he won over and carried with him the whole inn. Even the friars listened behind their window, and as for Gjerzelez he lost all moderation and reason. He undid his belt and sat down in a welter of perspiration among the local youths and the guests of the inn, with cheese and *raki* in front of him. The guests came and went, but he continued to drink without stopping, giving his orders and singing out of tune in his heavy, deep voice. The rascals laughed at him without the least fear and respect. Bogdan Cincarin, who was young but had gone grey, tossed his head about and, with his upper lip trembling slightly, sang on and on until Gjerzelez fancied that his soul was being drawn out of him, and that he must die of too great strength or too great weakness. And the wastrel from Foča sat down by him and mocked him, so that all the company rocked with laughter; but Gjerzelez continued gazing happy and wide-eyed at him, embracing him and kissing his shoulder, while the other went on and on, filling his head full of the unbeliever. Gjerzelez wanted to run after her, to seize her and seat her by his side. The innkeeper was afraid of a scandal, but it was the man from Foča who restrained him with a mad, enormous burst of laughter.

"Where are you off to, you crazy fellow? She is no innkeeper's daughter from Metaljka, nor a harem harlot. She is a proper lady."

And Gjerzelez sat down as obediently as a child and continued to drink and smoke, sing and pay his reckoning, until even the lad who was serving him pulled faces at him above his head.

For two days he caroused with the company, calling the Venetian girl to him, and he sighed and spoke to every one of his love, making himself a laughing stock with his halting, stammering ways; but they all clapped him on the back and lyingly assured him that she had bidden them tell him this and tell him that, whereupon he would dash up and would have hastened up the stairs in search of her, had not the man from Foča, who had him under perfect control,

restrained him and kept him in his seat, so counselling him and chaffing him that the whole inn shook with laughter.

On the third day, at about supper time, a squabble arose between Gjerzelez and the man from Foča—as groundless as are the tiffs of persons in drink and idlers. With a waggish earnestness the man from Foča said :

“ And why shouldn’t I have her as much as you ? ”

“ No, no, on my soul, no ! ” yelled Gjerzelez, and his countenance shone with pride to think that he was being thwarted in something, that he had a chance of fighting for her.

“ Well, may the best man win ”—this confidently from an outsider.

“ You can have wings, man, wings,” Gjerzelez screams out to the man of Foča, joining in and speaking more with his hands than his tongue.

“ Both of you run a race to settle it ; we shall put up an apple, and the one who gets the apple first shall have the girl ”—this was a suggestion seriously proffered by a man from Mostar, by way of keeping up the joke.

Gjerzelez at once leapt to his feet and waved his arms about, to show he was ready to fight or to run a race or to put the weight. He no longer knew what he was doing nor why he was doing it, but was filled with happiness that the hour had come when strength was to have its say.

They went out on to the flat ground in front of the inn. There they tied a soft red apple to the beam of the swing, and pulled a thread taut in front of the runners. Then they all gathered round, pushing and elbowing each other, and making no efforts to hide their amusement. Some crowded round the runners, while others looked on from a distance. The man from Foča pulled up his sleeves and set all those round him into roars of laughter with his quips. Gjerzelez, who had unloosed his belt and tied a sash round his head, looked dumpier and smaller than ever. Some put their money on Gjerzelez, and others on the man from Foča. The man from Mostar gave the signal, the thread snapped, and the two runners dashed off.

Gjerzelez flew as though he had wings, but the man from Foča stopped after two or three strides, and stamped his feet up and down, as you do when you want to make children believe they are being chased. Gjerzelez ran without seeming to touch the ground while the man from Foča clapped his hands, and the spectators were doubled up with laughter, dancing and screaming for fun.

"Ha, Gjerzelez!"

"Bravo, you donkey."

"Run, Gjerzelez, run, man."

"Hurrah, hurrah, you moke."

So Gjerzelez spurted, looking dumpier than ever, and his legs seemed to have quite shrunk up into his body. Tremendous strength came upon him, and he revelled in the race, the soft turf and the freshness of the breeze. He fancied he could hear all the time behind him the pit-pat of his opponent's feet, and that urged and spurred him on. When he reached the beam he stretched out for the apple, but the rascals had purposely hung it too high. So when he could not reach it the first time, he took a running leap at it, and then he plucked it off along with the thread.

What an uproar among the spectators! Some were wiping away their tears, and others were down on the ground, rolling over and over with laughter. The fat bey from across the Sava was claspng his paunch and chortling, and even the dry-as-dust Dizdar-aga, who had taken up a position at the gate, was smiling a toothless smile.

Gjerzelez stood stock still a moment holding the apple, then turned round and not seeing the man from Foča there, shaded his eyes with his hand so as to see the people better from a distance. They could not read the expression on his face, but he looked dangerous as he stood there. Suddenly they all seemed to feel that they had gone too far. Distance and aloofness restored to him all that he had lost by putting himself on a level with them. Now that he was three hundred yards away, and was trundling back towards them, frowning and stolid, they suddenly seemed to become conscious of the gap between them, and even the most care-free among them became fearful. No longer was there room for doubt that he was angry and was planning mischief. The first to disappear was the man from Mostar, and then, one by one, they all began to sneak away to their rooms. Some scuttled off behind the inn and vanished in the forest of hazel trees.

By the time Gjerzelez came up, there was not a soul left on the field. A handkerchief, forgotten in the turmoil and fear, lay white on the grass. The emptiness filled him with fury.

Out of breath and with his girdle unloosed, he squinted, still in bewilderment, at the gate through which they had all run away. And under that hard, thick skull of his a dim idea seemed to dawn that behind it all there was some great joke, some idle knavery. At the thought a flame ran hotly through his whole body. A mad

and irresistible longing came over him to see the unbeliever, to make her his own, to know how he stood with her. Failing that, he would kill and shatter everything around him. And when he had wearily waddled past the gate, with his arms waving, his mist-blurred eyes suddenly caught a glimpse, at the top of the stairs, of a broad green dress and a white veil. He moaned out something and, disarrayed and excited as he was, stretched out his hands towards her, and was within a couple of paces of her when the green dress slowly waved and faded from sight behind the room door, from which could be clearly heard the noise of a key turning in a lock.

Gjerzelez let his arms drop to his side, lowered his head a little, and, his breath coming in hot powerful gasps, he stood still for a moment, dark as a storm-cloud and strong as the earth itself. He did not know what to do first, whom to strike. Then he turned round, and in the inn riot and disorder broke out. Some child, unaware of what was happening, had not hidden away, and now let his toy drop to the ground, and took refuge under the divan leaving his bare, chapped feet sticking out. The horses could be heard in the stables, but in the entire inn itself not a cat could be heard; every living soul had gone into hiding and was holding his breath in fear and horror. The silence gave a still keener edge to Gjerzelez's defiant rage. He beat upon the doors, but they were all closed as if by magic.

Not knowing what to do in his fury, he began to saddle the horses and fill the bags. As he made ready, he kept glancing about him in hopes to see someone, and then, pulling fiercely at the rein, he brought his rearing white horse out into the court yard and rode off, mounting by the meat block. His horse bore him away, the silver trappings and his weapons all gleaming. And suddenly the anger within him began to fade. He spat out his disgust, rode out of the yard and, as in a dream, passed over the grass course where he had raced a little before. When he had gone a little farther on he could not help looking back, and there, in the furthest corner of the inn, he saw the bulging window of the unbeliever's room. As he looked at it, closed, cold and enigmatic as the look of a woman and the human breast, there again rose up in all their strength the wrath and venom he had already forgotten. And in his mad lust to kill and damage somebody, anybody, he raised and brandished his hairy hand and wrist in the direction of the window, and he unclenched his fist as though he would hurl his curse against her.

"Bitch, bitch."

His voice was hoarse with rage.



He rode at a trot, by soft roads across country. And did he care that the roads were undermined, and the bridges swept away and impassable? Not he!

Behind him lay the inn, still in terrified silence.

## A FOREST ADVENTURE

*Translated from the Hungarian of GÁRDONYI GÉZA by N. B. JOPSON  
and A. WINBY.*

THE village was for the "forty-eights," and the Count for the "sixty-sevens." The Count wanted to get into Parliament. The ranger was his only canvasser and half the village had sided against him. "Just wait, you dogs," cried the ranger, shaking his fist at them. "You'll be coming for your tickets by and by."

The point of the ticket was that those who did not get a ticket from him were not allowed to go into the forest to collect branches.

On St. Lucy's Day the cold became intense, and on the following days it froze harder still. Even the dog cowered into the corner by the stove. The Tombors had no ticket. Mrs. Tombor had for days urged her husband to go to the ranger and beg him for one. But even then he hung back, the poor fellow. His entire holding consisted of a vineyard of three acres—three or four acres was what most of the villagers had. Ever since All Saints' Day they had used some fallen tree or vine to make a fire with. In the vineyard Tombor had cut down an old plum tree and carried it home on his back with his fifteen-year-old son Imre. But slowly the plum tree was used up. He might perhaps have lowered himself to ask for a ticket, but it was already being whispered on all sides that the ranger would not give a ticket to the "stiff-necks." "I'll sell the nut-tree," he said; "you know—the one that overhangs the road. They are always shaking it and stealing the nuts. The joiner will give me five florins, anyhow, for it."

The joiner looked at the tree, but offered only two florins. They haggled over it day after day, and the bitter cold got ever worse and worse. Tearfully his wife put a little soup—ever so little—on to simmer, and even that had some wood splinters in it.

At last she said to her son: "Are we to be without a fire even at Christmas time? Go into the forest, dear boy. There will be no one about at a time like this. If you do see anyone, run for it." The family was a respectable one, and the forest branches could not have been worth anything to the Count. Imre tied a rope round his

waist, and, when afternoon came, he set off. Snow a span deep covered the ploughland. The hoar frost formed a kind of white fur on the thistles that here and there thrust their heads out of the snow. Right beyond the fields the forest could be seen. It also was covered with hoar frost—a white forest. Imre was frozen. His nose and ears were almost frostbitten and his feet, too, were frozen. The cold was fastening on his body, too. “My shirt must have slipped down,” he thought; but that would have meant unbuttoning his jerkin and loosening the rope, and those were things that no one would lightly undertake in such biting cold. So on he went in the snow, which gave at every step. He felt the terrible cold more and more in his body; it drew tears to his eyes and made them smart.

He was a lean, swarthy boy with a small chin and a long nose; for his age he was rather undeveloped. He wore roomy shoes and a shabby go-to-market sheepskin cap. On he tramped through the snow, his hands well thrust into his pockets. At the forest verge he stopped and listened. Not a sound except the chirping and gentle whirr of some swift-winged tomtits. There were no fallen branches at the edge of the forest. He must go further in, and if he should meet the ranger, well, he would tell him that he had come to catch birds. The ranger would retort by asking him where his bird-lime rod was, and he would say: “I thought that as it is so cold, I should be able to catch them with my hands.” All the same, it was with alarm that he penetrated further into the forest. The snow crunched softly under his feet, and then he would stop and look about him in the still, snow-covered forest. Here and there under the trees was an occasional little stump, but the twigs on it were very thin. On! On! He would gather and pile such a load on to his back that the room at home would be warm for three days to come! And in his imagination he saw the rusty little zinc stove with its sides red hot from the crackling, spluttering flame within. There would be warmth in the room, blessed, abundant warmth! They will sit round the stove. His father will shift his seat so as to be in front of it, and now and again he will take an ember of the size of a pea and apply it to his pipe.

He went further in. At every twentieth step he stopped and listened. He had been walking for perhaps half an hour when a dark spot among the trees caught his eye. He stopped in terror. The spot was moving. “It is not a bear, it is some woman,” he thought, and breathed more easily. Nevertheless, he took cover and looked to see who she might be. If she were of the Court party, would she not let it out that young Tombor was about, gathering

wood? In his apprehension he trod even more silently and drew near, stepping warily from tree to tree. She was stooping and gathering branches. Once she stood up and listened and glanced round. Then Imre recognised her. "Why it's Eva Buray," and he joyfully hurried to her.

Eva Buray had gone to school with him. She was fair-haired and had grown up quickly. For that reason she had always stood at school with her legs drawn in whenever it was her turn to answer. She was shy at being so big among all the other little ones, and perhaps that was why her eyes had always such a modest, timid look. But now she had left school, she went with her head more erect and did not hunch her shoulders. She started with fright when she heard the snow crunch. Shyly she looked up—and there was Imre. "Oo, it's you," she said. "Yes," said Imre joyfully, and groping under his jerkin he pulled out the cord. They were not specially good friends—only as much as school children who do not sit together nor live in the same direction. But they were not on bad terms either.

Eva had often given ink to one or other of her school companions, including Imre. She used to make the ink herself from dwarf-elder berries or oak apples. "Ask me nicely, and I'll give you some," she would say. And once in joke Imre jogged her hand while she was writing, and the beautifully written page of the copybook had to be torn out. Then she was angry, and Imre did not dare to speak to her. Their feud lasted for about a fortnight. One afternoon Eva brought to school a roasted pumpkin in her apron. There were only five of them there at the time: the girl and four boys. Eva put the pumpkin on the form—a titbit the colour of a well-done egg—and cut thin slices from it. She took a slice in her fingers, put out her red tongue a little and popped the thin morsel on it as delicately as fine ladies do with pineapple strips. One little boy wanted a bit and put out his hand: "Give me some." "Ask me nicely." "I ask you nicely, give me some," "More nicely," "Eva dear, I ask you nicely." Then she gave him some. "I'll give you some too," she said to the others and cut a slice for each. Imre was standing near by, leaning against the wall and looking on. She did not offer him any, nor even glance at him. During the lesson Imre took his inkstand to her and said with an imploring look: "Eva dear, just a teeny weeny drop." Eva looked at him. A blush had mounted on his face. She, too, blushed a little at the word "dear." Then she took his inkstand and filled it to the brim. This scene drew them so close to one another that, from that day on, they always

used "dear" when speaking to each other. Imre always sharpened Eva's pencils for her, and he it was who intervened when the other girls quarrelled with her. And if any dispute was brought to the teacher's notice, there was always Imre to take her part. In return, she shared her apples and dried prunes with him. Once he thrust a cork into his bottle, which was full to the brim with ink, and it spurted into his eyes. All burst out laughing except Eva, who was alarmed. She hurried to him and wiped the ink from his face with her apron, and then she wetted her handkerchief and cleaned the spot away. After that the school children began to whisper. One boy mockingly cried out what they were all whispering: "Eva is Imre's sweetheart." She did not dare to look at him any more then, and he also avoided her. They did not speak unless they were alone, and even then only from opposite corners of the large hall. At other times they would look at each other, but only secretly. After they had become too old for Sunday school, they never met except in the street or at church.

Now they looked at each other in the forest and their eyes were glad.

"Have you come, too, for branches?" she asked him. "Yes."

"There are plenty here. I am gathering some, too." "Have you a ticket?" "No." "Nor have I. Supposing the ranger catches us?"

The girl brushed that aside, saying:

"Don't worry about that. I've been coming here for two weeks now."

"And they haven't touched you?"

"I haven't seen them. If he were to come, I should flatten myself against that tree. That's why I put mother's shawl on." She drew the shawl tightly round her shoulders, and breathed on her hands, which were blue with cold.

"It's horribly cold today," said Imre. With that he took up a branch and broke it in two on his knee. Eva by now had quite a large bundle. She knelt down and pulled the cord tighter.

"You are not going just yet, are you?" asked Imre.

"I'll wait for you," she answered. "I meant to wait anyhow till it was dark."

It was more than three o'clock by now, and the sun was beginning to tinge the clouds with red. Silently they gathered branches, going from tree to tree. Where the end of a branch protruded from the snow, they kicked it to see if it was long or short. Under the trees there was not so much snow as in the clearings, and Eva was

now adding branches to Imre's pile. Suddenly a dog was heard barking in the forest, from the direction of the village, and the two children took fright.

"The ranger," stammered the girl. "Let us run for it."

They put their bundles on their backs and ran off into the depth of the forest. On they ran over the yielding snow. On and on with breathless haste, the boy in front, the girl behind. Both were bent double under their burden. The boy stopped for a moment. He made a sign to the girl and listened. She did the same. Now the barking was nearer, and they ran on more terrified than ever.

What if the dog were to catch them up, the great lop-eared hunting hound! The girl ran on ahead, her skirt waving in the air, and the boy still behind. She threw her bundle away, so that she could run faster, and Imre threw his away, too. Breathlessly they ran towards the Old Forest, where no one was allowed to walk or gather branches, because it was the Count's preserve. They had been running for perhaps half an hour now. Eva ran better, or else it was that greater fear spurred her on. The boy had had his cap knocked off by one of the overhanging, criss-cross branches. He felt it go, but was so frightened that he did not bother about it. The girl's shawl also had slipped down and would have fallen off, but she caught it in time. Her fair hair streamed out behind her. At last she stopped, and fell limply against an oak tree, flushed and panting. The boy, too, stopped, equally blown and with his heart beating audibly. Hark! The barking had ceased. They were both still breathless from their exertions. Imre leant against the tree, then collapsed in the snow, utterly spent. So they listened with the blood draining from their cheeks, now and then looking at each other. Then Eva smoothed her hair from her forehead and fastened her shawl, crossing it over her heart and tying it in a knot behind.

"Oh, if they had caught us. . . ." she panted, when she could get her breath.

"It would have been no joke," answered the boy. "They might have locked us up." Again they listened, but the only sound was a woodpecker hammering away somewhere in the old tree.

"But perhaps he won't come here," Imre said anxiously.

"They will hear if the dog barks," she answered.

"We will run on to the end of the world, if need be."

"I can't go on any more. I have a stitch in both my sides."

"Just let that dog come anywhere near me. I'll strike him dead with a stone."

"The good Lord will perhaps deliver us!"

And they kept breaking off their talk and strained their ears for every sound. By now the early winter evening was dark between the trees. The sky had cleared up a good deal, but an angry redness fringed the clouds in the west.

"The wind is getting up," said Imre.

"And it is getting dark, Imre," she answered. "How shall we be able to find our tree?"

"We shall get home late today."

"They did not dare to start yet. Eva sat down near him at the foot of the tree. Their faces filled with fear, they listened and gazed at each other for minutes on end.

"What beautiful eyes you've got," Imre said once, but in the same tone as if it had been, "We are under an oak tree" or "Tomorrow will be Saturday." His words had no meaning, and there was no thought behind them. Only when she was silent and her eyes stared straight into his did his own open wide.

She had large, light-blue eyes, innocent and sad-looking. She sat facing the setting sun. Still, she smiled at his words, and was glad to hear them. Women had often told her that she had beautiful eyes, but a boy never, and she looked at him affectionately.

"You have beautiful eyes, too," she said. "I often looked at your eyes when we were still at school. Do you remember how we were once enemies?"

"I wasn't. It was you who were angry with me."

"No. Honestly and truly I wasn't. . . ."

"Well, what then?"

"Only just——"

"But perhaps we can go now. I must look for my cap, too." They got up and retraced their steps. Here and there the tracks of wild animals were visible. At one spot the boy stopped.

"Look, Eva. The track of a stag."

"Yes, I saw the stag himself," she answered.

"Really?"

"It was not so long ago. While I was gathering wood, I heard the branches rustle, and when I looked up, there was an old stag in front of me—I am sure it was the king of the forest. It was as big as . . . It had two magnificent branching antlers, as big as my two arms, if not bigger."

"I saw a roe, too."

"And when I stood up, it took fright, threw its head back, and like a flash of lightning it bounded off among the trees."

"I wish I could have seen it," Imre said. He put his hand to his forehead and gazed into the gloom of the trees. "Hark!"

A whispering gathered in the forest. It increased as it came nearer, as when a summer shower runs through a village at nightfall.

"It's the wind," said the boy.

At that moment the top of the tree shook over their heads and the hoar frost descended upon them like a dense snowfall.

"Didn't I tell you?" he cried, shaking his head. She pulled her shawl over her face, shuddering with the cold. It became more and more difficult to trace their steps. The evening was getting darker than ever. The wind raged and swayed among the trees, and blew like ice round their necks. It churned up the snow as if unseen spirits were sweeping the forest. The boy and girl were walking now at haphazard and in silence. Both kept their heads well down on their shoulders, and at every violent gust of wind they stopped. The wind with a side eddy snatched Eva's apron away as if it would rend it to pieces, and remorselessly it blew the snow into their faces.

"My God," thought Eva, inwardly weeping. "However shall I get home?"

"Don't dawdle," Imre shouted out. And he brought out a little crumpled, pink handkerchief and tried to tie it round his head, but it was not large enough, so he put it in his pocket again. The darkness was spreading quickly, and already care was needed to avoid the trees. In the Old Forest they succeeded in keeping to their direction, but in the tangled undergrowth they continually bumped into trees. They had to keep their eyes shut as they went onwards, for the branches slashed their faces at every step. Imre held his hands in front of him, and Eva kept on pulling her shawl over her face. Her skirt tore with a loud rip, but they struggled and stumbled on. The wind was now crashing and raving through the forest. Imre made his way to where the ground suddenly sloped, and there he stopped in consternation, for when they had run forward into the forest, they had not come across any such slope. "We've lost our way," and the girl trembled. "But we must keep on in this direction," she stammered. "Believe me, Imre, this is right. The wind has blown us out of our way."

And they went on in what she took to be the right direction. But there also the ground seemed unfamiliar. In a forest all the trees look so alike, especially when it's dark! Nevertheless, on and on they went, heedless of fatigue. At every gust they turned their backs on the wind, then step by step they trudged through the snow. They had been walking for perhaps an hour now, and had given up

all thought of finding Imre's cap or their tree. If only they could manage to get home !

Imre was now struggling over a still steeper slope. That was good because the blast could not reach them, only whistled away over their heads.

"Let us rest, Imre," said Eva. "I can't go on any more."

"Wait, perhaps we shall find a dry place," he answered. And they scrambled up the opposite rise, and went on still more slowly. Instead of slender saplings, they now found themselves in the midst of old trees standing up like giants in the blue evening darkness and seeming to warn them with their waving arms.

"We're in the Old Forest again," said the boy fearfully. He stepped behind a big trunk where the force of the wind was broken. Eva sat down and cried.

"Don't cry," he comforted her. "We will go on until we do find our way out."

"We shall never get out of this."

"Why not? The wind will soon drop, and the moon will be up, too, as night comes on"

"They will give us a thrashing when we get back."

"I'll catch it worse for losing my cap Well, we'll say that. . . . Anyhow, we can take some big branches home. The wind has broken off a good few, and perhaps we shall find the cap and our bundles, too."

They rested a bit, and again set off in the grey darkness, still striving to get out of the Old Forest. But which was the way out? They did not feel so frozen now, and there was some warmth even in their hands and feet. Imre's ears were as warm as if they had been scalded. But the wind was not minded to abate. A mighty gust almost blew them over, and it was with the utmost difficulty that they dragged themselves to an old tree, whose lusty lower boughs stretched out and groped into the darkness like monstrous serpents.

"I can't go on any more !"

Imre looked for the sheltered side of the tree. There was hardly any snow there, and he sat down.

"Sit down here," he said, "the wind won't reach us here." She nestled down beside him.

"It doesn't matter," he said consolingly, "we shall have to wait for the moon. It would be sheer madness to go stumbling on."

They huddled close to each other, and Eva unloosed the shawl from her back and covered Imre's head with it, too.



"So that you shan't freeze," she said, and pulled the end of it across his chest. "How's that? All right?"

"Yes," he answered gratefully. "My head is frozen stiff." They cowered together under the cotton shawl, her head against his to prevent them from freezing.

"If only I had a match," said the boy, "I'd make a fire at the edge of the tree."

"And my dress is split," Eva said in alarm.

The boy picked up a handful of snow from between his legs. He could scarcely hold it and lift it to his mouth, so numb were his hands.

"I am as thirsty as a dog."

"So am I," she agreed sadly. And they ate the snow.

"It won't be like this always," said Imre, after a time. "I don't mean to spend many winters at home."

"What are you going to do, then?"

"Going off to Budapest."

"Not really?"

"Yes, I am. The shoemaker's apprentice has told me how easy life in Budapest is. His brother hasn't learnt a trade, and yet he's getting along splendidly."

"What is he doing?"

"Why, selling newspapers in the streets. He gets a farthing on every paper he sells. He can sell up to a hundred a day, and sometimes two hundred."

"Is it true?"

"He swore by Saint Peter that it was; and when I go up to Budapest, I intend to sell more than that. Jani's wife swore that a man can make his fortune there, if only he's got a good throat and sound feet. I have! That'll be the life, Eva. White rolls every day to eat. You'll see me when I come back at Christmas, and you won't recognise me."

A gust of wind roared away overhead. They clung closer to each other and were quiet. The boy pulled his neck closer down into his collar, and then Eva said:

"You'll bring me something back with you?"

"I'll bring you whatever you want. . . ."

"I should love a blue velvet headband, a narrow one, like that the lawyer's daughter has. I have been told they aren't so very dear."

"It doesn't matter if it is. I'll buy it for you. And I'll tell you

something, Eva. When I've done my military service, I'm going to take you away with me—yes, I am, to be my wife."

"Oh, that's a fib."

"I swear by Saint Peter that I will."

"You will take me to Budapest, then?"

"Of course I will; and you will sell newspapers, too. We'll go into partnership, and we'll have coffee every morning for breakfast."

"But you—why, you have never loved me."

"Haven't I? Don't you remember? I know it's a long time ago—when we were at school together."

Eva snuggled up still closer, and her eyes shone in the darkness. She pressed her cheek against his and put her arms round his neck.

"You, Imre," she stammered happily . . .

The wind had fallen and was only sighing now among the trees. By now the children had lost all sensation of being frozen. A pleasant numbness enveloped them.

"You, Imre," said the girl in a faint voice. . . . "And what kind of a marriage shall we have?"

"Why, like the gentry have, of course. I shall wear a fine black suit, like the Count's. Jani tells me that there is a market where everything can be got cheaply from second-hand dealers—like brand new, too."

"And you will buy me some things, too?"

"Of course."

"A white dress?"

"The whitest in the world."

"And a long veil?"

"Whatever you choose. I shall have so much money that I shall take with me the tin trunk I keep hempseed in. It will be crammed with money."

"Good gracious. Imre, did you see the wedding of the post-master's daughter? She had a silk dress on, and even her shoes were of silk. But I wouldn't ask you for that—it would be too dear."

"Dear? When a man has money, nothing is too dear for him. I'll buy you silk lace, Eva dear, and silk gloves, too. You'll be dressed as well as the most fashionable young lady is. We'll keep all sorts of birds, too, in our home. I shall take my thrust and siskin with me, and I'll catch a tomtit, too, somewhere. We'll have a sitting-room, lovely and comfortable! A room with a real floor, not one just of earth, like in the village. And in the evening we'll

sit by the stove and we'll have singing. People heat their stoves with coal up there, Jani says."

"Gracious, what beautiful things you're talking of." She kissed him twice on the cheek, and after a minute he kissed her back. And then for a little while they were silent.

"But won't they stop us?" said the girl a bit later.

"Why should they?" he answered sleepily. "Who is there to stop us?"

"Your mother."

He shrugged his shoulders. "Mother? Why? You're a good girl."

"But I'm poor."

"When you're my wife, you won't be poor. We'll have a warm stove, and we'll roast apples on it."

"We'll put lace curtains on the windows."

"We'll hang pictures on the wall. King Matthias, Saint Imre, and a battle scene. Have you ever seen any battle picture? I saw one once when I was on holiday at my godfather's." He yawned.

And again they were silent, and then Eva shuddered feebly.

"Don't buy me a silk dress—it's too dear. Still, it's very beautiful. But I would so love to wear silk, just once, and I have never had any leather shoes."

And again they were silent.

"Oh, I feel ever so sleepy," said the boy, blinking. "We'd better get up now—you know, it's not good to fall asleep."

"I have heard that, too," Eva whispered.

"You freeze if you do."

All the same they stayed where they were. Every now and again one would stammer out something, then the other. But now it was only their own thoughts that they spoke of.

"I shall go and see the King," the boy mumbled. "I'll see the crown on his head."

A minute's silence.

"Just one candle burning on the altar," the girl stammered.

A silence that lasted several minutes.

"The crown is of pure gold," and he shook his head as if he felt a rope round it, and then mumbling feebly he said:

"Eva, dear Eva, don't drop asleep."

"No, listen! I can hear them playing—it is somewhere far off—the note of a violin."

The boy, overcome by sleep, let his head drop right down, and

with his eyes quite closed muttered: "How the King's crown shines!"

Eva could hardly move her lips to say:

"Listen, beautiful mu-s-ic!"

And her head dropped on to his shoulder.

\* \* \* \* \*

The sun found them there when it rose, huddled together and their heads pressed close to each other. From the depth of the snow-covered forest a stag came slowly towards them, browsing as it moved. In the sunlight the snow dust sparkled like small diamonds on its crown of many branches. With its nose it kept pushing the snow from the dry, winter grass and from the fallen moss, and browsed on.

When it came near the children, it raised its majestic head. They sat motionless. Their eyes were shut. The light breeze had bestrewn their feet and shoulders with hoar frost, which gleamed like silk in the sunlight.

The stag gazed at them in wonder, then quietly browsed further on.

## THE DRAGON AND THE GIPSY

*Translated from the Russian by* EDWARD GELLIBRAND.

THERE was once a village to which a dragon came daily to devour the inhabitants. All were eaten except one man.

Late one night at that time a gipsy came to that village also. Wherever he looked he found nothing but emptiness until he came to the last cottage, where the last man was sitting and weeping.

"Hullo, my good man!"

"What is it you want, gipsy? Are you so sick of life?"

"Why?"

"Don't you know that a dragon comes here every day to eat people, and that all are eaten except me? And even me he is leaving only until tomorrow. When he comes, you are not likely to fare any better, he will swallow the two of us at one gulp."

"Perhaps it will choke him. However, I should like to see him, so let me spend the night with you."

And so he spent the night there.

A terrific gale sprang up in the morning, shaking the cottage, and the dragon flew in.

"Aha!" he cried. "There's an increase here! I left only

one man and now there are two! Well, that'll be something to breakfast off."

"You don't really imagine you can eat us both, do you?"

"Of course I do."

"Don't be absurd, old devil-face! You'd choke!"

"Do you think then that you are stronger than I?"

"Why naturally I do. You probably know yourself that I am far stronger than you are."

"Well, let's put it to the test."

"All right."

Picking up a millstone, the dragon said:

"Look, gipsy, I can crush this stone with one hand."

"All right, let's see."

The dragon squeezed the millstone so hard in one hand that it was turned into fine sand, and a regular shower of sparks came from it.

"There's nothing wonderful in that," said the gipsy. "Now if you were to squeeze a stone so that water came out of it, that *would* be something. Look how I do it."

On the table was a small bundle done up in a handkerchief containing curds.<sup>1</sup> The gipsy picked it up, squeezed it, and out ran the whey.

"There, did you see that? Now who's got more strength?"

"Yes, your hand is certainly stronger than mine, but let us see who can whistle louder."

"All right. Do you whistle first."

When the dragon whistled, all the leaves fell off the trees.

"Yes, you whistle very well, my friend, but not quite so well as I. You had better tie up your eyes before I whistle, for otherwise they'll fall out of your head."

The dragon bound a handkerchief round his eyes.

"Now, whistle."

Taking up a cudgel, the gipsy hit the dragon over the head with all his might.<sup>2</sup>

"Stop it, stop it, Gipsy! For Heaven's sake don't whistle any more! Even from that one whistle of yours my eyes nearly jumped out of their sockets!"

<sup>1</sup> *Tvarog*=solidified sour milk, like cream cheese, a favourite article of diet in Russia.

<sup>2</sup> NOTE.—An untranslatable play upon words. *Svistet*=to whistle and *svistet*=the slang for box on the ear.

"All right, just as you like, but I am quite prepared to whistle once or more if necessary."

"No, no, it's not necessary, I assure you. I don't want to quarrel with you any more. Let's be brothers. You be the elder brother and I the younger."

"As you like."

"Well then, brother," said the dragon. "There's a herd of oxen grazing on that plain yonder. Go and pick out the fattest, catch him by the tail and bring him here."

There was no way out, so the gipsy went off. On the plain was a huge herd, and he began catching the oxen one by one and trying their tails together.

Meanwhile the dragon waited and waited, and finally lost his patience and himself ran out.

"Why are you so long?"

"Just wait a minute. I'll tie fifty or so together, and drag the whole lot home at once. Then there'll be enough for a month."

"What a fellow you are! Are we to spend our lives here? One will be ample."

So saying, the dragon picked out the fattest ox in the herd, dragged off its skin, and heaving the carcase on his shoulders, carried it home.

"But, brother, what about these? I've tied up so many of them. Are they to be left?"

"Yes, leave them."

When they came back to the hut, they filled two cauldrons full of beef, but there was no water.

"Here!" said the dragon, "just go and fill this ox-hide with water and bring it back, then we shall be able to cook some dinner."

The gipsy took the skin and dragged it to the well. It was all he could do to get it there, even empty. So he began to dig round the well.

And again the dragon waited and waited. Finally his patience gave way, and he went himself.

"What are you doing, brother?"

"I want to dig round the well, so as to bring it all home. That will save us from going constantly for water."

"What a fellow you are! Its much too big a thing that you are planning! It will take a long time to dig round the well."

He lowered the hide into the well, hauled it up full of water and carried it away home.

"In the meantime, you go into the forest, pick out a dry oak and drag it here. It's time to light a fire."

The gipsy went into the forest and set about barking bast and twisting it into a rope.

Again the dragon waited and waited. When at last his patience was exhausted, he came running up himself.

"Why are you so long?"

"I want to put a rope round twenty oaks at once and pull them out with the roots. In that way we should have firewood for some time."

"What a fellow you are! Always some idea of your own!" said the dragon. He pulled out the thickest oak by the roots and dragged it away home.

The gipsy pretended to be in a very bad temper. He sat down sulkily and would not say a word. The dragon cooked the meat and called him to dinner.

"I don't want any," said the gipsy crossly.

So the dragon ate up the whole carcase alone, and then drank a whole oxhideful of water.

"Why are you cross, brother?" he asked.

"Because you find fault with everything I do."

"Come now, don't be angry. Let's be friends."

"Well, if you want to be friends come home with me."

"All right. I'm quite ready."

In no time he harnessed three of the very finest horses into a sledge and they drove off to the encampment of the gipsies.

As they drew near a number of little naked gipsies, seeing their father, ran to meet them shouting at the top of their voices:

"Here's father! He's brought a dragon with him!"

The dragon became rather frightened.

"Who is this?"

"These are my children. They must be very hungry. Won't they just set about you!"

On hearing this, the dragon sprang out of the sledge and bolted, and the gipsy sold the horses and the sledge and lived happily ever after.

## THE PERFECT FOOL

*Translated from the Russian by* ELIZABETH HILL *and* DORIS MUDIE

In a certain family there was one who was called the perfect fool. Not a day passed without some one complaining about him, for he would offend some by his words and some by his deeds. His mother was sorry for him, and she began to look after him as though he were an infant. When he decided to go out anywhere, his mother would talk to him for half an hour and would tell him what to do and what to say :

“ My child, you must do this and you must say that.”

One day the Fool was passing a barn where the peasants were thrashing peas, and he called out to them :

“ For three days’ pains,  
You’ll gain three grains.”

The men ran out and thrashed him, and the Fool went back home to his mother :

“ The men have been beating a fellow; the men have been beating a fellow. . . .”

“ Was it you, my boy? ”

“ Yes, yes, it was.”

“ Why did they beat you? ”

“ I was walking past Dormidoshkin’s barn, and his family were thrashing peas in there. . . .”

“ Well, what of it? ”

“ I shouted a wish to them :

‘ For three days’ pains,  
You’ll gain three grains ’

but they beat me.”

“ You should have said :

‘ May you carry and never stop carrying,  
May you drag and never stop dragging,  
May you cart and never stop carting.’ ”

The Fool was glad to be told this, and next day he went out into the village. He met some men carrying a corpse, and remembering his mother’s lesson of the night before, he shouted in his loudest voice :

“ May you carry and never stop carrying,  
May you drag and never stop dragging,  
May you cart and never stop carting.”



Again the Fool was thrashed, and again he ran home to his mother and told her why he had been thrashed.

"My child," she said, "you should have said 'May the dead rest in peace.'"

These words fell into the fool's mind and they stayed there. Next day he went again into the village, and as he wandered along, a wedding party came towards him. The Fool cleared his throat and as the wedding group came up to him, he chanted: "May the dead rest in peace." Some drunken peasants jumped out of a cart and they gave him a cruel beating. The Fool ran home shouting:

"Mother, mother! They have beaten me again!"

"Why my child, what is it for this time?" The Fool told her, and she said:

"But you should have danced and played for them."

"Thank you, mother," he said, and went into the village, taking his little flute with him. Down at the end of the village street a corn kiln had caught fire. The Fool ran there as fast as his legs could carry him. He stopped opposite the corn kiln and began to caper about and to play on his flute. Again the peasants beat him, and again he ran to his mother and told her what had happened.

"But you should have taken some water and helped to put the fire out."

Three days later when his bruises hurt less, the Fool went wandering along the village street and saw a man roasting a pig. He seized a pail of water from a woman who was passing by, ran to the pig and threw the water on the fire. Again he was thrashed, and again he ran to tell his mother why they had thrashed him.

This time the mother swore never again to let him prowl about the village alone, and from that day to this the Fool never goes out except into the yard, and the rest of the day he sits on the stove scratching for fleas.

## THE CENTENARY OF THE KALEVALA THE NATIONAL EPIC OF THE FINNS

THE year 1935 marks the centenary celebration of the *Kalevala*. Although we do not know the exact date of its publication—it did not even appear in its entirety in 1835—it is an authenticated fact that on 28 February, 1835, Elias Lönnrot signed the foreword of the first edition, and therefore it may be assumed that the manuscript of the whole work was complete by that very day. That is why we have been used to celebrate this date as the *Kalevala Day*, as we call it. But no doubt the whole of the year 1935 will be celebrated as the year of the centenary jubilee.

We are certainly wont to speak a great deal about our *Kalevala* and to celebrate its jubilees, but it is an undeniable fact that the public of our days does not to any great extent actually read the *Kalevala*. Moreover, to many of us its name is only connected with unpleasant reminiscences from the years when we made unsuccessful attempts to study it at school, attempts which did not lead us to an appreciation, still less an acquisition of the contents or the spirit of that remarkable poem; and in most cases these attempts of ours have not been renewed in our later years. Much less does the general public know what the *Kalevala* in reality is. Nevertheless, it is equally true that there is no other work of literature that in recent years has had a similar influence on the entire history of Finland.

Finnish folk-poetry had attracted attention abroad even before the publication of the *Kalevala*. In the year 1819 a young German scholar, H. R. Schroeter, brought out a collection of Finnish poetry, together with a German translation, and in this work he spoke about the wonderful sources of poetry which could be found in Finland, and with emphasis he added that his collection contained only a small fragment of the immense wealth of Finnish folk-poetry. Yet the publication, in the 19th century, of a complete epic, comparable to the greatest works in the range of the literature of other nations, was in truth an event destined—as far as it became generally known—to attract the attention of the whole literary world.

In our own country the publication of such a work of ancient folk-poetry has had an almost decisive influence on the whole life of the Finnish people. The confidence which was roused by it was an essential factor in the national awakening that was to lead to the independence of our country. The thought that our remote people,

although it had up till then made only small contributions to the common progress of human civilisation, had produced a folk-epic which could claim a prominent place in the literature of the world, awakened in the minds of the educated classes of our nation that faith in our future which was essential if we ever hoped to raise the Finns to the level of a civilised nation in the deepest sense of the word. Only those who knew how stiff and harsh our literary language of those days was, saw, as if by a revelation, that its use in works of folk-poetry over a period of many centuries had made the language something like a polished and burnished instrument and rendered it an effective and even magnificent means of expressing the most refined shades of thought and feeling. The pursuit of learning took a new and vigorous start. Thus, our famous scholar, M. A. Castrén, once pointed out that it was through reading the *Kalevala* that he received the first decisive impulse that led him to his later learned studies. Painting and sculpture had, in our country, even before the publication of the *Kalevala*, made their first hesitating steps towards an artistic appreciation of poetical subjects. The rôle of Finnish folk-poetry as an inexhaustible source of inspiration for later works in those fields is generally known. To demonstrate this, we need only mention names such as Akseli Gallen-Kallela, Carl Aeneas Sjostrand, and Emil Wikstroem. Even our music made our hearts beat faster when, to the measures of the old airs and melodies of our nation, it created new musical works, revealing the same emotional background and the same general feeling as the ancient songs and ballads—a phenomenon which we meet with in the compositions of Jean Sibelius, not to speak of others.

But, strange as it may seem, we might say that the *Kalevala* has had this vast influence in spite of its being regarded as something quite different from what it really is. Perhaps almost for this very reason its importance was, at least for some time, greater than it otherwise might have been.

We know that at the time of its publication the *Kalevala* was thought to be, and even nowadays is often thought to be, a narrative which tells us of an ancient golden age, when people were better than they are in our own times and were living in the closest contact with surrounding nature, a period characterised by harmony and by a strong belief in the spiritual powers in life, especially in the power of the word. But darkness and cold were threatening to annihilate the powers of warmth and light. Therefore the people of Kalevala had to fight their symbolic fight of light against darkness, and that is why light had to become the victorious conqueror of

darkness. Or else the people of Kalevala was thought to have a mighty enemy, the inhabitants of the North Country (Pohjola), against whom they had to fight their battles. And therefore, above all, the magic Sampo, which was believed to bring prosperity and wealth to its owner, and had fallen into the hands of the North (Pohjola), had to be recaptured, in order that the domination of Pohjola might decay and the strength of the *Kalevala* people increase. And in those times, so it was thought, there were songs and tunes on the lips of everybody, and thus the common people out of their deepest consciousness, without any kind of influence of other nations, had composed a great and complete coherent epic. The mysterious memory of an entire people had then preserved it, shattered into small pieces as it might have been in the course of time, until in the 19th century Elias Lönnrot discovered the relation of those fragments, and restored the unity of what had once been a coherent whole, although it had by then been divided into innumerable smaller parts.

We must admit that such a conception of the nature of the epic, composed of our old songs and ballads, was in itself a beautiful poetic creation capable of strengthening our national confidence at a time when the harshness of reality seemed to be about to deprive our dejected people of the healing powers of light and warmth, hidden in the stony soil of Pohjola.

It must be owned that a scientific study of the ancient Finnish songs and ballads has not as yet evolved a generally accepted conception of what the *Kalevala* and the poetry which it represents in reality is or has been. But among scholars, on the other hand, there is at present not the slightest difference of opinion regarding the question of what the *Kalevala* has *not* been. This means that the beautiful picture drawn above must dissolve into nothing, if it is scrutinised against the background of reality. We know that there never has existed such an ancient and coherent great epic as is represented to us by the printed *Kalevala*, an epic containing the whole of the ancient poetry of the Finns or at least the old epic poems of our nation. Although we may take it as an ascertained fact that from the earliest times there has been Finnish poetry, in the shape of certain subjects of poetry, of various stories and legends, and of several verse-lines either crystallised in one and the same form or appearing ever and again in a new shape, on the other hand, we may be quite sure that, before the publication of the *Kalevala*, these elements had never made up a coherent poetic composition. The whole as a unity is the work of Elias Lönnrot, although in

composing it he made an extensive use of the elements, and combinations of the old songs and ballads.

We know, too, that the *Kalevala*, or the epic poetry of which it is made up, by no means represents a primitive creation of the peoples of the Finnish race; it cannot even be considered to be genuinely Finnish in that sense of the word that all its elements are original. On the contrary, it must be held that the poetry of the *Kalevala* is essentially a product of Northern or Western Europe. There is, unquestionably, in the *Kalevala*, something that can be derived from an ancient religion and from very ancient ideas and notions, the origin of which must be supposed to lie beyond the range of European civilisation. But neither these elements, nor the great importance that everything belonging to the sphere of magic seems to have in the *Kalevala* of Lönnrot, can render the work as a whole anything else than what it really is. Considered as a whole, the *Kalevala* is certainly a manifestation of that civilisation of Northern Europe into the compass of which the forefathers of the Finns more than two thousand years ago made their entrance, and where they have remained ever since. Thus many of the elements of which the poetical composition of the *Kalevala* is made up, have been received from the West or have come into existence in Finland under Western influence.

The whole story of the *Kalevala* fits into a framework, which is made up of the controversy and the mighty struggle between the peoples of Kaleva and Pohjola, but this element is not to be found in the original ballads, and it came into existence as late as in the *Kalevala* of Lönnrot. The central part of the *Kalevala* consists of the tale of the forging of the mysterious Sampo, a magic something bringing its owner wealth and prosperity, and of the fight for its possession. But strangely enough, neither the bards from whose lips the different parts of the *Kalevala* were recorded nor Lönnrot himself knew what the Sampo was. Moreover, we should not exaggerate the symbolical saying that the printed *Kalevala* is a work as skilfully composed as something made by a smith, so perfect in his craft that his products do not reveal the slightest marks of hammer and tongs. We must admit that the unity of the *Kalevala* is not absolutely complete and that the whole of the long narrative has become, to a certain degree at least, rather wearisome, because it has been encrusted with too many recurrences of nearly the same episodes and too many passages containing magic words and charms, all of them elements unnecessary to the progress of the story itself.

This conception is rather different from that which first animated

the educated classes of the Finnish people in the days when the *Kalevala* appeared for the first time as a printed literary work. Therefore we might well ask whether those who, fascinated as they were with the radiance and splendour of the ancient songs and ballads of our people, dared to believe in the talents of the Finnish nation, and who were bold enough to begin laying the foundations of an intellectually independent Finnish people, did not put their faith in elusive mirages only; whether everything they thought and hoped was not founded merely upon illusions—to put it plainly, upon a misconception.

The answer must be that this conception of the mysterious origin of the *Kalevala* and its preservation on the lips of the old bards and minstrels through so many centuries, was in itself a charming poem. The thoughts of everyday life require the wings of poetry that they may be borne up high beyond their own triviality. As a person affected with a deadly disease, as soon as he has come to the brink of some mysterious spring or under the influence of a miraculous healer, feels his confidence returning and the beneficent powers of his own vitality again beginning to make their effects perceptible, in just the same way a new sentiment awakened our nation from its lethargy and made it aware of its own powers. It is in that very manner that both the *Kalevala* and the *Tales of the Ensign Steel* have exercised their far-reaching influence. And likewise they have had, and even in our own days still have, the after effects on our work of civilisation and on the struggle for our independence, whether carried on in the sphere of intellectual or material progress, or fought out on the blood-stained battlefields by which our independence was won; and this has been the case without regard to what scientific research may reveal to us concerning the origin of the *Kalevala*, or the peculiar circumstances of the war in 1808, and the characters of the men who fought in it.

Moreover, we are really in a position to view the facts as they are. For we know that the civilisation and the independence of our country are realities and that the discovery of the whole truth will not lead us to abandon the creations of poetry and enthusiasm. Such as it exists to-day, our folk-poetry, with the old songs and ballads of our ancestors, is surely capable of encouraging our national sentiment. For it is so grand a national as well as a general human treasure that it has no equal in its own sphere. In our days the meaning of the name of the *Kalevala* has widened and has become a title for that immense hoard of poetry which has lived on the lips of our people. We may get a clear idea of its bulk when we mention

that the ancient poems of the Finnish people which have so far been published comprise no less than thirty thick volumes. The territory in which these old songs and ballads have been collected extends so far beyond the political boundaries of Finland, that perhaps the greater part of Finnish folk-poetry has been found and recorded beyond the frontiers of our country. To this common territory Esthonia also belongs, for there, too, a rich treasure of old poems has been found.

Thus, among many repetitions and different versions, the printed *Kalevala* at present represents only the greatest and most important of all these treasures. As a subject of scientific research, it would be as scanty a source as any popular poem that is known in only one form. The more different versions we have, the easier it is for us to find out the transformations undergone by a poem in passing from person to person and from country to country. By analysing a poem into its basic elements, we discover which of those elements are to be considered as being of modern origin and which of them can be derived from earlier periods. At the same time we learn to distinguish between original and borrowed elements. And seen in the light of scientific study, a loan is very often still more interesting than are the original parts, because the loans show us the paths along which human civilisation has spread from one country to another. Finally, there appears to be no difference between what is borrowed and what is genuine, because we might say that we have borrowed everything, at least from preceding generations. In still another sense, everything may well be said to be original. The growth of folk-poetry, like every other progress in the sphere of human civilisation, entails an appropriation of given traditions and their augmentation and transformation to something original. Especially we must bear in mind that, much as our neighbouring nations have succeeded in keeping alive their past reminiscences by means of the written and printed word, the vivid memory of the Finnish people, aided by a wonderful oral tradition, has preserved even such things as have elsewhere sunk into oblivion.

For their own part, therefore, our old poems are able to throw light on the problems concerning the beginnings of human civilisation as well as those of its progress; they can give us valuable knowledge of the origin of ancient epics and even of folk-poetry itself. In this respect the old Finnish songs and ballads are a wonderful source of information when we try to explore the past of the Finnish people, and at the same time some of their elements belong to our own times. They are also a means by which we may see far into the

characteristics of the national psychology of the Finns, and they even reveal some secrets of the soul of man himself and its phenomena. In the light of modern science their importance is far greater than it was once thought to be.

The value of the old songs as a source of inspiration to painters, sculptors, and composers will not in the least degree be diminished by the results of scientific research. On the contrary, an almost inexhaustible treasury is opened, in the shape of the innumerable variations and versions on the different subjects. The purpose of art is not reached by merely illustrating and imitating what is already known; real art has to create quite new conceptions of the elements which it has found at its disposal.

At last we come to the question of the value of the *Kalevala* as a work of poetry—and in this the real essence of its significance must be found. Has its poetic value been shattered by the results of research? Are the merits of the *Kalevala* less because its elements are not all of them original? Is it to be regarded as an inferior work of art because we know that it is not in its entirety as old as it was formerly supposed to be?

Real poetry does not depend so much on the subjects that it has chosen, as on the manner in which it inspires them with its own genius. Everywhere in the sphere of human civilisation we see that the most important thing is not what an individual or people has received from others, but the question is how what has been borrowed has been acquired and further developed. Only one example may be mentioned here as a sufficient illustration. We all know that the great British poet, William Shakespeare, during the whole career of his dramatic production borrowed many elements of his plays from others. He found them in ancient histories, in tales and chronicles of more recent times, or he built his work, as in the case of *Hamlet*, on another play written by another author who, in his turn, had made use of an old legend. All that, however, is of very little importance when we consider how in the fire of his own soul he smelted anew what he had found, and stamped it with the mark of his own genius, thus endowing mankind with the everlasting works of his own inspiration. In art the main point is not what element the artist may have found available in other works of art, but what there is in his creations which is immortal and everlasting. And real poetry is immortal.

And in the old Finnish songs and ballads there is, indeed, real poetry, which spreads its golden light on the trivial incidents of everyday life. The poetical talent of the Finnish people has been



compared to that strange power of the ancient king Midas, by which he transformed into gold everything that he touched. The people of Finland had been endowed with the magic wand of poetry, which by merely touching a thing made it into a piece of poetry; this is also illustrated by the magic rhymes, in which some rather prosaic subject is given a beautiful poetical form.

In the inhospitable regions of the North the Finnish people was endowed with the comforting gift of its immortal songs. And by these very songs and melodies courage and confidence were sung into the hearts of our nation, when amid the terrors of famine, oppression, and war we seemed to be condemned to annihilation and death. A hundred years ago, as the words and airs of the ancient bards were once again heard in the poems of the *Kalevala*, they induced our people to strive forward towards light and freedom. Even in the darkest moments of the past our nation dared to retain its glorious dreams. And therefore a day came which showed that there is a deeper truth in dreams than in the prudence of the trivial calculations of everyday life.

E. N. SETÄLÄ.

## PILSUDSKI

A LIFE burnt up in the service of an ideal. To be born in the ambiance of an ideal; to be impregnated with it in the cradle; to grow up with it; to cherish it in youth; to live adventurously for it in manhood; to become the instrument of its success; in old age to be accepted as its symbol, and in death to pass into the domain of a national legend—what a destiny for a man!

Pilsudski at birth was bathed in the atmosphere of a patriotic despair. For the Poland of his ancestors had just been crushed out of existence by Russia after the rising of 1863. The furious whispering of a great hatred came to his ears before his brain understood its meaning. At home and in school the shadow of Poland, oppressed, but refusing to accept death, stood behind the boy. The youth vowed that liberation should come in his time. The man threw himself into subversive activities, which pursued one aim always—the freedom of Poland. Fate and merit combined to place Pilsudski at a critical moment at the head of a national upheaval. He led the Poles out of serfdom to the freedom of a sovereignty reborn. The luck of war, and his skill, allowed Pilsudski to reaffirm that sovereignty by an amazing victory over a deadly foe. After the liberation until his death he remained the national leader.

History will judge the right and the wrong of Pilsudski's methods. The fact remains beyond dispute that his name stands merged into that of Poland itself. He has been laid to rest in Krakow with the old kings. But his spirit walks through the land. The Poles will need time to realise that the "Commandant" is dead. The proof of the man's greatness is in this survival.

Joseph Pilsudski was born on December 6, 1867, not far from Vilna, that is in that corner of historic Poland where Lithuanians, Poles and White Russians have lived together for centuries, combining to produce a stock of rare intellectual power and incomparably steady at the same time. The family was poor, but honourable and intensely patriotic. The mother must have been a remarkable woman indeed, like many Polish women of that sad time. Pilsudski revered her memory, and his dying wish was that his heart should be buried at her feet in his homeland.

Like thousands of other Polish children the future Marshal of a free Poland was obliged to pass through a Russian school and university as the only means to obtain an education. But the teaching was not able to compete with the influence of the family.

So it was natural for the ardent youth to be drawn into the revolutionary circles, whose object was to liberate Poland from the foreigner. Like a great number of his contemporaries Pilsudski joined a secret organisation, working against Tsarism. The police, as usual, quickly found him out, and the young conspirator passed through the customary cycle of expulsions from the university, arrests, and finally of exile to distant Siberia. After a number of years Pilsudski's temperament of ruthless fighter placed him at the head of the radical elements in the Polish national movement. He then described himself as a Socialist, and he acted as one, although it was the nationalist ideal which predominated in him all the time. The Russian police considered him a dangerous opponent. They were glad to lock him up at last in the dreaded X-th pavilion of the Citadel in Warsaw, from which, people said, no prisoner had ever come out alive. The iron will of the conspirator allowed him to achieve his escape nevertheless. For he was able to simulate madness consistently for months at a stretch, and faithful friends did the rest. Pilsudski walked out of the lunatic asylum in St. Petersburg to which he had been transferred for observation. It is characteristic of the steadiness of his nerves that Pilsudski, when he came out of the gateway of the hospital, with the suspicious guards capable of seeing through his disguise at any moment, coolly looked round and commented to his companion upon the green of the trees, which he had not seen for so long. His rescuer—a young Polish doctor, who had obtained a post at the institution so as to be able to smuggle a civilian outfit in to the prisoner and had managed to send away his attendant for a few minutes, was pale with anxiety and in a hurry to disappear round the corner. The future Marshal, however, took his time unruffled to admire nature.

Then came the Russo-Japanese war, and Pilsudski, now the acknowledged leader of the Polish activists, went to Tokio to enlist the sympathy of the Government with the idea of a reconstituted Poland. Nothing came of the enterprise. Indeed, prominent Poles were horrified by its rashness. Still it was a turning point in Pilsudski's career. His genius discovered an idea, the realisation of which finally was to secure their freedom for the Poles at a critical moment of European history. Pilsudski came to see that a Polish armed force must exist even before territorial sovereignty was reborn. The Partitions of the 18th century by Russia, Prussia, and Austria, according to him, were made possible only because the army had been neglected in a criminal fashion by the dominant

aristocracy. Since then, and especially after the abortive rising of 1863, the Poles had come to look upon military service as typical of a foreign tyranny. They concentrated upon the conservation of their spiritual forces and of their power of economic resistance. Revolutionary activities to undermine the foreign regime from within were familiar to them. Individual terrorism some of them admitted as a revolutionary weapon. But the thought did not come to them that they should be prepared to march into battle under the national banner, serving Poland alone and owing allegiance to no foreign monarch. Pilsudski's genius discerned, however, that the way to independence would be by military action. With a handful of friends, destined later to become the chiefs of the army of Poland, he set about militarising the spirit of the Polish youth. The Austrian Government let itself be persuaded that some day, in the inevitable clash with Russia, these activities would be of advantage to it. It permitted Pilsudski to establish his conspiracy headquarters in Polish Galicia. Cells of young men in public schools and universities were created gradually in Austria and in France, in Germany and even in Russia itself. Military science and the use of arms were taught to them by itinerant instructors. Established Polish parties viewed Pilsudski's activities with distrust. They did not share his obstinate faith in the inevitable approach of freedom conquered by the force of arms. Still the movement grew. An impetus was given to it by the success of the Balkan States in their war of liberation against the Turks in 1912. The number of Pilsudski's "sharpshooters" increased by thousands. At the outbreak of the World War he was able to invade Russian territory with what later became his famous First Brigade. Under his command the Polish legion in the Austrian army achieved fame on the Russian front. The military spirit of the legionaries was good. German experts inclined to consider them the best soldiers at the disposal of Austria. Pilsudski himself was given the possibility of developing the talents, which made of him afterwards the fighting leader of a Poland reborn. Still he was not happy. The object of his organisation had not been to provide material for Austrian generals, but to strike a blow for Polish independence. Yet at first the armies of the Tsar, in whom he always had seen the chief enemy of his people, were marching from victory to victory in Galicia. A change occurred in 1915, when the Russian front broke before Mackensen and, after months of hard fighting, was pressed eastwards out of the territory of ancient Poland. Germany needed all the support she could get on the Western front. Berlin and

Vienna, therefore, assumed a favourable attitude towards the idea of a measure of autonomy for a reconstituted Poland. Pilsudski had high hopes. Yet it did not take him long to discover that the almighty High Command merely was anxious to obtain half-a-million of Polish recruits. Pilsudski was expected to use his prestige to that end. He refused outright. He finally found himself under arrest in the German fortress of Magdeburg, and his legions were removed from the front. Still the Germans were unable to obtain more than a few hundred men and Pilsudski's partisans, on the other hand, laid the foundation of a powerful military organisation by covering the land with a network of secret "fighting" cells—the "Polska Organizacja Wojskowa," commonly known as the P.O.W. These activities were facilitated by the fact that on 5 November, 1916, the German and Austrian Governments had proclaimed a sort of independence for a part of the ancient Polish territory with a Regency in Warsaw.

From the summer of 1917, until revolution broke out in a defeated Germany in November of the next year, Pilsudski remained in the military prison in Magdeburg. But his idea stalked through Poland and the P.O.W. was active to an extent which at the critical moment made it possible for its leaders to step in and disarm the demoralised Germany soldiery. As a last hope, at the last moment, the Germans set Pilsudski free and tried to come to some agreement with him. It was too late, however. Pilsudski returned to Warsaw in triumph, the Council of the Regency surrendered all power into his hands. He became the virtual head of the restored State, which soon was consolidated by a reunion with the ancient provinces in the West, liberated from the German yoke by the spontaneous action of their Polish population. Pilsudski had won through. Poland was free. From the time of his return from Magdeburg to the end of 1922, when the new Constitution was promulgated, Pilsudski remained the "Naczelnik Państwa" (Head of the State), uniting the functions of President of the Republic with those of Commander-in-Chief of the army. The latter proclaimed him Marshal of Poland after his victory over the Bolshevik armies in 1920. For, instead of being able to devote their time to the work of internal consolidation, the Poles found themselves obliged to fight for their very lives against the invading Red armies, then at the height of their revolutionary enthusiasm. The Red tide burst through the desperate opposition set up by Pilsudski and his new troops. Line after line had to be given up. Warsaw was under the direct menace of the enemy. Foreign observers thought the

fate of Poland sealed. The French alone gave effective aid by sending General Weygand and several hundred officers to stiffen the Polish army still in the making. But Poland was saved by the high moral qualities of her soldiers, and by the genius and iron will of Pilsudski himself. The inception of the bold flanking move, which suddenly cut through the enemy forces, as a knife passes through butter, was his own. Its execution was due entirely to his personal energy, and it was possible only through his influence over officers and men alike. Pilsudski saved Poland, and he no doubt saved Europe by his victory from the fate of being overrun by the hordes of a militant Communism.

After the victory the Marshal was able to give his attention more to the great work of creating a disciplined State. His lifelong sympathies had always been with the masses, and not with the upper classes, which he accused of having lost Poland through incompetence and the pursuit of class interests. The new Constitution was one of the most democratic in Europe. It was accepted by a freely elected Parliament in March, 1921, and in December, 1922, as we have said, a new President was elected, an old friend of Pilsudski, Narutowicz. The Marshal himself, physically weary from years of dangerous and soul-devouring work, was content to go into temporary retirement. But a week later Narutowicz was assassinated by a member of a reactionary party. This started a period of political instability, which really came to an end only in 1926. At first Pilsudski thought of re-entering politics, but the hostility of consecutive administrations, and especially of that of Witos, leader of the so-called peasant party, persuaded him in 1923 that the best thing for him to do for the moment was to go into retirement. For two years the Marshal kept in the background, watching events, but keeping in contact with his numerous partisans all over the country. He took advantage of the comparative leisure to do some literary work, mostly of a military nature. For by now, after his victories, it was this side which had become uppermost in him. The kernel of his belief was still that to remain free Poland's duty is to have a good army.

In 1925 the political situation became extremely tangled. The democratic Constitution could not be made to work properly. This was not because it was bad, but as a result of the incapacity of the politicians. The nation looked towards Pilsudski, and his little house near Warsaw received a stream of visitors. On 12 May, 1926, things came to a head. For three days battle was joined between the regiments led by Pilsudski and the supporters of the

established Government. Finally President Wojciechowski and the Witos Cabinet were overthrown. An attempt in Poznań, in Western Poland, to march to the rescue fizzled out. Pilsudski again was master of Poland, and the majority of the nation, tired by the endless wrangling, approved. The National Assembly was formed to choose a new President. A large majority voted for Pilsudski, but he refused and his friend, Professor Mościcki, the well-known chemist, was elected instead. Pilsudski took the portfolio of the War Ministry and became Inspector-General of the army, that is its commander-in-chief in wartime. Henceforward and until his death his was the paramount power in the land. To the extent to which he liked to use that power, Pilsudski was dictator. The machine of Government was tightened up. Laxity in the ranks of the bureaucracy was treated as a crime. The business of the State was transacted with greater efficiency. This discipline, however, was achieved by sacrificing a measure of the constitutional rights of individuals and parties. For Pilsudski, as organiser of the Republic, wanted to stand above individual and party considerations.

Here we have come to the last period in the life of Pilsudski. It is no less important from the national point of view than that of his fight with the external enemy. To critics of his regime it certainly supplies some material. But, in judging the event of 1926 and what came after, we must remember always that Pilsudski placed the national ideal above all others. By inclination, and by his past connections, the man was attached to democratic principles. Yet Poland came first always. When forced, as it seemed to him, to choose between the good of his country and academic democracy, Pilsudski did not hesitate. He chose the former. For he knew that the position of Poland between two dangerous monsters—Germany and Russia—was and would be full of peril. Poland can survive only by remaining politically powerful and morally united. To the attainment of this patriotic aim other considerations must be subordinated. With all his iron will Pilsudski drove the Poles towards this goal. History will say that he acted as a dictator. But it will admit the fact that the people themselves expected the national hero to act in this manner. History will say also that at heart Pilsudski was no dictator at all. In this connection some day it will be worth while to establish a just proportion between Pilsudski's political directives and the method of their carrying out by over-zealous partisans. Then again it is interesting to note that of all dictators in Europe, real or alleged, Pilsudski was the only one who could afford to move about without a guard and even

to leave Poland sometimes for months at a stretch. In any case this indicates an exceptionally strong moral position.

Pilsudski was an educator rather than a dictator. He knew the defects of his countrymen. He abhorred their politics and castigated them without reserve. When he believed that persuasion was useless, he used violence. For Poland to him was more precious than any Pole. He saw that the people resented discipline and were ungrateful to their leaders. So he let them feel the scorpions of his anger to teach them order and discipline and to honour merit, Pilsudski deliberately aspired to train as large a number of men as possible for the highest posts in the State, so that after his own death there should be no lack of steersmen. Innumerable reshuffles of men in high positions seemed to indicate an anxious search for the right place for each man. Two important departments Pilsudski controlled closely himself —the army and foreign affairs. The rest he left to the initiative of the official Government, as if he desired Ministers to learn independent action by experience. In practice, this arrangement did not always work satisfactorily. For Pilsudski had to manage with the men under his hand, and these often were not prepared for the work entrusted to them and sometimes incapable of understanding the high motive of their leader's political action. Also years began to tell. Years of imprisonment and of adventure of many kinds had left their mark upon the great frame of the national hero. He had never been tolerant of the company of fools. In old age he withdrew into an inner circle, into which even trusted friends found it difficult to penetrate at times. On occasions, when the world was surprised by the reticence of Polish Ministers and ascribed their silence to a craftily conceived plan, the true reason lay in the fact that Pilsudski had either not received them yet, or had delayed giving precise instructions. It also cannot be disputed that, as the malady which finally destroyed him progressed, the temper of the great man became surly and even vindictive. To this physiological source can be traced certain decisions, which Pilsudski himself in the full development of his powers could not have approved, for example, the treatment meted out to some of the Opposition leaders after the so-called Brest-Litowsk trial. Personally we believe that Pilsudski, with his positively amazing intuition and prescience of events, saw the shadow of death approaching long before the people round him could perceive its approach. A faithful servant of the national ideal from his early years, the patriot severed gradually his connection with topical events, concentrating upon his main object : the creation



and consolidation of a great and strong Poland. This made him intolerant of the small things in life, with which smaller men continued to pester his attention. The verdict of history will be that Pilsudski, if he sinned, did so in the service of a great ideal.

The foreign policy of Pilsudski was impregnated with the national ideal. To be strong and independent—this was his constant aim. He insisted upon the greatest sacrifices being made to maintain the armed forces of Poland upon a high level of efficiency. This he did, not because he was enamoured of war, but because he was convinced that a good army is the best diplomatic instrument for peace. This view was vindicated by his success in obtaining from Hitler a respectful attitude towards Poland. For it is no secret that the understanding with Berlin was preceded by an ultimatum from Pilsudski on the subject of Nazi intrigues in Danzig. "Is it war, or peace?" asked Pilsudski, while his well-trained and well-equipped divisions were on the move. Hitler preferred peace, and Polish policy proceeded to extract all the profit it could from this friendliness. Again with Russia, although Pilsudski never could rid himself of his old dislike for the neighbour in the East, relations gradually became quite tolerable. Yet for Pilsudski both Russia and Germany were only pawns in the game of maintaining a balance between two potential enemies. This was tactics. The great aim of his strategy lay in a different direction. His ambition was to crown his service to Poland by achieving better and closer relations with Lithuania. After the World War for a number of years this aim was defeated by the bitterness caused in the smaller country by the Polish occupation of Wilno. But the chief obstacle was the support given to the Lithuanians alternatively by Russia and Germany. Pilsudski's policy towards Berlin and Moscow aimed at putting an end to this support. In this he was successful. He then set out to woo the Lithuanians in earnest, and it was clear that he was ready to go to very great lengths indeed to re-establish better relations as a prelude to a more intimate union. Pilsudski would never have permitted a German attack on Lithuania. When a Nazi putsch was planned in Memel, he let his objection to the move be known in Berlin in an unmistakable fashion. Death came before success could be achieved. But, if Pilsudski's will and memory mean anything to the Poles, they must continue to seek an understanding with the Lithuanians, protecting them meanwhile, even against their will, from any foreign intervention. It may well be that Pilsudski, who knew the situation in his own part of Europe perfectly, never quite understood the trend of affairs in the West. It may be also that he was not always

well served with information. But his conception of the true and permanent interests of his country was granite-like in its solidity. He marked out the course, which Poland will follow whatever happens. His political opponents could not act differently, and the actions of his successors will be measured by the standard he has set them. His body lies in Kraków, but his spirit walks through the land still.

V. POLIAKOV.

## NEGLECTED ASPECTS OF THE DANUBIAN DRAMA<sup>1</sup>

NOTE.—No one has a better right to be heard on this subject than Dr. Jászi, who has had to pay for his courageous championship, in pre-war and post-war days, of equal rights for all the nationalities of Hungary, by exile to America. The Editors do not necessarily associate themselves with every view expressed.—ED.

THE growing exuberance of goodwill, and the passionate efforts for peace, perhaps the most hopeful developments in the Anglo-Saxon countries, are not always accompanied by an adequate measure of that realistic criticism without which any pacifism must remain purely verbal and sentimental. One of the many causes of this attitude is the belief that international complications result purely from personal intrigues. It is assumed that the growing tension in the world is *exclusively* the work of frivolous diplomats, greedy capitalists, or criminal munitions manufacturers. This attitude is very similar to the belief of certain reactionaries according to whom revolutions are *exclusively* the work of unscrupulous propagandists. Few people have reached the truth that war, in modern times, like revolution, arises from many unsolved economic and social problems which, like festering wounds, poison the blood stream of the nations. And the corollary of this truth is that no amount of goodwill, friendly declarations, or treaties of amity will bring us nearer to peace when we are not willing to pay the price for it: to change a *status quo* which has become obsolete.

### II

A sojourn of several months in the Danubian Succession States, with which my life has been intimately connected, convinced me that this territory is in a state of continuous preparatory war, of a potential fight, which will assume actuality if the victor States created by the World War: Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Jugoslavia, together with the vanquished States: Austria and Hungary, remain unable to solve their common fundamental problems.

Travelling in those countries, any more serious observer feels physically, so to say, the growing tension, the increasing insecurity between, and in, different strata of the population. Especially the intellectual middle class, harassed by poverty or unemployment, is in a state of nervous agitation. Something new, violent, and unheard-of must happen in order to save the world, they believe. I doubt whether any other period of world-history has produced such a

<sup>1</sup> The author is indebted to the Social Science Research Council of America for an opportunity to spend several months in the Succession States studying recent social and political developments.

number of unbalanced intellectuals as ours. It may be that the percentage of these morbid spirits is not greater than it was during the last agony of the Roman Empire, or in the early Middle Ages. However, the power and moral leadership of this middle class has increased disproportionately in our era. As a consequence, the morbidity of the intellectual class comes near to wrecking the European State system. Sometimes one sees real fever in the eyes of younger and older people (often I would have liked to put a thermometer between the lips of my interlocutors), a real persecution complex on their distracted faces. One can hear hundreds of stories of the destruction of individuals and families as a consequence of political and national complications. The tragic story of Michael Kohlhaas, the classic figure in the famous novel of Heinrich von Kleist (published in 1810!), fighting against injustice, and succumbing in the unsuccessful struggle, has been repeated in innumerable cases in the Danubian countries, caused by the insecurity of political conditions, by the growing spy system, and by the various national G.P.U.s which imitate so cleverly their big Russian model. It is no wonder that the Yugoslav censorship has prohibited the translation of the Kohlhaas story in one of the Radical magazines of Belgrade, because they saw in it a hidden incitement to rebellion. It is no exaggeration to say that no foreigner travelling on the borders of the Danubian States can be sure whether he will be safe from prison or deportation. A hidden *bellum omnium contra omnes* seethes there beneath the surface, fomented by a general distrust, sordid personal interests, or a patriotic fear complex.

A young American acquaintance of mine, a German teacher, of partly Hungarian extraction, wished to spend his summer in a German-speaking district of one of the Succession States (I omit the name because an investigation of the case is going on and I do not wish to interfere with it). His purpose was to study for his doctor's thesis the old German dialects of the people. On the basis of his American passport and some recommendations, the Minister of Education of the country gave him a warm introduction to the authorities. As the happy possessor of these valuable documents, he began his studies in an elated mood in a small German town. But very soon he was caught by the gendarmerie and put into prison, under the pretext that his arrival in the little country inn was not immediately registered with the police. (The truth was that as he arrived late Saturday evening, this important communication could not be made until the next Monday morning.) But the real cause of the arrest was the fact that he called on several German

friends, old burghers of the town, who (rightly or wrongly) were regarded as Nazi sympathisers by the local authorities. Furthermore, he was suspected for another reason. In his passport the officials found as his Christian name Imre (the Hungarian equivalent for Emery), and they judiciously inferred that Imre stood for I.M.R.O., the well-known initials of the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organisation. And as his passport also indicated his profession as instructor, the authorities charged him with having been a military instructor of this terroristic organisation. (Instructor being used in this country only in a military sense.) The young teacher showed in vain all his legitimations, the letter of the Minister included; he was not released from his prison. On the contrary, when he made an energetic protest, he was beaten by the policeman in his cell, his spectacles knocked off his face, and very soon he was told that he would be deported to the frontier under the control of armed men. The execution of the sentence was very slow, because the trip was made during the night in order to avoid unpleasant comments. The charges for this involuntary journey were levied on the unfortunate research student, absorbing the greater part of his budget. When he arrived at the capital of the adjoining country, he told his adventures to the representative of the Associated Press, and asked for their publicity. But the American journalist answered: "Young man, your case is not a story for us. Such things happen daily in the Danubian countries. They are very disagreeable, even tragic, but belong to the general atmosphere of this part of Europe."

The man of the Associated Press told the complete truth. All the frontiers of the Succession States are in an atmosphere of potential warfare, and suspicion, calumny, or revenge can easily injure a man very seriously, especially if he does not speak the language of the country, or is not blessed with a special diplomatic adroitness. And not only suspicion of irredentism can endanger the security of the unhappy traveller, but also the fear of Bolshevism. For those who believe that I exaggerate, I would advise the following little experiment: Take any rapid train out of Budapest, and go for an hour until you come to one of the large peasant villages. But do not have an interpreter with you, nor one of those charming young clerks of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Go immediately to the market place, and make contacts with the peasants, asking them about their social and economic problems. Not a quarter of an hour will pass before you will have the most interesting, though not very agreeable, experience, showing the thoroughness of the village authorities in defending order and security.

What are the reasons of this silent warfare? Before all, it is caused by a radical upset of the social structure. The expropriation of the German and Hungarian ruling classes in Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Jugoslavia, with their expulsion from public office, has created a new atmosphere, undermining the traditional bulwarks of authority, and intensifying very strongly the feeling of irredentism on the part of the former rulers. In these victorious countries a new middle class arose, mostly sons of peasants, small artisans, and other members of the lower bourgeoisie. This new ruling class is in its social manners, administrative ability, and sometimes even in public honesty, below the former expert Austrian bureaucrats and the feudal *Herrenklasse* of Hungary. Therefore, many foreign observers complain that entire territories have become "Balkanised," that the former urbanity of manners has diminished, that the administration has become more venal and clumsy. All this is true to a certain extent. Yet those aristocratic observers forget to mention that at the same time high schools and universities are crowded with the children of peasants who formerly were the victims of artificial assimilation, that those backward nationality groups are now developing their own national culture, and the peasant, formerly an outcast, whom every police official brutalised, has now become the leading element of the new States, not only supported, but cajoled by kings and ministers.

I myself saw an almost symbolic manifestation of this change. In my youth I lived in a small Hungarian town near the proud "Ritterburg" of a Count Károlyi. We regarded with awe the magnificent castle, and the vast park into which no common mortal could enter. But when, recently, I revisited my birthplace, which has become Roumanian, I found the gate open, the castle in a pitifully neglected state, used partly as a third-class sanatorium, partly as a mess for the officers of the local garrison. The formerly gorgeous flower-beds were gone; the well-kept lawn had become a feeding place for poultry. Some poor old women were gathering dead wood for a fire. The picture reminded me of the collapse of Imperial Rome. A sad thing to the fashionable tourist, or for my vivid childish memories, but, as in the case of the fall of Rome, a situation full of new energies and ideas.

Some steps further I had a similar experience. The old gloomy, palatial building which had served as the county seat, full of gay, goodlooking young noblemen who, instead of working at their offices, sat on the benches before the building greeting charming young ladies walking around, is now a neglected, badly kept edifice serving the purposes of a teachers' college.

It is interesting to note that the antagonism in the class structure has become a cause of conflict not only between nations whose racial origins differ, and who fought each other during the War, but also between nations who are closely connected racially, and who are both beneficiaries of the Great War.

This has happened in the case of the Czechs and the Poles. There is a growing tension between Poland and the Czechoslovak Republic which manifests itself in complaints of the Poles on behalf of their national minority in Czechoslovak territory, and in their increasing coolness towards the Little Entente, and ostentatious friendliness towards Hungary and Germany. As the Polish minority in Czechoslovakia is totally insignificant (about 80,000 people), and as the Czechs have no animosity against them, the existence of this problem indicates a deeper and hidden cause of aversion. As a matter of fact, this dislike is motivated by conflicting collective psychologies of the two nations. The Czech democracy of peasants and small bourgeoisie is distasteful to the dictatorship of colonels and feudal aristocrats. Furthermore, the Czechs, ardent supporters of the League of Nations, do not enjoy the high esteem of the Polish Imperialists. But what is of a still greater importance is that the autonomy accorded to Carpathian Ruthenia by the Czechs is felt to be a serious menace to Poland, who suppresses ruthlessly her own Ukrainian (Ruthene) minority. The Ruthenes of Carpathian Ruthenia under their developing self-government may easily grow into a Piedmont exercising a powerful irredentistic attraction for the bulk of the Ruthenes exploited by foreign rule. A united Ukraine under Polish rule would be the right solution for the Polish militarists, and as this cannot be realised at the present time, even the old situation of a Ruthenia under Magyar feudalism (as it was before the War) would be a preferable arrangement for them.

As the hostile attitude of the Poles against the Czechoslovak Republic is more than shared by the Magyars and the Germans, the growing danger of irredentism develops dictatorial tendencies which alarm the friends of the young Democracy, the only one in the Danube basin. When I expressed my apprehension in this matter to the most brilliant and amiable of Czech writers, Mr. Karel Čapek, he answered somewhat impatiently: "Do you expect us to stretch our necks into the noose of Fascism, as the German and the Austrian democracy did?" A retort which I could not refute.

### III

Needless to say, the economic and political expropriation of the former ruling classes in Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Jugoslavia

creates an unbridgeable gap between the past and the present. This tension is further aggravated by the competition between the middle classes of the ruling nations, and those of the national minorities. This is only partly due to the distrust between the various races; it is caused to a large extent by the general economic crisis. The disastrous effects of economic nationalism and the continuously growing war budget make the future outlook of the middle classes practically desperate. As Madách, the great Hungarian poet, said in his *Tragedy of Man*, "There are too many Eskimos and too few seals." This is exactly the situation of the intellectuals relative to their jobs. One of the most influential men in Roumania told me that he was unable for several years to procure a minor job in the State administration for his private secretary, a brilliant former student of the Sorbonne. In this desperate struggle for existence, the national difficulties offer an appropriate ideology for the elimination of the minority middle class from offices. This is only a continuation of the old-time practice of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, but with the growing economic distress it has assumed far wider proportions. The struggle for bread has become a highly patriotic affair: "foreigners" should be eliminated, otherwise the existence of the nation will be imperilled.

This state of mind is poisoned by the real dangers of the new States: there is a very active irredentist propaganda from Budapest, and a Nazi propaganda from Berlin which gives substantial nourishment to nationalistic tendencies. The recent tragic expulsion of Hungarians from Yugoslavia was a symptom of the growing mass hysteria. There is a continuous suppression of foreign newspapers and propaganda material, but these measures give little help to the ruling national group, because they are unable to stop the air waves, and a hostile propaganda is daily going on through the ether. These unhappy Succession States are Siamese Quintuplets shouting in each others' ears the most terrible accusations, and they arm each against the other for the future war which all regard as inevitable.

No wonder if under such conditions one finds in all these States two widespread types of intellectuals, both utterly incapable of understanding surrounding realities. I had a long conversation with one of the most influential journalists of Roumania, a powerful leader of public opinion. His current of ideas may be regarded as typical of the Fascist intellectuals, though he is more brilliant than the average, a kind of Balkanised edition of Maurice Barrès. He gave me a long lecture in his palatial editorial office on the present difficulties of his country: Parliamentarianism is finished (as a



matter of fact they never had it !), the authoritarian State under the leadership of the new élite is inevitable, but nobody knows from where it should come, and how it will be able to get into power. As an aristocrat he despises not only the masses, but the *jeunesse dorée* between 18 and 30, too. "They have no ideas, no culture, they are only interested in sport and radio." But he also despises the peasants : "We must get rid of the peasant myth. . . . The peasants are lazy fellows. They work only sixty days a year." He is an enthusiastic admirer of Pareto, but he also has much sympathy for Keyserling and George Sorel. "One of the most urgent needs of the present situation would be a metaphysical lexicon," he thinks. "Europe can get peace only through the new élite." On the other hand, however, war cannot come without the new élite. Unfortunately, Hitler and Mussolini are not yet the real élite. Another danger : girls are nowadays as bad as boys. Love is nothing but the lowest physiological function. The interest in politics has ceased, because the cinema actors have become national heroes. "Only a dictatorship could cure all these evils, but the Roumanian people is not mystic enough to get one. They are pagans with a superficial stratum of orthodoxy. M. Titulescu is the only man of a dictatorial calibre, but unfortunately he does not want dictatorship. So the whole situation is deadlocked."

This formidable personality conducted a vast inquiry in his paper under the title "What to do with the Foreigners?" For weeks he published violent manifestations against Magyars, Jews and Germans. On the other side of the frontier the most-read Hungarian newspaper announced a prize for the best irredentist poem. The fruit of this literary harvest was published under the title "One Hundred Torches," and described the new rulers of the former Magyar territories as intruders or robbers. At the same time official textbooks abound which foment the same ideology, inciting to war. I will quote only one passage of a poem in which a Hungarian is quoted, who became a citizen of one of the new countries :—

"I shall be a borer in the alien tree,  
I shall be the dregs of the emptied goblet  
I shall be the poison in the alien blood  
Miasma, fever, insidiously biting vermin,  
But this remains my home."

No wonder if in such an over-heated atmosphere of national hatred there is no room for mutual understanding, for a liberal discussion of mutual problems. In the same city, the various nationality

groups live in as complete separation from each other as in the Middle Ages. There is some inevitable *commercium*, but practically no *connubium* between them. And there is no reciprocity in the esteem of their respective historic values. Not only the present, but also the past alienates them, without any hope of a synthesis between their cultural heritages, and this is perhaps as great a danger for the future as their present antagonism in economic and social interests. When, immediately after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, Czech legionaries destroyed the beautiful monument of Empress Maria Theresa<sup>2</sup> which stood in the flourishing town of Bratislava (a masterpiece of the great Hungarian sculptor, John Fadrusz) one could, if not excuse, at least understand this outburst of warlike barbarism. The world was still too near to the slaughter, and the monument represented, in the minds of Czechoslovak patriots, a hated foreign domination. But what happened a few weeks ago in a small Roumanian town (formerly a frontier town of Magyarism) would be entirely incomprehensible for western people who do not know the bloody history of the past, and the present continuation of racial struggles. In the market place of this town there stood, in the Hungarian period, a statue of Francis Kölcsey, one of the noblest and kindest of the Hungarian Liberals of the early 19th century, a man who, in his philosophic solitude, was even during his lifetime regarded as almost a saint. When the Roumanians came to power, the monument was surrounded by dense shrubs, trees, and a fence, in order not to arouse hostility. Last spring, on visiting the monument, I was scarcely able to see its contours. But not even this artificial seclusion was left undisturbed. A few weeks ago a friend of mine notified me that "unknown persons have cut off the head of the venerable figure, and afterwards, the authorities demolished the whole monument." I cannot find a more tragic symbol of this distracted state of mind in which people of the frontiers are living.

Scarcely more clear-headed is the other Danubian intellectual type: the Bolshevik intellectual. The Marxian ideology destroyed

<sup>2</sup> Here Dr. Jászi is wrong. So far from the monument being destroyed immediately after the collapse, it remained untouched for the first two years, and was specially protected against possible jingo outrage by orders of Mr. Dušan Jurkovič, the well-known Slovak architect, who was then "Referent for Art" in the provisional Slovak administration at Bratislava. It was actually destroyed by Czech and Slovak legionaries on the night in 1921 when news of the Emperor Charles's arrival in Hungary reached Bratislava; in other words, it was a crude but comprehensible answer to Habsburg restoration and Hungarian revision—carried out at a moment of white-heat excitement. It is, however, true that many pre-war Hungarian monuments in the Succession States have been destroyed without excuse or provocation.—ED.

in his mind all the prestige of the West. The Balkans have nothing to learn from England and France, and the other "decadent" countries, as the sun is already shining in the East. All Soviet information is accepted at its face value, and is commented upon as a glorious sign of the approaching world revolution. A more dangerous variety of this type is the Bolshevik-Lucifer. He was an ardent idealist in his youth, until life and misery corrupted him with all the vices of capitalistic society. He became an unscrupulous business man, like most around him, yet his grafts or bribes are now justified because he will destroy and undermine the rotten "capitalistic civilisation," and pave the road to emancipation and moral purity. .

#### IV

Besides these economic, national, and social difficulties, the victorious group of the new States : Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Jugoslavia, have other troubles, which I would call *regional*. By this I mean radical divergencies in the ranks of the ruling national group due to their different historic traditions and patterns of culture. This is the antagonism between Czechs, Slovaks, and Ruthenes in Czechoslovakia ; between the old Regat, and Transylvania, the Banat, and Bessarabia in Roumania, and between Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Jugoslavia. The Slovaks, who have lived for a thousand years in the feudal and clerical atmosphere of the Magyar domination, have difficulties in accommodating themselves to the highly industrialised, rationalistic Czechs. This antagonism has led to a movement for Slovak autonomy, which was, however, compromised in the eyes of the Czechs by the fact that Slovak autonomy became also a shibboleth of Magyar irredentism, having had underground connections with some of the leaders of the Slovak movement. The "Blood Alliance" of Professor Tuka, of a Fascist character, was rigorously suppressed, and led to the most sensational political trial of the new Republic. Mr. Tuka is still in prison, and the severity of his sentence is resented even by more advanced Czech opinion. The cause of Slovak autonomy can now be regarded as deadlocked owing to the fact that there is no real popular movement behind it. (Sometimes enthusiastic, but illiterate Slovak peasants cheer in public gatherings for "the Slovak automobile," meaning Slovak autonomy!) The Ruthenes of Carpathian Ruthenia, the former outcasts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, are more fortunate, having obtained the promise of national autonomy by a stipulation in the Peace Treaty. It will be a very hard task to fill

this constitutional scheme with real life, because this population is most backward, and surrounded by a very advanced Magyar and a shrewd Jewish minority. Furthermore, the newly "liberated" nation has as yet no language, for there are three contending dialects : the Russian, the Ukrainian, and the Carpatho-Russian, which signify at the same time antagonistic cultural and historical affinities. Therefore, when Dr. Beneš gave to the province the present of national autonomy, he admonished the happy autonomists not to flirt with their Russian or Ukrainian brothers, because otherwise irredentism would be strenuously suppressed.

In Roumania, regional differences are also a cause of serious trouble. Transylvania, and the Banat, the former Hungarian part, and Bukovina, the former Austrian part, feel themselves superior to the "Regat," the old Roumanian kingdom. They represent a higher standard of culture, and had before the War a better administration. Now these provinces are flooded by Byzantine corruption, the old spirit of the *Phanariots* (the Greek officials of the Porte) who regarded administration only as a tax-gathering business, and for personal gain. And though the younger generation resents very much these atavistic currents, until now it has been unable to check them, especially in a time when living on the State has become almost the only job. In no Danubian country is corruption so oppressive as in Roumania, and the *bakshish* system (taking tips for public service) is almost general. Furthermore, economic nationalism has produced (especially on the Czechoslovak border) a terrific smuggling organisation. There are people who believe that the greater part of the imports from Czechoslovakia runs through illegal channels. An international racket of Jews, gendarmes, and customs officers corrupts vast strata of the public administration. Regionalism, however, has not assumed a constitutional importance in Roumania for two reasons. First, there was no developed Roumanian culture or regional consciousness in Transylvania owing to the severe Magyar centralisation and forcible assimilation. Second, in Bessarabia, the dangerous Russian irredentist propaganda has been stopped since Russia abandoned the idea of an immediate world-revolution, and made close contacts with France and the Little Entente.

As a matter of fact, Roumania's chief difficulties are not of a regional, but of a constitutional, character : the conflict between the more independent elements of the Parliament, and the so-called Camarilla supporting the extra-legal influence of the mistress of the King, Madame Lupescu. ("The lady is not significant in herself,"

an old journalist connected with the court told me, "but the politicians have made of her a Pompadour.") Her domination is strongly resented by public opinion, and the leader of the Opposition, Dr. Maniu, the most respected man of present-day Roumania, has made a constitutional issue of the Camarilla, whereas the King regards it as his purely personal affair, outside the control of the parliamentarians. The King is, in all other matters, extremely brilliant and clear-sighted. I was surprised by the elasticity and keen penetration with which he discussed the social and political problems of the country. This duel between the King and Maniu, arising from such an apparently minor issue, may become the most momentous affair in modern Roumanian history, because it is ultimately the struggle between two principles. When another former Premier, Dr. Vaida-Voevod, now a supporter of the Camarilla, reproached Dr. Maniu for having accepted, in the old Habsburg period, the help of another Camarilla, and of another kingly mistress, Maniu replied: "Well, I did; but the former Monarchy was not my Fatherland, and I did not care for the moral purity of that ramshackle Empire."

The most acute and dangerous regional problems are those of Yugoslavia. Until now, no real compromise has been found between the western Croats and Slovenes, and the eastern Serbs. Croatia was successful under the Hungarian rule in building up a kingdom of its own with a strong national culture and tradition. At the same time the Slovenes, under the Habsburg rule, became the most advanced branch of the Southern Slav family, with a wonderful popular culture which exterminated illiteracy completely. These two groups of western, Roman Catholic civilisation, based on a strong capitalistic structure, and a proud, intelligent and co-operative peasantry, resent the Serb domination in the new State, which is based on a far more backward economic life, on a lower level of popular culture, very warlike in its character (after many centuries of bloody struggle with the Turks) and Byzantine in its religion and outlook. I scarcely err when I think that this antagonism between the western Roman and eastern Byzantine civilisation is the deepest source of the present conflict which menaces the very existence of the State, full of youthful energy, and inhabited by the most democratically-minded population of the Danube basin. The extreme centralisation of Belgrade, the so-called Yugoslav Idea, is felt by the western part of the population as simply a compulsory Serbisation, and the brutal undermining of their age-old and traditional values by the Byzantine conception of life. This Byzantine conception of life is difficult to define in a few sentences. It would be a worthy

object of a longer study. To state it briefly, I would say that it is the belief in violence, the repudiation of the *Rechtstaat*, i.e., the self-limiting constitution of the State, the glorification of the army, the utterly Machiavellian conception of foreign policy, and the strongest alliance between the State and the Church. The Church, though without a genuine religious base, is a powerful backbone of the State. It is intimately connected with the people through the clergy who mingle with the peasants, and by a long chain of superstitious traditions. No idea of a religion above the State and the king permeates the moral atmosphere of the country, as in the Catholic or Protestant world. One of the highest ecclesiastical dignitaries fought during the World War as a leader of *Komitadži* (an irregular military band). Another high prelate as an army chaplain executed during the war, with his own hands, before going to mass, half a dozen *franc-tireurs*. Furthermore, the centralised Belgrade administration is felt by the more advanced, and, therefore, far richer, western provinces as an economic exploitation for the benefit of the Serb warriors and bureaucrats. This growing tension was the reason why King Alexander, in spite of the deep democratic tendencies of his people and his dynasty, was compelled to live more and more in the style of a tyrant. He abandoned the former patriarchal palace of the Serb kings in the heart of Belgrade, and built a castle outside the city on the top of a hill, surrounded by the barracks of his best divisions. The tragic event in Marseilles was an explosion of this general discontent with the central government, unscrupulously fostered by the Italian dictatorship and by Hungarian feudalism. It would, however, be perfectly erroneous to regard the unifying Yugoslav idea as purely artificial or imposed by the autocratic inclinations of the dead King, as many superficial observers do. On the contrary, it cannot be doubted that it corresponds to very deep necessities, both economic and cultural, similar to those which led to German and Italian unification. It is also certain that many of the intellectual leaders feel themselves as true Yugoslavs. So the greatest living sculptor of the country (perhaps of all Europe), Ivan Meštrović, expressed to me, without hesitation, his sympathy for Yugoslavia and his aversion against particularism. The only difference between the late King and most of the cultural leaders of the nation was that they felt his methods to be too hasty and artificial.

## V

The two vanquished States, Austria and Hungary, have no regional problems, as each has become an almost united national

territory. However, another set of complications makes their situation far more precarious. These are their unsolved social conflicts, which are accentuated by the general poverty of those dismembered countries.

In Hungary, the conditions of the vast agricultural proletariat, more than half of the population, are disastrous, and find no analogy in other countries of Europe. They give a *facies hippocratica* to the country in the light of Russian experience. Only by an exclusion of the vast majority of the people from the suffrage, and by tampering with the elections if necessary, can this situation be maintained. Another means of conserving the rule of the *latifundia* and usurious capitalism is a kind of narcotic: the extreme nationalistic and revisionist propaganda, which reduces all the evils of the country to the Treaty of Trianon (which, as matter of fact, is cruel and unjust), and proclaimed as the only remedy the restoration of the ancient frontiers of the Crown of St. Stephen.

In Austria, the brutal crushing of the proletariat, and the establishment of a clerico-Fascist State cannot give a stable equilibrium. It is clear that without the participation of the workers (practically one-half the population), Austria will remain an artificial construction (with or without the Habsburgs) which will be upset by the Nazis the very moment the balance of power changes. The only possible resistance to the Nazis would have been that Austrian Social Democracy which Dollfuss annihilated under the double pressure of Mussolini and the Austrian Fascists. The only man among the new rulers who fully realises the gravity of the situation is the new vice-mayor of the City of Vienna, Dr. E. K. Winter, a solitary man, and a noted Platonic scholar. Though he never belonged to the clerical party, and had strong sympathies with the Socialists, Chancellor Dollfuss called him to the City of Vienna in order to bridge the chasm between the new State and the workers. Dr. Winter led a pathetic fight with articles, public speeches and evening debates in an effort to convince the proletariat that in the new State it could find a decent place for co-operation in a spirit of democratic Catholicism. But can this be done in a system where no free trade unions, or co-operatives exist, where the representatives of the so-called *Stände* are simply puppets of the government? When the papers printed with big headlines *Die Wiener Bürgerschaft ernannt* (government nominations to the new guild for middle-class citizens), the good people of Vienna joked: *They will ultimately nominate the people!* There is no deeper criticism of the lies of the Fascist system than this, and that is the reason why the well-intentioned efforts of Dr. Winter

have remained totally unsuccessful. He is equally suspected by the Socialists and by the Fascists. The workers used his debates for revolutionary propaganda, and on one occasion the police intervened brutally, and cudgelled not only the workers, but ("by mistake") the mayor himself. In this way the only constructive statesman of the new Austria was obliged to leave Vienna, and to undertake a lecture trip in Switzerland. The Fascists continue unhindered their "corporative" play under the protection of Mussolini. However, von Papen is in Vienna, and the influence of the Nazis is continuously growing. The Nazi victory in the Saar will inevitably give the movement a still stronger impetus. Austrian Fascism realises this danger very clearly, and the Habsburg restoration is again an often heard catchword. In the lack of a genuine Austrian patriotism, it would be—though transitory—the only remaining source of prestige and moral unity. The artificial, and sometimes comical, efforts to create a new Heimwehr patriotism have failed completely. Walking one fine spring day in a fashionable district of Vienna, we observed that certain parts of it were surrounded by military and police forces. We asked a nice-looking young officer about the meaning of these measures. "We shall have, at eleven o'clock," he answered, "a spontaneous patriotic demonstration at this place." It is evident that by such means no popular enthusiasm can be fostered, whereas the old Habsburg aureole, at least amid the traditional and bigoted peasantry, could create, for a time, loyal cohesion. Under the given circumstances, it is not improbable that the idea of the Habsburg restoration will gain favour, not only with the Pope and Mussolini, for whom it would mean a strengthened Italian and Catholic hegemony in the Danube basin, but also with the French diplomats. However, its materialisation would not be so easy, because the Little Entente would strongly resent it. Hungary also would strenuously oppose it, because her present dictators would lose their domination. So poor young Otto, nice and well intentioned as he is, will have, with his shrewd mother, a difficult game to play. A year or so ago, manifestly under the influence of his clever Jesuit educators, the youthful pretender declared that he was an ardent supporter of a constitutional regime of the English type. History, however, is running fast in these times. Austria turned Fascist under the protectorate of Mussolini. As a consequence, some weeks ago, Archduke Otto made another declaration in a Paris paper to the effect that he is a great admirer of the Corporative State. But his new declaration was no more fortunate. His supporters in Hungary became alarmed. They will not abdicate their "thousand years old



constitution," by which is meant the sham parliamentarianism of the *latifundia*. One of the royalists ran immediately to Otto, asking him for the revocation of his terrible statement. "The legitimate successor to the throne" did not hesitate, and issued a new declaration according to which he approved the Corporative State for Austria only, whereas in Hungary, he would rule as a "constitutional king." He even added that his ambition is to become "A King of the Poor." And as two-thirds of the country is lamentably poor, his chances would not be bad, provided that the proletariat and small peasantry would be Habsburgist, and would have a vote. Unfortunately, both conditions are lacking. The masses are without a vote, and are still followers of Louis Kossuth. Besides, they want the dismemberment of the large estates, whose owners are the chief supporters of the Habsburg restoration.

## VI

These are some undercurrents in the Danubian situation. Small rivulets, hidden from the eyes of the fashionable tourist, or the sentimental peacemaker. Yet these rivulets, if not canalised in their course, will surely develop in a few years into mighty rivers which will influence the history of the Danubian countries more decisively than the friendly sentiments expressed by M. Laval and Signor Mussolini and other declarations of peaceful intentions.

OSCAR JÁSZI.

# THE QUESTION OF MINORITIES\*

## I

IN two articles, "The Crisis of Democracy and the Slavonic World" (March, 1931), and "The Problem of Revision and the Slavonic World" (July, 1933), an attempt was made to survey, on very general lines, the two closely interconnected problems of minority rights and treaty revision. It was shown, on the one hand, that the question of minorities directly affected some twenty-five million Europeans, and, therefore, indirectly through the ties of kinship, the greater part of Europe. On the other hand, it was made clear that in the great majority of cases a "clean cut" on the lines of nationality or language is a physical impossibility, and that in whatever way the political frontiers may be drawn, large minorities are bound to remain on the wrong side. Once accept these indisputable facts, and it follows logically that "Revision" affords no final remedy for the minority question, but that until it has been solved (in a manner reassuring alike to the minorities themselves and to their kinsmen belonging to various rival majorities) there can be no real appeasement in Europe.

It was further argued that Europe is confronted by a problem similar to that which faced it during the Wars of Religion in the 16th and 17th centuries, and that the escape from it must follow on similar lines. In those days secular princes were able to impose their own religion upon their subjects (according to the odious principle of *cuius regio, eius religio*), and those who objected were persecuted or exiled *en bloc*: the sufferings of the Bohemian Brethren, the French Huguenots and the Protestants of Salzburg are only three instances out of many. It was not until the 18th century that religious dissent came to be seriously tolerated, or till the 19th century that liberty of conscience and equality for all religions won general acceptance. My generation had, indeed, been brought up to imagine that the battle of religious liberty had been won, and that the State had finally recognised the religious tenets of the individual as immune from State interference. The wholesale persecution of all religions

\* The reader's special attention is drawn to two books—*National States and National Minorities*, by C. A. Macartney (Oxford University Press, 1934), an authoritative handbook on the whole theory and practice of the subject, full of learning and sanity: and *Die Nationalitäten in den Staaten Europas*, edited by Dr. Ewald Ammende for the "Europäische Nationalitäten-Kongress" (Vienna, 1931), and *Ergänzungen*, 1932, which contains a series of elaborate studies of the actual status of individual minorities, with full statistical and other material.

by the Russian Bolshevik State and the recent assaults of militant German Paganism upon Catholics and Protestants alike have shown us that our fathers were unduly optimistic, and that every age must prove itself capable of defending its legacy from the past.

If, then, we are to revert to open warfare between the secular and ecclesiastical powers, the outlook for Europe is, indeed, troubled; and I would still fain believe that the conflict is but a passing phase and that the Christian Church will emerge with a new sense of practical realities, a broader charity and a stronger hold upon abstract values.

In any case, the principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* persists in a camouflaged form in the sphere of nationality. Most of the post-war States claim to be purely national, though in reality they are all in varying degrees multi-national; and with but the rarest exceptions they have failed to enforce those rights which they so solemnly guaranteed to the minorities within their own borders, and only too often expound political doctrines such as endow the State with overriding powers and are, indeed, incompatible with the freedom and very existence of national minorities. That this is no mere assertion will be only too apparent if we compare the obligation assumed in 1918-19 with the actual position in 1935.

## II

It is easy to see that an error of judgment was committed in 1919, when instead of the Conference placing all the Powers concerned—great and small alike—on a footing of absolute equality in respect of minority rights, it imposed obligations on some Powers and left others free as air. And there was this ominous feature about the distinction, that it was the major Powers who were dispensed, and the minor Powers to whom acceptance of a Minority Treaty was made a condition of recognising their new status in Europe. There was, it is true, an admirable precedent for this in those clauses of the Treaty of Berlin which compelled Roumania and Serbia, on attaining independence, to grant religious equality to their Jewish subjects. But in 1878 the questions at issue were, of course, far more circumscribed than in 1919, and there were other clauses imposing upon Turkey on her side definite pledges of religious, linguistic and administrative concessions to her remaining Christian subjects in Europe. That public opinion remembered nothing of this precedent was doubtless due to the fact that Turkey's pledges remained from the very outset a dead letter, and that the Powers never insisted on their fulfilment.

(i) The omission of the Great Powers from any such pledges in 1919 applied in particular to Britain, France, Italy and Germany. Of the first two it is not my purpose to write; but lest this should be misconstrued, I feel bound to add that I personally should favour, and fail to detect the slightest grounds for objecting to, the full and voluntary acceptance of minority obligations on the part of my own country—whether as regards Wales and the Gaelic speaking districts of Scotland or such groups of immigrants as the Irish and Lithuanians in Scotland or the Jews in East London. Nor can I believe that such an obligation on the part of France towards Breton, Provençal and Basque would involve any greater difficulty; for alike in France and Britain no real question of principle is involved, and practice has been uniformly liberal.

(ii) The position of Italy is much more delicate. By the Peace Treaties she acquired, for strategic reasons, two pieces of territory whose racial composition was non-Italian to wellnigh a hundred per cent.—in South Tirol, 192,025 Germans; in “Venezia Giulia,” 351,744 Jugoslavs (258,944 Slovenes, 92,800 Croats). During the first occupation of this territory (November, 1918), the Italian Commander-in-Chief issued a proclamation disclaiming all idea of suppressing other races and languages, and making many promises of special liberties. In his speech from the throne (1 January, 1919), the King of Italy, in the name of “our liberal traditions,” promised to respect “local autonomous institutions and customs.” Finally, in concluding peace with Austria in September, 1919, the Italian Government of that day voluntarily declared its intention of “adopting a far-reaching liberal policy towards its new citizens of German origin, with regard to their language, culture and economic institutions.” In view of this general Italian attitude, it seemed to many unnecessary to press Italy at the Peace Conference for any specific undertaking. It is true that no such promises were ever made to the Jugoslavs of Italy as were made to South Tirol, but by the Treaty of Rapallo, Yugoslavia was obliged to make far-reaching concessions to the microscopic Italian minority in Dalmatia, and in view of the *détente* produced by the Treaty it seemed reasonable to hope that there would be at least some approach towards reciprocity. But since the coming of Fascism there has been a gradual but progressive turning of the screw against the minorities: one liberty after the other has been annulled, until not one trace is now left of the three pledges quoted above. There are only Italian schools; the mother tongue is not even allowed for religious instruction, and is banished from the courts, the administration and all public notices. The

minorities have no press, no right of assembly, no deputies, no societies or clubs, and in the case of the Jugoslavs they are even forced to Italianise their surnames or eschew the Christian names of Slav saints (exactly as their kinsmen in Jugoslavia force the Macedonians to give their names a Serbian form). And the dictator who is, above all, responsible for this change is also the man who has till recently, for his own political ends, been encouraging certain Danubian minorities in demands far less modest than those which he has consistently refused to his own citizens. In this connection it is necessary to say quite bluntly that while it is almost impossible to find a point on any of the numerous disputed frontiers of Europe where a "clean cut" on racial lines could be effected, there is one exception to this general rule, namely, on the Italian border in South Tirol and on the Isonzo.

(iii) In the case of Germany the minority question assumed yet another form. After the revision of her frontiers in favour of France, Belgium, Denmark, Poland and Czechoslovakia, there remained inside the curtailed Reich 896,141 Slavs (over 500,000 of them being classified as bi-lingual)<sup>1</sup> and a negligible number of Lithuanians and Danes; while many millions of Germans by race remained, or became, citizens of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Jugoslavia, Roumania, and the Baltic States. (The case of Austria naturally falls under a special category, as it now forms a *second independent German national State*, in which the combined non-German population forms under two per cent. of the total.) The pill was therefore not still further embittered by imposing unilateral obligations upon Germany, and her sole international commitment in the minority question is the mutual pledge regarding Upper Silesia, which accompanied the settlement of 15 May, 1922.

How vitally interested Germany is in the minority question will best be seen from a bare catalogue of the Germans outside the Reich (in round figures).

3,123,500	in Czechoslovakia.
1,059,000	„ Poland.
713,000	„ Roumania.
591,000	„ Hungary.
366,000	„ Danzig.
201,700	„ Latvia.
199,000	„ Italy.
59,300	„ Memel Territory.

<sup>1</sup> 49,926 plus 31,172 "Mazurians"—a mere dialect of Polish; 62,462 plus 9,967 Wends or Serbs; 10,795 plus 9,983 Czechs.

35,000 „ Denmark.

29,000 „ Lithuania.

18,300 „ Estonia.

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6,394,800<sup>2</sup>

If to these be added the 2,600,000 Germans of Switzerland, the 6,270,000 Germans of Austria, and the very large German population of America, it is clear that a total of twenty million Germans outside the Reich may be regarded as a really conservative estimate. That their fate should not be a matter of indifference to the citizens of the Reich is only right and proper; and that the withholding of full equality from any section of them, still more any attempt to assimilate them, should arouse keen feeling, is equally natural, and is bound to provoke lively reactions, especially under the new Hitlerite dispensation, with its watchword of “*Volksgemeinschaft*” or blood brotherhood. So long as this doctrine remains a recognition of kinship and closest intercourse across artificially created political frontiers, it may be said to correspond to a national right whose denial will in the end spell disaster to those who deny it. In the moment when it becomes a claim to unite all the members of the race in a single political community, it would threaten Europe with chaos and conflict, because it would cut at the very roots of at least three independent States—Switzerland, Austria, and Czechoslovakia—and would provoke internal conflicts in four or five others. It must at once be added that the post-war tendency of most of the new States to claim for themselves the character of *national States* is no less exaggerated in the other direction, and, indeed, constitutes an open challenge, in conflict with the patent facts of the present situation. For while in most cases the “Will to the State,” to use a German expression, lies with some single majority race, that in no way confers upon it any right to restrict the inalienable rights of minorities of other races, whatever their proportion to the total population may be; and it is only when these minorities are out of all danger of assimilation or of reduction to an inferior rank, that the foundations of inter-racial and, therefore, inter-State, peace in Europe can be fully assured.

It is because those who drafted the Peace Treaties realised the utter impossibility of attaining exact ethnographic frontiers, that they insisted upon the expedient—some may call it a mere *pis-aller*—

<sup>2</sup> Russia is omitted from this summary, because the once flourishing German settlements on the Volga and in the Caucasus would appear to have been virtually wiped out by a blend of famine and Marxist policy.

of Minority Treaties, whose signature by each individual State, was made a condition of European recognition of its new status. The elaborate series of guarantees thus established fall into two main categories. On the one hand, the four defeated States were obliged to undertake specific obligations towards such minorities as still remained on their territory—Austria by Articles 62–9 of the Treaty of St. Germain (10 September, 1919), Bulgaria by Articles 49–57 of the Treaty of Neuilly (27 November, 1919), Hungary by Articles 54–60 of the Treaty of Trianon (4 June, 1920), and Turkey by Articles 37–45 of the Treaty of Lausanne (24 July, 1923, the provisions of the original Treaty of Sèvres having never been ratified, and finally overthrown by the Turco-Greek War). On the other hand, the new States were asked to undertake corresponding pledges of minority rights, as their contribution to the new order in Europe. But in every case the settlement necessarily varied according to local circumstances.

(1) Czechoslovakia—the most consistently democratic of the new States and, indeed, the only one of all those with which we have to deal, where free institutions still survive in June, 1935—forestalled criticism by intimating its intention of establishing Swiss constitutional principles: and it raised no difficulty whatsoever to signing a special Minority Treaty simultaneously with that of St. Germain on 10 September, 1919, embodying also what amounts to a special charter of autonomy for “Carpathian Ruthenia” (not yet fully implemented). These various provisions were supplemented by special regulations for minority protection, as an integral part of the Czechoslovak Constitution of 29 February, 1920.

(2) Yugoslavia (then known as the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes) vigorously resisted the Conference’s demand that her minority obligations should apply to her whole territory, and not merely to that acquired in the Great War. The point at issue was, of course, the vexed question of Macedonia. In the end the Powers imposed their view, and the Yugoslavs escaped from the dilemma by stubbornly insisting that the “Macedonians,” being Serbs, are not a minority at all and are therefore not affected by the Minority Treaty.

(3) Roumania resisted still more strongly, but this was in large part due to Ionel Brătianu’s personal policy at Paris and his not ungrounded indignation at the Conference’s treatment of Roumania (her enforced submission to Germany in May, 1918, was treated as absolving the Allies from all their treaty obligations towards her, and she was not even allowed the same representation as Serbia or

Belgium). The dispute culminated in an open rupture, all the more deplorable because events had assigned to the Roumanians the task of overthrowing the Bolshevik regime in Hungary, and left them in occupation of Budapest. In the end Roumania refused to take part in the Austrian peace negotiations, and the dispute was only settled after a prolonged political crisis at home and the advent of a new Cabinet under the Transylvanian leader, Dr. Vaida. The Minority Treaty was then signed on 9 December, 1919.

(4) The Greek Minority Treaty was necessarily delayed and modified as a result of the Turco-Greek War and the wholesale exchange of populations, which profoundly altered the relative position of the various races.

(5) Poland, after some initial demurring and considerable redrafting to meet her objections, was the first of all the new Powers to sign a Minority Treaty, on 28 June, 1919, and did so freely and without reserve. It is important to note that the Poles had meanwhile, in May, invaded and conquered Eastern Galicia, thus presenting the Conference with a *fait accompli* which has never been reversed. Poland remained in occupation of Eastern Galicia till 15 March, 1923, when in return for recognition of the new situation by the Conference, she explicitly recognised that "the ethnographical conditions necessitate an autonomous regime": but from that day to this no such regime has been established. A further increase in the number of her minorities followed when Poland forcibly seized the town and district of Vilna and succeeded in retaining it in open defiance of the Powers and the League. Since the abolition of Polish political liberties by Marshal Pilsudski, the status of the minorities has become increasingly unfavourable. Finally, on 13 September, 1934, the Polish Foreign Minister, Colonel Beck, notified the Assembly of the League of Nations that Poland henceforward would no longer recognise any international supervision in matters of minority protection—thereby, as Sir John Simon and M. Barthou reminded the Assembly, infringing Article 93 of the Treaty of Versailles and trying to escape from its obligations by unilateral action.

(6) Albania, on 2 October, 1921, before her admission to the League, signed a declaration (not a treaty), in favour of minority rights, based on the Polish model.

(7) Finland, Estonia and Latvia had already of their own free will granted minority charters to their respective minorities, and in varying ways their attitude was accepted by the League.

(8) Lithuania falls under a category of its own. Having been robbed of Vilna by a Polish raid in open defiance of the League,



Lithuania carried out a raid of the same illegal character against Memel in January, 1923; and in May, 1924, a Convention assigned to the Memelland a special autonomous status under Lithuanian sovereignty. The provisions of this convention have been violated at every turn, and Lithuania is today in open conflict with Germany, owing to her treatment of her German subjects.

(9) A special status was prescribed for the minorities in the Free State of Danzig.

(10) The policy of the Soviet Union towards its minorities falls into an entirely different category and deserves much more attention than it has hitherto received. Speaking broadly, the U.S.S.R. is correctly described by Mr. Macartney as an "un-national State,"<sup>3</sup> and it has been as liberal and enlightened in its treatment of racial minorities as it is dogmatic and intolerant in the social and political spheres. Russification has been abandoned, the Ukrainians, White Russians, Georgians and Armenians enjoy the use of their own languages, and many minor nationalities, such as the Tartars, Uzbeks, Turcomans, Ossetes, etc., have their own schools for the first time. There are, of course, no concessions to religious minorities, because all religions are proscribed with equal intolerance.

(11) For our present purpose it is unnecessary to specify the various conventions between individual States (e.g., between Czechoslovakia and Austria on 7 June, 1920), based on reciprocity in minority rights.

### III

It can hardly be denied that the existence of all these elaborate treaties and conventions under the guarantee of the League of Nations is a new and hopeful factor in international relations which, in the end, should make for appeasement, by providing machinery for peaceful compromise. But it is unhappily true that (1) the exaggerated insistence by almost all States upon the principle of absolute State sovereignty, (2) the tendency of multi-national States to pose as purely national, and (3) the resentment due to the inequality of obligation between the greater and lesser States, have blocked the efficacy of the League in this vital question. Procedure has been too slow, publicity has been lacking, and two proposals of the first importance—for a permanent Minorities Committee on the lines of the Mandates Commission, and for the appointment of resident agents of the League in the disputed areas—have hitherto been defeated. There is a vicious circle, for a satisfactory reform of

<sup>3</sup> *National States and National Minorities*, chapter xii.

minority procedure seems difficult of attainment in the present unsettled condition of Europe, yet these unsolved minority problems are one of the main causes of unrest.

It is hardly necessary to point out that in the great upheaval following the war the main stress was laid upon racial rather than religious minorities.<sup>4</sup> The position of the Jewish minorities, which was specially safeguarded in the agreements with the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania, and Bulgaria, has always been a hybrid one, and in modern times, above all, economic, though, of course, the great strength of the Hebraic religious tradition and the long centuries of segregation have given it its own special form. Since 1932 the Jewish problem has assumed a more acute form than ever before in Europe and is, indeed, in a fair way to becoming the test case of European civilisation: for we are no longer faced merely by sporadic outbursts such as occurred in Tsarist Russia against a backward and overgrown population whose competition was keenly felt and which served as a convenient scapegoat. What confronts us today in Germany is a systematic policy of moral extermination directed against a whole race, and directed with special savagery against its most cultured and intellectual sections. Hitherto the application of a *numerus clausus* to the Jews—a highly contentious and to my mind objectionable policy, but one for which real arguments can be adduced in certain circumstances<sup>5</sup>—has been the most extreme course adopted; today war is declared against the whole Jewish race, and inside Germany (*i.e.*, as far as totalitarian jurisdiction reaches) there is to be insulation, or in plain words, a new kind of sterilisation. The chief exponents of this policy are intellectually speaking “gunmen”: their theories of race are the laughing stock of the entire world of scholars and can only be upheld in a “totalitarian” atmosphere where academic freedom has been abolished.

It will thus be seen that quite apart from any consequences to the Jews themselves, the Nazi persecution (I deliberately do not write the *German* persecution) of the Jews constitutes a problem which the rest of the world cannot dismiss as something which does not concern it or which we may treat as the Levite, and not as the Samaritan, treated the bandits' victim. On the contrary, this movement concerns us all intimately, for to its leaders, with their

<sup>4</sup> The status of the Moslem minorities in Jugoslavia, Bulgaria and Greece received special attention.

<sup>5</sup> This is the more obvious today at a moment when many countries find themselves saddled with educational over-production and an “intellectual proletariat” for which enough posts cannot be found.

militant and exclusive racialism, the Jews are only the first target. Beyond the Jews, they deliberately aim at the basic ideas of Christianity and, therefore, of our whole Western civilisation. In the words of *The Times* (10 June, 1935), the neo-pagan movement, "alike in its anti-religious teaching and in its repression of freedom, is a cause of profound concern and abhorrence to those in every country who cherish freedom of worship and freedom of speech."

#### IV

With this factor in our minds let us consider for one moment the alternative policies which face Germany in the minority question. With the one—active interest in the fate of all Germans and active support to any German minority whose existence is threatened—we do not hesitate to express open sympathy: and it is for this reason that the *Slavonic Review* intends in the near future to publish a series of articles dealing in detail with the status of the German minorities.<sup>6</sup> With the other—the claim to include all Germans within the boundaries of a single Reich—there can be no compromise, not only because it would in the first place overthrow more than one State whose survival is in the general European interest, and because this could scarcely be achieved save through a general war, but also because its full realisation (owing to the impossibility of making a "clean cut" on racial lines, which we have so often stressed) would involve the inclusion within the Reich of many millions of non-Germans. Among the many conflicting views put forward by Herr Hitler, none are in more need of elucidation than his statements upon racial expansion.

In his great speech of 21 May, 1934, he declared "The teaching (of the National Socialist Party) dogmatically rejects the idea of a national assimilation. The bourgeois belief in a possible 'Germanisation' is thus refuted. It is neither our wish nor our intention to rob foreign groups (Volksteilen) of their Volkstum, language, or culture, in order to force an alien German one upon them in return. We give no order for the Germanisation of non-German names.<sup>7</sup> On the contrary, we do not desire it. Hence our racial (volklich) teaching sees in every war for the subjection and domination of a foreign people an action which sooner or later works an inward change

<sup>6</sup> In the meanwhile we specially commend a short article entitled "Germans on the Danube," which appeared in *The Times* of 29 May, 1935.

<sup>7</sup> This would appear to be a double hit at Italy and Hungary, where the Italianisation and Magyarisation of surnames and even Christian names has become a political mania.

in the victor and weakens him, thus eventually making of him the vanquished."

In direct conflict with these views stand certain passages from the unexpurgated edition of *Mein Kampf* which, some simple-minded Englishmen would have us believe, has been discarded since its author attained to supreme and responsible (or irresponsible) office, but which continues to circulate by thousands of copies throughout Germany, is commended as a present to couples intending marriage, and must be a source of considerable revenue to the Chancellor.<sup>8</sup>

(1) "Only a sufficiently large space upon this earth assures to a people freedom of existence" (p. 728).

(2) "Land (*Grund und Boden*) as the aim of our foreign policy" (p. 736).

(3) "State frontiers are made by men and altered by men" (p. 740).

(4) "The right to land (*Grund und Boden*) may become a duty, when without extension of territory (*Bodenerweiterung*) a great nation seems doomed to downfall. . . . Germany will either be a world-power or it will cease to be . . ." (pp. 741-2).

(5) "We National Socialists consciously draw a line under the foreign political tendency of our pre-war days. We begin again where we ended six centuries ago. We put a stop to the eternal German wandering towards South and West Europe and direct our looks to the land in the East. We close finally the colonial and commercial pre-war policy and go over to the land policy of the future. But if we today in Europe again talk of land (*Grund und Boden*) we can in the first instance think only of Russia and the border States subject to her" (p. 742).

(6) "The mission of the National Socialist movement is to bring our own people to see that its future aim is not to be realised in the intoxicating impression of a new Alexander campaign, but in the busy work of the German plough, for which the sword has only to give the land" (p. 743).

(7) "Only then will that foreign policy be recognised as right when in a century from now 250 million Germans will live on this Continent" (p. 767).

Let us pursue the comparison a little further. In his speech of 21 May he also said:—"The blood shed on the European Continent since 300 years is out of all relation to the racial result of events. In the end France has remained France, Germany Germany, Poland Poland, Italy Italy. What dynastic egotism, political passion and patriotic blindness have attained . . . through streams of blood, has nationally speaking only scratched the surface of the peoples,

<sup>8</sup> In 1923 it had already reached twenty-three editions, of 1,040,000 copies, at a price of 7 mk. 50.

but in essence scarcely altered their fundamental boundaries." What are we to say of Herr Hitler's history? Poland, far from remaining Poland, was for exactly half the period in question ground under the heel of three powerful despotisms and subjected to systematic Russification and *Prussification*, which in the end failed, but for a time endangered the nation and utterly stifled its growth. But if we go further back we find that in the 10th century all the land east of the rivers Saale and Elbe—in other words, what we know as Saxony, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Pomerania and East Prussia—was purely Slav, and that between the 11th and 14th centuries the Slavs were driven eastwards or completely assimilated. This vast process of Germanisation is the most successful colonial experiment of its kind in all history, for it was conducted not against savages or nomads, but against peoples in those days little, if at all, inferior to the Germans themselves. No one who has studied its details can regard as anything save an ignorant myth the very common assumption that the Germans are incapable of colonisation. And it is this successful experiment which a certain party in Germany desires to repeat in the 20th century at the expense of the still surviving Slav nations.

The doctrines proclaimed in *Mein Kampf* can admittedly only be carried into effect at the expense of Poland or of Ukraine, for the Baltic States have but little to offer and it is to be presumed that Herr Hitler will in all cases avoid Western Russia, where the Jewish Pale is situated! Does Herr Hitler's latest pronouncement, following upon the conclusion of a ten years' rapprochement with Poland, mean that he has finally renounced the doctrine of racial assimilation or displacement by which alone sufficient new soil for settlement on the grand scale can be obtained? Or does it mean that he has transferred his designs of expansion farther to the east and hopes, in aggressive alliance with Poland, to achieve the triple object of overthrowing Bolshevism, partitioning Russia and annexing large areas of the "Black Earth"? No answer can be attempted to this question, but it cannot be left unstated in any general article, for the simple reason that the Ukrainian problem is much the largest unsolved minority problem in Europe today, and both in its Russian and its Polish aspect is actually farther from settlement than it was in 1914. Meanwhile there is a certain piquancy in the entente between Poland and Germany—on the one hand, the State which has most to lose by revision, which has the largest minorities, and which has been the first openly to repudiate its obligations towards them, and on the other, the State which has a greater number of

co-nationals outside its own borders than any other European country, and whose demand for "Treaty Revision" can in the very nature of things only be satisfied at the expense of Poland.

## V

The Minority Question, so complex, so interwoven with every fibre of European life, has many aspects which are not raised in this article, which is merely intended as an introduction to a series of detailed studies on individual minorities and their mutual relations. No one who has given any thought to the question can be surprised that after fifteen years of the imperfect functioning of minority protection most of the peoples affected should still be full of unrest, and their kinsmen beyond the frontiers swayed by anxiety and full of propagandist zeal, while only too many of the governments upon whom the solution rests are content to play the part of the ostrich, or worse still, to evade fulfilment of their obligations by inciting chauvinist opinion at home and then pleading inability to act in the face of it. This unrest can only be fully allayed by a genuine enforcement of the Minority Treaties and their amplification in certain directions. But what is really needed is to give universal recognition to the fact—for fact it is—that a man's "nationality" is not identical with his "citizenship," but is something compounded of race, language, tradition and innermost feeling—something physiological and sacred, which should be as inviolable as his religion. "If this view could once win general acceptance"—so I argued in 1931, and it is still more valid today, though its prospects of fulfilment may have diminished—"the frontiers would speedily lose much of their political significance, revision would fall into the background, cultural intercourse across the frontiers could be extended, and the path would be laid for that removal, or at least reduction, of economic barriers which must be the final goal." It was in this sense that I understood the reference of Mr. Titulescu, the Roumanian Foreign Minister, when in an eloquent speech at Geneva in December, 1934, he advocated the "spiritualisation of frontiers." If the phrase was received sarcastically in some quarters, in view of the widespread contrasts between theory and practice, it none the less remains the goal towards which men of good will must press on.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

## COLLECTIVISATION IN PRACTICE

ABOUT a hundred years ago, from 1810 to 1847, the Russia of Alexander I and Nicholas I carried out an experiment of transplanting State-owned peasants on to so-called military settlements. Model villages were built, planned with the aid of a ruler; peasants worked in the fields in squads under the command of officers and non-commissioned officers; medical dispensaries were set up in the settlements—a novelty unheard of in those days; and common cottages were built which, when we read of them now, remind us so strangely and closely of present-day *kolhoz* clubs in Soviet Russia. The imperial Utopia which had arisen on the soil of the Holy Alliance, from the undertaking to support world counter-revolution, and also from fear of one's own subjects, swallowed money and lives as the maelstrom swallows ships. The British Government, terrified at the spectre of a country inhabited by vast millions being reconstructed on a military model, tilling land and being drilled under the command of those very officers who had just marched triumphantly from Moscow to Paris, demanded from its representatives in St. Petersburg most accurate and detailed reports on the progress of what we should now call militarised collectivisation. The British representatives reported disturbing things: another few years, they said, and Russia would be covered with military settlements, she would possess an agriculture organised as nowhere else in the world, and a number of effectives which no country in the world dares even to dream of. Europe felt perturbed.

So did also the Russian Imperial Government. Military settlements, which had seemed so obvious from the point of view of the counter-revolutionary Utopia, turned out to be much more intricate when it came to the planting of that Utopia on the real, non-Utopian soil. Millions of roubles were spent on them. Any resistance on the part of the peasantry was ruthlessly suppressed. Emperor Alexander I wrote: "The military settlements will come to be, even though it be necessary to lay with corpses the road from Petersburg to Chudovo." The road to military settlements was, indeed, laid with corpses, but this did not make it more passable. After thirty-seven years of experimenting, the military settlements were abolished.

Historical parallels are a tempting thing. Apparently at the root of this particular parallel must be laid that hypertrophy of State power in Russia which, being the outcome of her peculiar geographical conditions, had placed the Russian people on the watch at the great gate from Asia to Europe. Hence, a hundred

years ago military settlements were set up in the name of world counter-revolution; today, collective farms are set up in the name of world revolution. Both plans were quite obvious from the theoretical point of view, both aroused close attention on the part of all thinking Europeans, and both, in their practical substance, were an attempt to subordinate, firstly, all the interests of the peasantry to those of the State, and secondly, all the economic life of the peasants to State regimentation.

During those hundred years the scale has changed. The expenses and human sacrifices involved by military settlements cannot be compared with those involved by collectivisation. But the results are more or less the same. Instead of a revolution in agriculture, there is no stop to famine in the country; instead of the strengthening of military power, the regular army has to face a rear turned against the Government and, therefore, against itself. Collectivisation, just as the military settlements, has gone contrary to the aims for the sake of which it was undertaken—and therein lies the impossibility of its lasting existence. The first military settlements lasted for something like forty years. Collective farms, in their present form, have been in existence for six years.

Military settlements were the whim of a Tsarist Utopia. Collectivisation is the inevitable outcome of the Communist Utopia.

However we may estimate the moral and other qualities of the present-day Soviet Government, we must admit that it consists of men deeply devoted to their idea. This idea is the happiness of mankind through the proletarian revolution and a classless society. What can victims, scores of millions of victims, matter if thereby the final and irrevocable human happiness on earth is to be attained? Those who believe are always ready to sacrifice their life for the sake of their idea. But they are still more ready to sacrifice, for their ideal, the lives of other people. The top layer of the Soviet Government consists of people who believe in their idea.

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The last years of the New Economic Policy created in the country a paradoxical and, in fact, intolerable situation. The Government relaxed the iron pressure of economic absolutism and gave freedom to private enterprise, putting it, it is true, under State control and crushing it with unprecedented taxation. But even in those conditions of clipped rights, of fetters, of oppression, private enterprise proved immeasurably stronger than that of the State. No statistics can express this, because, in avoiding the taxes, the private business



man (*chastnik*) avoided also statistics. And taxes reached, the enormous figure of 75 per cent.—not on profits, but on turnover.

In the food products trade the private trader held almost a monopoly; no efforts on the part of co-operative shops could avail against his flexibility, his spirit of enterprise and his trading skill. In the field of industry there sprang up thousands and tens of thousands of small and minute "home" enterprises, sometimes half-legal, sometimes altogether illicit, sometimes under the cover of some government or semi-government institution. This industry did not, of course, produce any locomotives, but it manufactured nails out of scrap iron, tissues out of cotton stolen from the government, soap out of raw materials discarded by the State works. Elemental private enterprise was overflowing State economics.

Measures of economic pressure were of no avail. The higher the taxes and the contributions exacted in excess of taxation, the greater became the possibilities of bribing Government officials. No official of the Finance Commissariat who received from his office a miserable proletarian salary had anything to gain by finally crushing the private traders who came within his competence and who supplied him with a large and stable income. It was more advantageous for the administration of State works to declare part of their raw materials as waste goods, sell it to be re-made by handicraft artisans and thereby not only obtain an adequate personal remuneration, but also improve the financial plight of their enterprise. Socialism was being submerged by the elemental forces. During the last years of the NEP it became quite clear that, in conditions of economic fair play, Socialism could not compete with capitalism.

More or less the same process was taking place in the country. The landowner in the country had been done away with, just as the industrialist in the town. Here and there, State-owned grain factories were set up in the form of so-called *sovhozes*, but in the general agricultural economy of the country these grain and other factories played hardly any part. The peasants—in other words, the private or the so-called "capitalist" sector of agriculture—remained the principal purveyors of grain, this staple product of Russian economics. The same process which took place in the towns was repeated, with some changes, in the country: the large estates of the former landowners having passed into the hands of the State became unproductive, and the more important was therefore the part played by the small producer, the peasant farmer.

Just as in the towns, so in the country, this private producer was burdened with taxes beyond his power. And just like his

fellows in the town, he evaded those taxes as best he could. But in the country it was more difficult.

According to a rather confused political classification of different classes in the villages, a peasant who had no cows was looked upon as a pauper (*bednyak*), and therefore an active supporter of the Soviets. A peasant who had two cows was regarded as a "middler" (*sередnyaк*), and a temporary ally. A peasant who had more than two cows became a *kulak* and was stigmatised as a class enemy. Later on, this classification became more detailed and was expressed in terms untranslatable into any foreign language.

The paupers were supported by the Government, the middlemen were tolerated, the kulaks suppressed. But those farms which, after all the Government's equalising enactments and in the conditions of unprecedented economic and other pressure, did, nevertheless, become kulak farms, were simply the most productive. By suppressing them the Government was suppressing the best productive forces of the countryside. The result was that it was left without corn.

This is how the question was put during the period of the "discussion" of 1927-28: "Yes, we want corn, but we want Socialist corn. We do not want the kulak corn. But where shall we get the Socialist corn from?"

By 1927 the situation became quite clear: neither in the towns nor in the villages was it possible for State-owned enterprises to compete with private ones on the basis of economic fair play. What could be done further? Must the whole idea be given up? Or must it be admitted that all the revolutionary sacrifices had been aimless and senseless? Must one go to the capitalists and say to them: Nothing has come off, we beg your pardon, take back your factories and your power. Was it for this that Stalin spent time in the prisons of the old régime? Was it for this that people died in the civil war and starved? Was it for this that the new layer of the revolutionary proletariat was raised to power? Or that the slogan was proclaimed "All power to those who toil"? To go back to capitalism was psychologically impossible.

Thus began the liquidation of the NEP and the collectivisation of villages. All that is now going on in Russia is an attempt—probably the last—to re-educate the "ignorant masses," beginning with the collectivised peasants who are being shot down, and going up to the former chairman of the World Communist International, Zinoviev, who has been banished to Solovki, to make them tread

in the path of Socialism, and for that purpose, among other things, to cut off all other possible paths.

Collective farms have a fairly long history. They started in the first years of the Revolution and were a complete failure. They were frail creations of the Socialist genius supported by government subsidies, facilities, supplies, etc. They were a morbid excrescence, but not a calamity. From the point of view of elementary planning, this preliminary period ought to have been made use of in order to find out those forms of organisation for which the Government began to look only after an almost wholesale collectivisation of the villages. But the Government did not undertake that preliminary inquiry. The experiments began all at once with a quarter of a million of collective farms.

In the course of three or four years the Soviet Government has set up about 250,000 *kolkhozes*. Let us leave aside for the moment all considerations regarding the utopianism or otherwise of the Socialist economy, all arguments for and against the advantages of "the largest landownership in the world" (of course, the USSR) as compared with small and dispersed ownership (let us say, in Denmark); let us forget for a time about the unbearable burden of taxation which those 250,000 new-born estates have to shoulder. Let us put the problem on the purely technical plane: who was going to govern these hundreds of thousands of collective farms, and how?

The Government could not grant to the collective farms any measure of self-government. First, because the mass of the peasants saw in the collectivisation a restoration of serfdom; secondly, because self-governed collective farms would have thwarted all the Government plans of taxation; and finally, because self-government would mean that the running of the collective farms would pass into the hands of the most thrifty elements in the villages, that is, into the hands of the "kulaks." In view of all this the Government, by way of different Party and non-party mobilisations, sent to the country about a million workers, Young Communists, members of the Communist Party and others, who were to occupy the posts of chairmen of collective farms, village soviets, heads of machine-tractor stations, etc.

This million of people went to the country. It is quite natural that none of the factories, none of the Party or non-party cells were ready to let go to the country those whom they needed themselves, that is, the most sensible and intelligent workers. It is also quite natural that the most intelligent and sensible tried by hook or by crook to shirk going to the villages, for the villages were living in an

atmosphere of the fiercest class strife, and assassinations became an every-day fact. There is no statistical information on the subject, but from personal experience I am inclined to believe that the number of urban workers killed on the collectivisation front amounts in any case to tens of thousands. Consequently, even within the limits of available human contingents, it was not the best specimens of Communists, Young Communists, industrial workers, etc., that went to the villages to take part in the collectivisation campaign. Rather it was those who were not wanted in the towns, who could not or knew not how to evade all these mobilisations.

At the Moscow conference of the Young Communist League in 1933, Lazar Kaganovich, a member of the Politbureau of the Communist Party, stated that over 40 per cent. of the directing personnel in agriculture consisted of young people aged from 17 to 21. Let us imagine for ourselves what could these Young Communists do, coming straight, as they did, from their workshop loom or their school bench and incompetent in agronomy as they were. Let us not speak too much of the enthusiasm of the Young Communist mass. There were, of course, enthusiasts among that million. But all of them—the enthusiasts, the career-seekers, and the simple bunglers—had before them a task that was clearly beyond their powers:—to run a new and extremely complicated economic enterprise of the type of a large pre-war estate, to assimilate the huge quantity of new machinery which had been flung on to the “Socialist fields” and had too often been quickly turned into a pile of rusty iron; to carry out manifold State duties; to fight “class enemies” within the collective farms; to carry on the accountancy, the statistics, the cultural and political work—all this against the background of constant shiftings in the composition of the collective farms and of the directing personnel, of continual vacillations in the policy of the Party, of a veritable downpour of most varied, contradictory, mutually exclusive instructions emanating from the equally varied supreme organs of the Government and the Party.

For functions of this nature, though infinitely simpler, in the conditions of an old-established economy, the capitalist world selects its directing personnel by means of a long training, it checks their work by many years of practice and pays them large salaries. Those Young Communists, enthusiasts or not, untrained and inexperienced as they were, half-starving, armed with nothing but revolvers and unlimited powers, constantly trembling for their life, could not introduce anything but chaos into the already disintegrating agriculture of the Communist State. From the purely impartial

and non-political point of view, one must wonder not at famine being the result of the mismanagement of this million of people, but at the fact that something still remains of Russian agriculture.

The New Economic Policy had with amazing rapidity restored the national economy ruined by the war and the Revolution. In 1922, the country still offered a picture of unprecedented ruin and devastation, famine was raging and the American Relief Administration was saving human lives at the expense of foreign charity. It was enough, however, to make an attempt to put an end to the policy of War Communism to enable the country, of its own accord, without any "help" from the Government, to catch up rapidly the pre-war level of production, at least in the branches that were not nationalised, that is, above all, in agriculture. Because of the specific conditions prevailing in the Communist State, all the burden of the expenses of restoring the normal standard of life fell on the "capitalist" section of the peasantry. But the struggle against this section which was carried on even prior to collectivisation was at the same time undermining the economic possibilities of the Government. Persecuted not only economically, but also administratively, the kulaks began to curtail their farming. The financial foundations of the country were threatened. To this moment refers Trotsky's famous phrase: "It was not we who 'regulated' the kulak, but the kulak who 'regulated' us." The principal taxpayer disappeared. There was nothing to take from the poor peasant, and this is what the kulak did: if he found himself in possession of three cows, the farm was partitioned. His wife divorced him and constituted, with one cow, a separate economic unit. The son built himself a hut, and moved there with another cow, thus forming another independent farm. The result was that a single kulak family, by means of such parcelling, was turned into three pauper families, and, as an object of taxation and persecution, disappeared from the administrative horizon. Many such devices were invented by the villagers. As soon as these devices ceased to be a secret for the Government and the inventiveness of the peasants was parried by a greater perspicacity of the authorities, the kulaks began simply to liquidate their farms. The last years of the NEP were marked by a sharp fall in the receipts of taxes from the villages. It was this fact that dictated the swiftness with which the collectivisation was carried out.

In the course of its realisation, the collectivisation met with a number of secondary obstacles, and the main obstacle is to be seen in the carrying out of the Communist principle. We have already

dealt with the methods of management. Forcible collectivisation involving mass executions and banishments, led to the final suicide, as such, of the well-to-do farmers. Such people saw clearly that there was no prospect of life before them. They sold their cattle or slaughtered and ate it—the more so as there were hardly any crops and meat had to replace bread in the peasant's diet. Finally, people were also driven by despair to a deliberate and, in fact, senseless destruction of their cattle, tools and crops—by way of sabotage, so to speak.

The very first years of collectivisation brought down agriculture to the approximate level on which it stood in the last years of War Communism. But the State, which had set itself the task of a wide revolutionary imperialistic policy on a world scale, and the task of industrialisation on a national scale, demanded ever greater and greater sacrifices from the main body of taxpayers, namely, from the peasantry. The greater part of the peasantry having been collectivised, taxes had to be exacted from the collective farms.

It must be pointed out that the levying of taxes on individual farms involved the greatest technical difficulties. As we know, these taxes were levied almost exclusively in kind. Their amount was determined not by the needs of the State, which could never be satisfied to the full extent, but by the considerations of the local authorities: how much was it possible to levy on a given farm without allowing its extinction. Naturally the peasants concealed their crops as best they could, buried their grain in the ground, hid it in the woods, in the roofs of their cottages, and hastened to sell all they could in order to be able to say: "I have nothing left and there is nothing more to take from me." Thus the collection of taxes had to take the form of wholesale searches. All this was very complicated, very unwieldy; and besides, the whole system led to a wholesale destruction of produce. The peasant would bury a few sacks of rye somewhere in the copse. He would be watched and followed. He could no longer dig out the grain for himself. But he preferred not to do it for the State, either. Needless to say, all this system of watching and searching was accompanied by assassinations; peasants assassinated government representatives and government representatives shot the recalcitrant peasants.

It was thought that collectivised farming would make it possible to avoid all these inconveniences. The collectivised field would be incessantly controlled by the authorities; the collective harvesting, the storing of the grain in collectivised granaries, and so on—would make it possible to establish fixed rations for the peasants and to

deliver the surpluses, automatically and without further ado, to the State. Among the so-called "food workers" this argument in favour of collectivisation played a very important part, and the Government paid close attention to the opinions of the "food workers"; after all, it was they who obtained the necessary means for the revolution all over the world and for "Socialism in one country."

In practice things turned out to be much more complicated than one would have supposed on the basis of the theory of Marx, Lenin and Stalin. For instance, coming out to sow, the peasant brigade would throw on the ground, secretly from the brigadier, somewhere under a furrow, in a small heap, a few pounds of grain. Sometimes grain would be buried in a piece of rag. Afterwards the peasants would unearth those "treasures" and consume them. Sometimes a few pounds of grain would be found on the peasant during a personal search; instead of sowing he put it in his bosom. These tricks were practised especially during the spring sowing; for throughout the collectivisation period the most acute famines occurred in spring. The result was that the grain which, according to plan, was destined for sowing was either buried in the fields or stolen by the workers. On the fields which according to plan were marked as sown, there grew nothing or almost nothing. To this it must be added that the greater part of the lower administrative personnel, consisting of the local peasants, preferred not to notice all these tricks. The gathering in of the collectivised tax proved to be an even more complicated business than that of the individual tax.

The consequences of the forcible collectivisation began to grow in a mad confusion of vicious circles. The lower the crops, the less was left to the peasant. The less there was left to the peasant, the greater were the incentives for all kinds of theft, and the less productive became the man-power of the collective farms. The less cattle there were, the less there was of driving power and of manure and the lower were the crops to come.

The loss of nearly twenty million horses, the unprecedented foulness of fields and grain, the physical deterioration of the village population—all this served like so many interdependent clogs and led the Communist régime to a catastrophe. A series of village risings which the line regiments of the Red Army refused to suppress (for instance, the Bogorodsk rising of 1931 near Moscow, personally known to the present writer) compelled the Government to make some concessions which, as later practice showed, were neither sincere nor sufficient.

In point of fact these concessions could neither be sincere nor sufficient. Whatever attempts the Government may have made to manoeuvre, it could not give up two things: (1) the principles of Communism, and (2) the pressure of taxation.

(1) The slogan of "deepening the Revolution" and the whole doctrine of the ruling party, even if they admitted the existence of private economy and private enterprise, did so only by way of a temporary and hardly tolerable concession, the extent of which depended in practice on the administrative habits of the lower Communist administration. The result was that the activities of private enterprises were not so much of an economic as of a speculative nature. It was impossible to build up any business calculated for years, but it was possible to snatch something here and now, thanks to the momentarily favourable situation. Applied to peasant farming, this meant that it would have been senseless to try and set up a dairy business—in a year or two it would be "dekulakised" all the same. But it was possible to make use of comparative freedom and slaughter and eat one's own calf. Under such conditions even the private economic impulses assumed a destructive character.

(2) The pressure of taxation could not be weakened, or at any rate the highest point of its pressure was still determined by the technical possibility of confiscating in favour of the State all the values that could be seized on. But those values decreased from day to day. Here is an instance: the State introduced remuneration in kind of the collective farmer's labour (the famous "labour-day"). The collective farmers received this remuneration. Then it came out that because of the continual fall in the productivity of agriculture, the balance of the produce did not suffice to cover all the State needs; not only were the workers starving, but it was necessary to cut down the Red Army rations. Consequently, the "labour remuneration" was taken back from the collective farmers—as a rule, by way of searches and confiscations.

These two facts lay at the root of the deep-seated distrust of the population for any promises and facilities. Both on the private and on the collectivised sectors, people were equally firmly convinced that they would be imposed upon and robbed of what belonged to them. As far as the private sector was concerned, there was the experience of "voluntary" contributions to the Government, of the right to possess homestead allotments, to breed small cattle, etc. In the socialised sector there were "labour days," advance payments, bonuses for the best performance of production tasks, facilities granted to the best collective farms, etc. It would take too



long to dwell on all these measures, though with some of them we will deal below. But they all led to the same end: the State took all it could—it had no choice. And at the same time it killed all incentive to work and all confidence—how could it be otherwise?

Against the general background of these main contradictions of the agricultural policy of Communism can be traced an extremely complicated pattern of separate endeavours and manoeuvres of the Government undertaken with a view to find a way out of the blind alley, to lead the country out of the famine which during the last six years had become chronic and had undermined not only national economics, but also national biology. We shall deliberately avoid discussing all the destructive methods of solving the problem: searches for class enemies, banishments and executions, in other words, all the attempts to transfer the blame from the system of Communism to the "remnants of Capitalism." The methods which resulted in the almost complete devastation of the most fertile regions of Russia and the removal to the inhospitable territories of concentration camps of millions representing the best elements of the Russian countryside have been described and illustrated elsewhere. Here we are concerned with the constructive measures of the Government and with their results. These measures can be roughly divided into three categories: political, administrative, and technical.

(i) The chief political measures boiled down to the following principle: leave the peasant no illusion whatever that he can somehow circumvent the plans and tasks set up for him by the State or shirk the taxes imposed on him. In its naked form this formula would run thus: either unconditional submission to the Government or death from starvation. The most striking expression of this tendency was the well-known "Law for protection of sacred Socialist property" (law of 7 August, 1932), setting up two degrees of punishment: imprisonment for not less than ten years (this being the longest term *de jure* existing in the USSR) and capital punishment. The collective farmer who during sowing munched grain taken from the sowing machine was given ten years of prison. The one who was found in possession of a *pud* of such grain was sentenced to death. As a result of this law, the population of the concentration camps rose to five million, but the productivity of agriculture did not increase. All other political measures, such, for instance, as the setting up of "political sections" (*politotdely*),<sup>1</sup> a considerable extension of the

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the institution of political sections in the principal farms see *The Slavonic Review*, vol. XI, No. 33, pp 702-10.

network of kolhoz newspapers, the organisation of clubs, etc., had no effect whatever on the course of events. The law of 7 August was not revoked, but in practice it was considerably mitigated. The "*politotdely*" remained in existence for a very short time. Most of the kolhoz newspapers were closed down for lack of paper.

(ii) The arsenal of administrative or organising measures of the Government was much more varied. The first place here belongs to the change over to a piecework system of remuneration—the so-called labour days and labour cards

The population of each collective farm was divided into "brigades," each brigade receiving its own plot of land, its own stock and its own special tasks. The remuneration of the brigade as a whole and of its individual members was effected in accordance with the estimate of the work done, its quality, the quickness of its performance, the saving on tools, cattle, etc. Each collective farmer received a labour card, on which the administration of the farm recorded everything which concerned his work, the number of lost days, the amount of fines, etc.

At one time it seemed—and the present writer was one of those who thought so—that this system would improve the life and work of the Soviet collective farms. The peasants took up a favourable attitude to this measure. The present writer knew some collective farms in which the first year of the existence of labour cards resulted in the trebling of the output. It is true that these collective farms were an exception, but still they did exist, especially in the north, where collectivisation was carried out less strictly, the north not being a corn-producing region. But as early as the following year all the expectations connected with piecework, labour days and labour cards, went to pieces. First of all, because the rates of remuneration, as set up, were not carried out anywhere—as far as I know, not in a single collective farm in the USSR. It was the usual story all over again: the State was not in a position to carry out its obligations towards the peasants and to leave the latter their promised share of the produce. The new stimulus was undermined in the very first year. The psychological effect of this was enormous.

This fact was bound up, in a most complex and weird way, with another—the technique of estimating the work.

In order that all the complexity of this technique should become clear to the reader, we must ask him to visualise as clearly as possible the actual conditions obtaining on an average Soviet *kolhoz*. It has about 500 workers. Everyone, including children, has his or her labour card. On each card the amount of work performed

estimated in labour-days, must be marked every day. A labour-day (*trudoden'*) is not a calendar measure, it is the result of the formula which is intended to comprise all the variable factors mentioned above: the difficulty, the category and the quality of the work, its urgency and the pace at which it was performed, the saving on stock, seeds, cattle, etc. The methods of keeping these labour cards varied from time to time. The most simplified formula of estimating the labour-day contained seven variable factors. I have come across some such formulas, in which the "labour-day" was calculated to the one-tenthousandth: the collective farmer So-and-so, has performed on such and such a day 0.3295 of a labour-day. Needless to say, all the original figures in this formula were quite arbitrary and the calculation of their aggregate total was beyond any kolhoz accountancy. The number of administrative and office workers of a collective farm grew with every new reform of the technique of estimating the work, for every such new reform meant a complete reorganisation. Often the number of employees on a kolhoz exceeded the number of workers engaged in the fields. Local authorities accused these employees of red tape and bureaucracy, collective farmers accused them of muddle and wilfulness, but one must be fair to them: it was the system itself which involved the inordinate inflation of all control, of red tape and bureaucracy, waste of human and material resources. In the end it led nowhere, firstly because it brought terrible confusion into the productive life of the collective farm, secondly because it imposed on it unnecessary and unproductive expenditure, and finally because the authorities ended by disregarding completely all labour-days and requisitioning, just as before, everything on which they could possibly lay their hands. All this extremely complicated and unwieldy system proved impracticable and senseless; no one could properly organise the estimating of the work of so many millions of collective farmers, and no one took any account of the results of the estimation, whatever they were.

Piecework proved one more failure in the organisation of Communist agriculture. It was not given up, however—as the Soviet Government never gives up its aims and methods, but only changes its tactics.

The next move in these tactics took the form of "homestead allotments," which gave some tangible and rather curious results.

The main idea of these homestead allotments was that every collective farmer was entitled to have a kitchen garden of his own next to his cottage; previously he had had no right to this. The ultimate aim of this new policy was that the collective farmer should

be able to feed himself from his own kitchen garden, whereas the output of the collective fields might in the main go to the State. This system dealt a fresh blow to the collective farm fields; once he had a tiny plot of his own, the collective farmer did everything in his power to work on it and not on the kolhoz field. In many places, especially in Ukraine, it was necessary to restore the system of taking the peasants to work on the kolhoz by main force.

The character and the size of these homestead allotments varied greatly according to locality and to the mood of local authorities. In White Russia they assumed the dimensions of real farms, the result being that the White Russian People's Commissary for Agriculture and his assistants were committed for trial. In the immediate vicinity of Moscow these allotments were nothing but vegetable gardens where peasants grew vegetables for marketing and exchanging against workmen's ration bread. In the south the homestead allotments became miniature fields. Unfortunately, the present writer has not seen any of the Siberian collective farms during this period. It appears that there these allotments were not popular, the peasants preferring to return to the primitive economic occupations of the Stone Age: hunting and fishing.

But wherever the present writer happened to come across such homestead allotments, one thing invariably struck him—the extraordinarily high level of their agriculture. The same Russian peasant who, before the war, looked so sceptically on the agronomic propaganda of the old Government, took an extraordinary interest in the agrotechnics of his homestead plot. Agronomic literature of any kind, but more especially old publications intended for small non-industrialised and non-collectivised farms, was in great demand. I saw, myself, separate sheets of old, especially pre-war, agronomic booklets bought at village markets. The counsels of agricultural experts—once more of the old experts—acquired the weight of infallible laws. I may be mistaken, but it looks as if this accidental, secondary, unforeseen consequence of collectivisation were going to acquire the character of a real revolution in agriculture—not the revolution which the Government planned, but still a revolution: the agricultural level of the peasant (I emphasise of the peasant, not of farming) has been raised by a whole century.

It is, of course, a manual type of agriculture, that type which probably is characteristic of the over-populated loess soils of China—the most scrupulous, most minute cultivation of each square inch of land. The small-scale cultivation of cereals, the search for seed, the alternation of cultures, the manuring, the cultivation, the

watering—all this has assumed laboratory forms, but all this goes sharp athwart the interests of collective fields.

The "homestead allotment" period of collectivisation is not yet over. But it would not be difficult to guess where it will end; the Government will be forced to put an end to it in some way or other. It is incompatible with the principles of Communism in general, it creates too striking a distinction between Socialist and "capitalist" land, it violates the basic principle of collectivisation, which says: "No way out except in the kolhozes," and finally it "disengages the element of private ownership." In what way an end will be put to it, we cannot yet know. Most probably the State will simply stretch its mighty arm towards the corn coming from homestead allotments, and the latter will be laid waste just as the collective fields were. But in any case this period will not have passed without leaving its traces in Russia's economics.

(iii) Nor will be fruitless the attempts to carry out a technical reconstruction of agriculture. Even where they may have had no positive material results, they have introduced the Russian countryside to a whole world of new technical methods and new technical ideas. As in almost everything which the Communist Government has undertaken, the material results have been largely negative. The positive contribution is to be sought in the new habits of thinking which the Revolution has brought with it. This was not the aim which the Government set itself. The new psychology of Russia, including the Russian peasantry, belongs to the unforeseen by-products of the Revolution; but this by-product seems the most important result, and it looks as if it were going to determine Russia's future. The Revolution, begun in the spirit of materialism, will bring in its positive results only in the field of ideas. Their actual application in practice is scarcely possible save under a counter-revolution.

The agricultural ideal of the Communist Party is large rationalised and mechanised farming based on hired labour—of the proletariat. From the point of view of organisation, this ideal has already been realised in the form of Soviet State farms (*soukhozes*) which are described as farms "of a consistently Socialist type." The collective kolhoz movement of the Communist Party aims at the same type. As the means of transforming the collectivised peasant farming into industrial farming, serve the so-called "machine-tractor stations" (MTS). These are a good thing. Their functions resemble those of the pre-revolutionary agronomic and hiring stations of the old *zemstva*. A machine-tractor station usually unites a group of collective farms, sometimes even small State farms, provides them

with agronomic aid, with tractors and agricultural implements, and serves to a great extent as an organ of control for the whole agricultural area subordinated to it. It is not yet possible to say to what extent the MTS have justified their existence or otherwise; in the conditions of general agricultural débâcle it is impossible to distinguish between the factors which led to it and those which put a brake on it. It seems to me that the work done directly by the machine-tractor stations is in itself a positive factor. But in fact very little depends directly on machine-tractor stations.

Inasmuch as the Soviet agricultural unit was of necessity conceived as a large, sometimes gigantic, farm—the whole production of the agricultural machinery works was adapted to large, expensive, complicated and fragile machinery, hitherto quite unknown to Russian agricultural workers. The quality of these machines is below all criticism. In order to have a clear idea of the progress and the results of the mechanisation of agriculture, let us follow one of its branches—the production of tractors.

As a result of the collectivisation of villages and the industrialisation of towns, Russian agriculture has lost, according to official data, something like 19 million horses. This loss was one of the results of the spoliation of villages with a view to building industrial works, including tractor works. Of the latter there were three: in Stalingrad (Tsaritsyn), Harkov and Chelyabinsk. These works, together with imports from abroad, provided Soviet agriculture with 204,000 tractors, with an aggregate power of 3,100,000 h.p. The deficiency in driving power, calculated on the basis of the nominal capacity of the tractor park, amounts thus to approximately 16,000,000 h.p.<sup>2</sup>

The constant troubles of the tractor park are probably known to the English reader, but hardly so the figure in which these find their expression. It is given in an article in *Pravda* by the secretary of the Siberian Committee of the Communist Party,<sup>3</sup> which says that on an average ten tractors perform the field work of only eleven horses. There is a shortage of fuel, of spare parts, of workshops, of drivers, and the quality of the tractors themselves is very low. There is in all this much that is typical of present-day Russia. Thus, for instance, the countryside is short of paraffin oil and uses the method of lighting that was used a hundred years ago—wooden chips. Therefore the paraffin oil of the tractor stations is being

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Knickerbocker in the *Intransigent* estimates this deficiency at 14,700,000 h.p., but the difference is not of much importance.

<sup>3</sup> I think in November, 1933—unfortunately I have no complete set of *Pravda* at hand, but I can vouch for the accuracy of the figure.

stolen in all possible ways. The salary of a tractorist is not enough for his subsistence. He makes up the gap by selling the paraffin oil belonging to the State, while the tractors in his charge are standing still. There are in Soviet Russia many such instances of misery begetting misery and shortage producing shortage. Be that as it may, the fact is that ten tractors replace eleven horses.

Enormous sums have been spent on the construction of tractor works. It has entailed great sacrifices—of many human lives, too. New tractors will involve new losses. Thus is closed one of the countless vicious circles of Soviet economics. Whither this system of overlapping vicious circles of the Communist Utopia will lead, we do not yet know. If we take the setting up of collective farms, we shall see that the position is such that it is almost equally impossible to proceed further with collectivisation or to give it up; the first alternative is impossible economically, the second politically. Apparently the compromise between Utopia and life will take the form of a very protracted and painful crisis of Russian agriculture, but, of course, the possibility of a catastrophic solution is not excluded. However adversely we may judge of Communism in general and of its agricultural policy in particular, it must be said that a forcible "elemental" reversion of the Russian countryside from collective farming to the old methods, by way of insurrections or of a counter-revolution, will involve almost as heavy losses and sacrifices as those of the collectivisation itself—with a chance, it is true, of an exceedingly speedy reconstruction of the economic forces of the country.

One must be fair; history knows of no such gigantic experiment as the experiment of collectivising, in the course of a few years, nearly thirty millions of individual privately-owned farms. The working of this experiment, all its results—both primary and secondary, all the variety of phenomena arising from the essential clash between individualism and communism, will somehow have to be taken into account by world opinion. Then the sacrifices borne by our great country for the sake of that experiment will find some, however partial, justification.

IVAN SOLONEVICH.

# RUSSIA'S CRISIS IN THE FAR EAST.

## A SIBERIAN VIEW

THE long-cherished dream of Siberians of a railway that should pass through the whole extent of Siberia to the shore of the Pacific at last received satisfaction only some fifty years ago in the Imperial rescript of Alexander III, who gave orders: "to proceed with the construction of a railway which is to link up the Siberian provinces, so rich in resources, with the system of internal railway communications." The object was explained in this rescript as "a provision for world prosperity." Thus from the very start was emphasised the peaceful and therefore also cultural aims of this enterprise. It was only at the beginning of this century that the construction of this gigantic work was completed over a surface of eight thousand kilometres from the Urals to the shores of the Pacific, and it thus became possible in ten to twelve days to transport freight, post and passengers from the Atlantic over the whole European and Asiatic continent to the Pacific and back. This railway, by the speed of transit, the comfort of movement on the splendidly equipped Siberian expresses, at that time evoked the admiration of foreigners, who preferred the swift passage from the Far East and America to Europe by this road to the long sea journey by Suez, and in the comments of the foreign press of that time this railroad was called "the colossal backbone of the Russian giant."

In view of the future transit aims of this railway, its constructors wanted to carry it by the most convenient and shortest course to the only first-class harbour on all the Russian Pacific coast, in the bay of the Golden Horn at Vladivostok, accessible to sea-going vessels throughout the year with the help of small icebreakers in the winter. It was solely for these reasons that the road came to be carried through Northern Manchuria, which at that time was almost deserted. Any other direction on Russian territory (by the left bank of the Amur) would have lengthened the line by more than five hundred kilometres through extremely broken and hilly country, which would have increased the costs both of construction and of freights. The Chinese Government was asked to concede only a narrow strip of alienated territory necessary to the railway. Agreement to this was concluded in 1896 between Witte and Li-Hung-Chang. This section of the Siberian main line, connecting Chita with Vladivostok and passing through North Manchuria between the stations of Manchuria on the west and Pogradichnaya (Frontier) on the east over an extent of 14,000 kilometres, was named the



Chinese Eastern Railway (C.E.R.). Thus this section is naturally an inseparable part and only a single link in the great Siberian railway, and the C.E.R. is essentially by all its roots bound up with the fundamental economics of Russia and Siberia, to whose vital interests its loss was sure to be a heavy blow.

The peaceful and cultural rôle of the C.E.R. was especially emphasised in 1923 at the twenty-five years' jubilee of its construction. A special Chinese delegation sent by the Manchurian dictator, Chang-Tso-Ling, expressed China's gratitude to Russia for making this railway, which had played an enormous part in the development of this deserted area.

Such were the objects and attainments connected with the C.E.R. In my last article, "A Russian view of Manchuria,"<sup>1</sup> I gave in detail the story of Russo-Chinese relations and the tragic lot of the Russian population and the Russian cause in Manchuria. As soon as the Imperial Government and that of Admiral Kolchak in Siberia had fallen, the Chinese Government speedily by unilateral acts, decrees of the President of the Chinese Republic, annulled one after another the agreements and treaties which at various times had been concluded between Russia and China. First the Russian Mission with its consular establishments was abolished, the Russian population was deprived of extra-territorial rights, and placed under Chinese law. The well-established Russian concessions in various Chinese towns were confiscated. The Government also tried to lay hands on the C.E.R., but each time it drew back before seizing an enterprise which had a special legal footing of its own, and was also at that time under the administration of the Allies, who, together with the former Russian administration, had charge of it in the period of Allied intervention in Siberia, thus giving this railway an international significance. There was in Harbin an inter-allied technical committee under the direction of a representative of the American Government, the well-known engineer, Mr. Stevens, who had constructed the Panama canal.

The question of the future lot of the C.E.R. after the intervention had come to an end in 1920 was discussed by the Washington Conference of 1922. The frontier Russian population put the greatest hopes in this conference, and memoranda poured in from all sides urging that "the C.E.R. should remain a free commercial railway in Russian hands," to secure the maintenance of conditions which would not interfere with the free economic development of Russia.

<sup>1</sup> *Slavonic Review*, vol. xi, No. 31, January, 1932, p. 20.

The Far East Russian public expressed the hope that the already existing internationalisation of the railway, to which China and Japan were parties during the intervention, would be continued in the future. Unfortunately, the Washington Conference left everything as it was, and by its decision, which was very indefinite and compromising, it left to China a kind of guardianship of the C.E.R., with responsibility to its foreign shareholders and creditors.

The Moscow Foreign Commissariat, represented by Comrade Karakhan, frequently addressed the people of the Chinese Republic and the governments of north and south China with declarations, notes and postcards in which the Soviet Government, in return for recognition, pledged itself to renounce all treaties concluded between China and former Imperial governments and to return unconditionally all rights, concessions and leased territories, whether acquired by Russian capitalists or by Imperial governments in China. At the same time it renounced in favour of the education of the Chinese people the Boxer contribution amounting to ninety million gold roubles. The Chinese Government after long hesitations did not resist such seductive proposals, but did not decide to accept so valuable a property as the C.E.R. as a full gift and confined itself only to an acceptance of a half share in the railway by the agreements of Pekin and Mukden with the USSR in 1924.

After that, however, it became clear that the Soviet Government had set the C.E.R. only two chief tasks—fighting the Whites along the line and the most extensive propaganda of Communism everywhere in the East, wherever Soviet agents could penetrate. Meanwhile, the Russian population which did not profess Communist principles, deprived of its former Russian rights in China, fell under heavy blows from both sides, China and Soviets, and lay between the hammer and the anvil. Before the arrival of the Japanese in North Manchuria and Harbin, after the events of Mukden in 1931,<sup>2</sup> their cause was condemned to ruin. Trade with Russia and the local industrial organisations had almost vanished altogether. The only sound Russian enterprise in Manchuria which remained till quite lately was the Chinese Eastern Railway.

On the other hand, the Railway had passed out of an embarrassing financial position, did not require subsidies, and with intelligent management was capable of yielding a considerable revenue. In view of these events, on the creation by Japan of the new State

\* In September, 1931, attacks of bandits on Japanese troops in the railway zone led to the military intervention of Japan first round and then in Mukden, and ultimately to the Japanese occupation of North Manchuria.

formation of Manchukuo, the overwhelming majority of the Russian population in Manchuria regarded it with optimism and even with animation, in the hope that for it, too, a new perspective would open. The new State promised to equalise in rights all nationalities living in Manchuria, including the Russian. These assurances of representatives of the new power raised great hopes among Russians after their distressed position under Chinese guardianship. Thus emigrant Russia wished and hoped to take part in building up the new State, as it possessed a numerous trained personnel, which could supply valuable economic and cultural workers for the backward local population—railway experts, technicians, doctors, jurists, administrators and educationalists. The sale of the C.E.R. put an end to these dreams and hopes. The USSR Government sold the right to the government of Manchukuo, which was *de facto* under a Japanese protectorate.

But before dwelling in some detail on this bargain, which could not have taken place without Japan, we must stop to examine past Russo-Japanese relations. The unfortunate policy of Russian expansion southward from the main line to the peninsula of Liao-Tung, with the construction of a branch line to Port Arthur and Dalny (now Dairen), to which Nicholas II was prompted by irresponsible adventurers such as Bezobrazov and Abaza, who used their influence over him for their own objects, ended with our unsuccessful war with Japan. From the very start this war never met with the sympathy of the Russian public and many statesmen of that time, and it could never be popular or intelligible to the masses. The Japanese war buried the imperialistic idea for ever, and brought back the C.E.R. to its main cultural rôle. The Russian Government, recognising the error of its Far Eastern policy, responded to the peaceable and friendly disposition of Japan, who thought that even after the war there would still be a Great Russia with whom it was better to live in friendship. The visit paid by the Russian Minister of Finance, Kokovtsev, in 1909, to the station Manchuria strengthened the friendly relations. In this period the Russian Government was seriously considering a proposal of the American Government made to it in 1910 to internationalise the railways of Manchuria, putting them under the united control and administration of the six Great Powers. Russia and Japan, after consulting each other, refused the American proposal; Japan did not advise Russia to take this step. At the same time arose the question of a closer understanding between Russia and Japan, based on a mutual support of the *status quo* in Manchuria, and a friendly division of the spheres of

economic interests, by which Southern Manchuria and Inner Mongolia fell under the influence of Japan, and North Manchuria and Outer Mongolia under that of Russia. Thus, under the influence of the agreements of 1910 and 1917 there grew up friendly relations between Japan and Russia full of mutual confidence, and these were not disturbed. More than that, in the Great War, Japan might have used her favourable situation and wrested this or that territory from Russia. Japan without hesitation remained on the side of the Allies, and accepted the preservation of peace and order in all Eastern Asia, making it possible for Russia to lay bare her Far East of the troops quartered there and send them to our western front in Europe. When the Russian Revolution broke out and power was seized by the Communists, Japan was the first of the Allies prepared to help Russia. In repeated declarations in Parliament the Japanese Foreign Minister, Baron Goto, then expressed his readiness to give all help necessary to re-establish the State authority in Russia in a time of temporary disorder. When inter-allied intervention began in Siberia, the Foreign Minister, on 21 January, 1919, declared in Parliament: "We have no intention of interfering in the internal affairs of Russia, and still less is our policy under the influence of any tendency whatever to utilise the home troubles of Russia to follow any kind of selfish aims of territorial or economic aggressiveness."

Even during the endless preliminary negotiations of the Allies on intervention, the Japanese military authorities on the spot gave every help and support to the local groups and organisations which had come out actively against the Communists. The intervention in the Far East was a result of an agreement in 1918 between the United States and Japan. Both governments being in full accord with those of Great Britain, France, Italy and China, decided jointly to send military forces to Siberia to free from a critical situation the Czechoslovak troops scattered over the roads out of Russia, in order to transport them to the front in western Europe, and to secure the enormous military stores of the Allied Powers in Vladivostok. The greatest number of men to be dispatched to Siberia was limited to 7,000 each from America and Japan. The other Allies, though recognising the need of forming a so-called eastern front to attract German troops from France, sent such insignificant forces that they could have no serious importance.

Japan sent much larger forces to give effective help in the struggle; but she was suspected of aggressive intentions by her allies and her action was practically paralysed. The American commanders confined themselves throughout to helping the transport of the

Czech troops from Siberia, and were equally interested in seeing that no Japanese troops should remain in any part of Siberia for permanent occupation. As the Japanese troops stayed longer in Siberia than those of the other interventionists, who made haste to evacuate their own about the end of 1920, the American Government in its note of 31 May, 1921, declared that it could not either now or later agree to any action of the Japanese Government in contradiction to existing treaties on the political and territorial integrity of Russia.

At the Washington Conference of 1922, the Japanese Ambassador, Shidehara, gave precise and detailed explanations of the causes which had detained Japanese troops in some parts of the Maritime Province, where a Japanese population of about ten thousand was permanently settled and needed protection, and also in Sakhalin to take repressive measures in retaliation for the murder in 1920, at Nicholayevsk on the Amur, of seven hundred Japanese citizens, including women and children, and also of the Japanese Consul, his family and all his staff. Shidehara again confirmed the repeated declarations of the Japanese Government that Japan recognised the territorial integrity of Russia, stood for non-interference in her internal affairs and for equal rights for all States to take part in trade and industry.

The USSR earnestly sought recognition by Japan, which took place only in 1925. The Soviet Government readily granted forest, gold, and other concessions in the Russian Far East, with coal and petroleum concessions in Sakhalin. In the treaties concerned, the Soviet Government inserted an obligation of hiring a fixed percentage of workmen under the rules of Soviet legislation for the protection of labour. Soon began to be seen extremely unpleasant results at the works, both with Russian and Japanese workmen: disturbances, strikes and, above all, a swift spread of Communist propaganda among the Japanese workmen and population. It appeared that among the Russian and Japanese workmen there were well-prepared and highly-trained agitators. Communist propaganda speedily began to penetrate into Japan, and the various agents of policy and trade spread a broad network of such propagandists in Japan itself, as they well knew how to do in any country which recognised them. Before the recognition of the Soviet Government, every mention and warning to the Japanese that with recognition the Soviets would introduce Communism into their own country was met on their side by the calm and confident reply that there would never be Communism in Japan. When only two or three years had passed since the recognition, such sharp changes had taken place in Japan,

and the spread of Communism went ahead so quickly and began to show itself in such clear and striking force, that in February, 1928, the principal law officer was compelled to announce publicly that the revolutionary movement in Japan had spread very widely. There was in progress "a real attempt to destroy the foundations of the empire from inside, provoked by the influence of radical ideas among foreigners, which is more serious than a threat of armed force from outside." Frequently mass arrests were made among the Communists, who were extremely solidly organised with local and district and central cells, with commissaries who had their own press organs. Their work was supported by students and some professors. Trials in Tokyo, Osaka, Fukuoka and Sapporo proved that the Third International was supplying the conspirators with money. Sometimes the total number of arrests rose to a thousand.

The Japanese Government, as early as 1928, carried through by way of urgency a law of public security with stricter penalties, including capital punishment. The Minister of Justice published a long declaration: "The Communist Party of Japan is an integral part of the Comintern of USSR, receiving its directions in the execution of its final aim, the effecting of a world social revolution, and is trying to provoke, specially in Japan, a social revolution in order to change radically the existing order of State and to establish in Japan the order and régime of a dictatorship of the proletariat. Such intentions are undoubtedly equivalent and identical to State treason against the country and the Emperor, and compared with the most serious State crimes, these efforts and aims are the heaviest crimes of all." The Japanese Government waged the most resolute war on the Communists. Many of them were condemned to various terms of imprisonment. The Comintern was closed. The spectre of Communism loomed threateningly over the Japanese people.

Always alert to the reception of any new European currents and tendencies in thought and technique, Japan felt that she was entering an extremely dangerous path, which might really threaten the nation with many convulsions. Before her eyes was the example of a neighbouring State, Russia, where torrents of blood were pouring out in class war, and values accumulated by centuries and the labour of many generations were being destroyed. The sound elements of the nation understood that the old structure of the democratic State which they had borrowed and imported from the West was breaking down, leaving exposed its extreme wings, that the bourgeois capitalist régime was showing all the marks of bankruptcy, and that the parliamentary system and democracy in some

States showed that they were at the same time a school of preparation for the power of the proletariat, leading to a ruthless class war. Internationalism was always but little acceptable to the Japanese. In moments of danger, of national misfortunes, they showed themselves, psychologically, peculiarly capable of drawing together, defending themselves and rooting themselves in their national traditions and customs, in loyalty, devotion and filial affection for their Emperor.

As a result, Japan produced her own National Socialist movement, which draws its ideas from Confucianism and Shintoism. It is capturing the young, and especially the military. Their programme is a demand for social reforms, chiefly directed against the domination in the country and the influence in Parliament of the industrial classes, the financial plutocracy monopolising 80 per cent. of all the national wealth, which belongs to some twenty or thirty capitalist families; they and their representatives and adherents exercise violence through Parliament and are the principal Liberal and Radical opposition to the Government appointed by the Emperor. The murders of the Premier, Inukai, Baron Dan and Inouye, and the attempt on the life of Wakatsuki, were the work of young military nationalists, avenging on these public men the alleged humiliation sustained by Japan at the Washington Conference in 1922 and in London in 1930, during the Liberal régime of Hara, Wakatsuki, Inukai, Shidehara, and others. They declared a crusade against the spreading of Communism both in Japan and on the Continent among the Chinese in Manchuria, where Japan had placed much capital in railways and commercial enterprises. This campaign, begun by the military after the well-known events in Mukden in 1931, led to the occupation by Japanese forces of the whole of Manchuria and part of Inner Mongolia, and the formation of the new State of Manchukuo. The attempt to prove the necessity of forming a State in Manchuria separate and independent from China met with no support in Geneva, and ended with the exit of Japan from the League of Nations. This was a great blow to the national interests and self-respect of Japan; and now, with the co-operation of Japan, has been carried out the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway, which is a heavy blow to the national interests of Russia.

The sale of the C.E.R. means the final departure of Russia from Manchuria, and she will never get back there. By the most modest estimate by specialists in Harbin, the single cost of construction of the Railway, with various temporary loans of the Russian Government to complete it, strengthen it and improve it up to the present

time, amounts to more than four hundred million gold roubles, not counting various subsidies from the Russian State Treasury to cover losses in the working of the road. It has been sold for a hundred and forty million yen. If we take account of the present value of the yen, the purchase price is about fifty million gold roubles. Further, a third of the purchase price has to be paid in cash in the course of the next three years, the other two-thirds are to be paid in kind, in goods of Japanese and Manchurian firms, for which the Manchurian Embassy in Japan will pay. The road passes to Manchukuo at once on signature of the agreement. The payments, both in cash and in kind, are guaranteed by the Japanese Government. Both sides, Moscow and Tokyo, so the papers tell us, are satisfied with the conclusion of negotiations for the sale of the C.E.R. There is no other point besides Vladivostok on the whole of our Pacific coast-line of many thousands of versts, with a natural harbour open to navigation throughout the year, to which the remaining Amur railway could be directed. The mouth of the Amur and other points on the sea of Okhotsk, to which, as the Soviet press tells us, will be traced a railway passing north of Lake Baikal, cannot possess any serious importance, except local, as navigation on these shores is closed from four to five months of the year. The loss of the C.E.R. is, indeed, the fracture of the spine of the Russian giant, the default of the most important and essential link in the Trans-Siberian railway, which without it remains like a river without its mouth. Now, with the loss of this railway, our Manchurian frontier is exposed for a length of more than 3,000 versts, and with it our Maritime Province and Vladivostok. A hopeless strategic position is established for the future. Japan has won a bloodless victory of the first order over the USSR.

Up till now, Russia has had three great assets in the Far East : (1) the fisheries on the shores of the Pacific, the sea of Okhotsk and Kamchatka ; (2) North Sakhalin, the " island of treasures," so-called for its inexhaustible riches of petrol and coal of an excellent quality ; (3) the C.E.R. passing through the territory of Manchuria. After the Washington Conference of 1922, Japan obtained from the USSR a number of serious concessions : an extension of the fishing concession to include the exploitation of petrol and coal in Sakhalin, timber and gold concessions on the shores of the Pacific, and now the C.E.R. has also come into the possession of Manchukuo or Japan.

Of all the Great Powers, with the exception of the United States, Japan was the last to recognise the Soviet Government in 1925 ; and up till her move in 1931 after the events in Mukden, she confined



herself to the observance of former treaties and agreements with the Imperial Government, and did not transgress the limits fixed by them. This new move of Japan is not confined to the limits of self-defence against the Red danger, which would be natural and intelligible, but aims at utilising a moment of the greatest weakness of Russia. What direction will be taken by any further aggressions of Japan, whether in relation to Russia or other countries, it is difficult to say; what we have to fear is the readiness of the Bolsheviks, when threatened, to sell for a trifle both North Sakhalin and Kamchatka, and to alienate other Far Eastern territory with the Maritime Province and Vladivostok. When Japan with her own extensive plans and with military force entered North Manchuria, Harbin and the territory of the C.E.R., the Soviet Government, which had been conducting aggressive Communist propaganda all over the world, yielded easily. Japan feels assured of the military insignificance of the forces of USSR, and is taking what she wants with both hands. The surrender of the C.E.R. suggests that Vladivostok and other territory will not be defended.

The sale of the C.E.R. has brought about a complete division in the estimates of this event not only among the Russian population of Manchuria, intimately interested in the lot of the railway and of themselves, but also in the rest of the emigrant mass of Russian population elsewhere. All regard the action of Japan towards the national interests of Russia as aggressive, but some find a justification for this step of hers, as made necessary and compulsory for her in defence of her national interests and for saving the country from the threat of Communism. Others, on the contrary, see in this the beginning of a realisation by Japan of her long-contemplated great Pan-Asiatic plan, in view of the extraordinarily favourable external international position. We must, therefore, dwell, however shortly, on the arguments given on both sides.

Partisans of Japan, who are regularly resident in Siberia, maintain that as early as the period of allied intervention the Japanese authorities came to the rescue of Russian rights and supported the Russian administration in its struggle for the maintenance of treaties. In all this period, from the fall of the Russian Empire to the arrival of the Japanese in North Manchuria, almost the only favourable attitude and real help to the Russians was from the side of the Japanese authorities. Only the pressing intervention of the Japanese Consul saved hundreds and perhaps thousands of Russian officers from being shot. That is why the coming of the Japanese to North Manchuria and Harbin has been widely welcomed in Russian circles,

and they have been regarded as deliverers. According to the overwhelming majority of Russians in the Far East, only neighbouring Japan is capable of restoring peace and order in Manchuria, which has been frequently disturbed by Communists and by bandits. Some of them have expressed the hope that Japan will help to free from Communism her two great neighbours, Russia and China. Here it is not without interest to note how the Manchurian and Russian press reacted in the first honeymoon that followed that event. On the day after the sale of the railway, a Japanese newspaper published in Russian in Harbin, the *Harbin Times* (*Harbinskoe Vremya*) on 24 March came out with a festal number in red type with sonorous headings. This number said that, "in the negotiations for the sale Japan had played the part of a friendly mediator. If Japan had renounced this rôle it is extremely possible that the present agreement would not have been concluded. . . . A new epoch is opening in the life of all Asia, and this bright epoch must be approached with new feelings." A Russian contributor to the same paper wrote: "The transfer of the Railway means the beginning of a magnificent work of construction in North Manchuria and the beginning of brilliant economic developments of the country in all directions. Unusually bright and happy is the picture of the future life and work of Russian citizens in Manchuria. Harbin will be the centre of a historic development of work. . . . Russian citizens in Manchukuo are invited *en masse* to help to set up the new State and to build up the country." To regulate the participation of the Russian frontier population in this work, the government of the new State established a bureau for the affairs of Russian emigrants, composed of former Russian officers. Thousands of various Russian specialists were registered at this bureau, and they were all encouraged to expect employment in such work as schools, land-surveying and cattle breeding, with allotments in districts similar to the native regions from which they came. The first settlers, it was announced, had set out for Manchuria in the spring of 1935 with the strong support of the Government, and much depended on the results of this experiment. They were only to learn the local languages, acquaint themselves with the local customs and work for the country that gave them shelter, as their own fatherland. The Russian emigrants living in Manchuria were declared to be one of the chief five nationalities enjoying equal rights with the native population (Manchus, Japanese, Chinese, Mongols, and Russians). According to the press, thousands of Russians set about learning Japanese, and some, in whole groups, adopted the nationality of the new Man-

churian State. A responsible representative of the Manchurian Foreign Office announced to representatives of the Harbin press that the Manchurian Government was allowing the settlement in Manchuria of Russian emigrants from France and from other countries. This announcement aroused great interest among the Russian emigrants elsewhere. From almost all countries of the Russian dispersion, there came letters from individuals and from whole groups expressing the wish to settle in Manchuria. Cossack colonists, to the number of a thousand, informed the bureau of their wish to come to Manchuria from Serbia. After all, Manchuria, though an Asiatic country, marches with Siberia over a frontier of many thousand versts. There was no limitation of the right to work or to move about freely within the limits of the State, such as at present exists in France, where many have been refused the renewal of their labour permits, many have been ordered to leave the country and some thousands are in prison because, after receiving this order, they were not able to carry it out; to ease their position the Minister of Labour has talked of a free passage for workless foreigners to their own country.

Thus, here in France, as in the Far East, the Russian emigrants are at present in the main divided into two groups of opinion. Some do not believe in the possibility of a real and serious struggle against Communism in States with a genuine democratic régime, by the very nature of their institutions—even within their own boundaries. To save Russia from Communism, nothing, they think, can be effective except war. In the West, the only country capable of fighting Communism in Russia is Germany; but naturally our former powerful allies do not wish to allow such a war. In their thoughts and hopes, this section of the Russian emigration in the West unites with those in Manchuria who find a justification for the Japanese action in Siberia. Russia and Japan, in view of their past and future, will both need to live in some kind of harmony; and in the opinion of this section of the emigration, without friendship with a national Russia and a national China, the position of Japan on the Asiatic continent can never be stable.

Such are the optimistic views and hopes of one section of the Russian population in Manchuria. What, then, says the press of the opposite camp? It finds that the reality is not so attractive. In the administration of the country and on the C.E.R. the chief active part is played by Japanese. As to wide prospects of a possibility of settling emigrants from other countries in Manchuria, the horizon is very misty, both for the present and for the future. Facts

rather suggest the opposite. It would have seemed that with the dismissal of several thousand Soviet subjects employed on the railway there was some place for the emigration. This is answered by the same Japanese paper, the *Harbin Times*, which says that an investigation which has been conducted has given unsatisfactory results; among the Russians there were not nearly enough fully able and useful specialists, and nearly all the candidates did not know the Chinese and Japanese languages. At present, as the local press asserts, only about a thousand Russians have been accepted for service on the Railway and in the police, most of them in lower posts, such as brakesmen, greasers, and also in the chief mechanical workshops. Lately, under the Japanese control, all Russian employees have been discharged from the agricultural administration. The Russian medical staff in the town hospital has been dismissed, and the last Russian counsellor has been discharged from the law courts. The municipal authorities have more than once given warning that Russians cannot count on much employment in the organisation of municipal work. The Railway, apart from its enormous staff of railway employees, indirectly involves a number of enterprises connected with it. Contractors, owners of timber and coal concessions gave wide employment to Russian labour. In all, the transfer of the Railway from Russian hands to Japanese is a direct and heavy blow for the Russians.

The position is anything but encouraging in other departments. The State tax on industry was at once increased to double, treble and higher, and similar burdens are placed on town self-government. Railway rates have also been considerably raised, chiefly on articles of first necessity. The emigrant Stock Exchange Committee is much alarmed. New increases of taxation and tariffs strike a blow at local industry and trade, except the Japanese, as that is in a favoured position. The increased railway freights have already produced the effect expected. All creameries in Harbin have stopped, and the creamery industry in North Manchuria threatens to disappear altogether, which has aroused much alarm among local traders. A high tariff on the transport of beans on the local lines gave a preference to the Dairen creameries, which are situated on Japanese territory. The local milling and timber industries are threatened; and all this has taken place in the economic sphere of influence of the old C.E.R. The new tariffs promise nothing but loss to the Russians and the Chinese; the Japanese stand to gain greatly. Import from Dairen to Harbin has been much cheapened. A more favourable position has been secured to Fushan (Japanese)

coal than to local. All this is only more proof that the new masters of the Railway are in no way interested in promoting and supporting local non-Japanese industry.

The Head of the Department of Trade and Industry, Mr. Ostami, has declared that, "All foreign banks and many commercial and industrial enterprises and committees on the territory of the country have been investigated and checked up. . . . The development of our country must proceed mainly in the interests of capital belonging to the peoples of Asia. Foreign capital can find a field in Manchuria, but only as auxiliary. Russian citizens of the new State are reckoned as equal in rights to the peoples of Asia, and the participation of their capital in enterprises will be similar."

In Manchukuo a petrol monopoly has been introduced, and the right of trade is left exclusively to a Japanese-Manchurian company. A tobacco monopoly is being created, and will probably be followed by others. Little free space is left for foreign trade and industry. Many are beginning to recognise that a political and economic dictatorship of Japan is being extended over the new State of Manchukuo.

As to the future of our Russian national interests in the Far East, since the sale of the C.E.R. has arisen a new and agitating question, of a possible surrender of a full and long-term concession for the exploitation of our northern half of Sakhalin, whose colossal resources, especially in petrol and coal, have been most carefully explored by Russian and Japanese experts. Petrol is worked both by Japanese companies, on the sectors conceded to them, and by Soviet works. The working of petrol, begun not long ago by the Soviets, increases every year, and by the plan for 1937 should yield 800,000 tons, which are to be refined and converted into kerosine and benzine by the works set up at Habarovsk. At the seat of the industry at Okha has grown up a town of twenty-five thousand inhabitants. According to the geologists, every year the petrol districts are spreading, thanks to new discoveries, and at present in character and abundance the Sakhalin resources are reckoned to hold the third place in Russia. Sakhalin needs nothing more to become a petrol base of the country.

The enormous resources of coal of the most various qualities in Sakhalin have long been known and recognised. Some geologists consider that the holder of North Sakhalin is actually master of the northern part of the Pacific. Comrade Joffe, as early as the period of intervention, when Sakhalin was temporarily occupied, proposed to

the Japanese to buy it or obtain a long-term concession of it. According to rumours current in Tokyo, such proposals have been renewed by the Soviets. The Tokyo correspondent of the *News Chronicle* has reported that the secretary of the Federation of Japanese Industrialists of Akiam has proposed the purchase by the Japanese Government from the USSR of the whole Maritime Province of Vladivostok, that pearl of Russia on the shores of the Pacific. In the West, the Soviet Government could not afford the loss of Ukraine or other territory which our western enemies are anxious to conquer. Not so in the East, where the detachment of any territory in no way involves an immediate threat to the existence of the international government which sits far away in Moscow.

Those who hold this view among the mass of the emigration also think that with the loss of this or that Russian territory to the Soviet they will be rid of Communism; but they will be under just such a political and economic dictatorship as Manchukuo, and the weak Russian population will be slowly and gradually replaced by the yellow race. Whether the new master in the Far East will wish also to free or help to free the rest of Russia from Communism is extremely doubtful, and in proof of their gloomy anticipation they point to the memorandum of the Japanese Premier, Tanaka, to the study of which we must now turn.

Those who are pessimistic and see in the Japanese action in Manchuria a further realisation of her Pan-Asiatic plan, chiefly rely on the memorandum, or, as it is usually called, the Will of the Prime Minister, Tanaka, presented on 25 July, 1927, to the Emperor of Japan, under the title "On a positive policy in Manchuria," in which is expounded most plainly and precisely a detailed programme for the gradual realisation of this great plan, calculated to occupy a long period of time, not less than a century. The Will of Tanaka, which was published in the Soviet press about four years ago, at first might arouse some doubt as to its authenticity; but now that such a main and important part of it as the occupation of Manchuria and Mongolia and the Chinese Eastern Railway has been almost completely carried out and is already behind us, in the view of those who have been closely following events in the Far East its genuineness is no longer doubtful. To make clear the substance of what has happened in Eastern Asia, we may be allowed to quote some extracts from this comprehensive, detailed and interesting document.

The programme of the Will bears evidence of careful and many-sided study by the scientists of Japan of the wealth and resources of Manchuria and Mongolia, with an enumeration of the reserves

and the conditions of their exploitation both for the needs of Japan and on the markets of the world. In connection with these resources has been drawn up a plan including a whole system of railroads, roads of approach, and the establishment of new ports in Korea, which would connect Japan with Manchuria and Mongolia by the shortest land and sea routes. Apart from the strategical and political significance of some of these lines, which Japan was to obtain permission from China to construct, some of them embrace enormous areas of territory suitable for farming and rice production. On other areas of these lines could be bred millions of cattle which might be utilised for food supply and for export to Europe and America. Lastly, the wool of Manchurian sheep is much richer than the Japanese and far better than the Australian, and would enable Japan to proceed to the development of a wool industry not only for her own needs, but also for export, and in this respect Mongolia is a potential source of the greatest riches. To obtain possession of Mongolia and its riches, two railways would have to be constructed directed to the south and to the north, and the latter would threaten the rear of Russia and deprive her of the possibility of bringing up reinforcements to North Manchuria. When industry is developed in Inner Mongolia, Japan will be able to spread her influence also over Outer Mongolia.

In this article there is no room to dwell in detail on the whole system of railways indicated by the plan and programme of Tanaka, with the length of each and the directions, which will be ready to play this or that part, strategical, political or economic, and also the establishment of new harbours in Korea with which these lines will be connected; some of these will be in a position to undermine the activities of the C.E.R. and ruin Vladivostok. When the indicated plan of railway and harbour construction is completed, all products will be able to pass by road to Osaka and Tokio. "In case of war our troops can be sent to North Manchuria and Mongolia across the Sea of Japan without stopping, and no country will be able to hinder us. Japan will become independent as to food supply and raw material, and will have in her hands the whole transport system of Manchuria and Mongolia." Special attention is given in the Will to the supplies of iron and coal, that have been discovered, "with which, according to the specialists, we can be independent for a period of at least seventy years."

"Petrol, of which a lack is felt in Japan, is a product of special importance for obtaining kerosene. . . . Fortunately, in the mines of Fushan alone it is reckoned that there are five milliard tons of raw

oil, from which can be obtained some hundred million refined, for motors and steamships. . . . Our army and fleet would be inaccessible fortresses, for we have iron and petrol in our hands. There is no doubt that Manchuria and Mongolia are the heart of our empire." There are also reserves of agricultural manure—ammonia sulphate—and other products. "Japan," the Will states, "can flood with fertilisers all agricultural enterprises over the whole of China and on the South Sea Islands, and then we shall get into our hands the control of fertilising materials in all the Far East. . . .

"Apart from this, there are in Manchuria vast deposits of magnesia and aluminium. . . . These materials are particularly useful for making aeroplanes. . . . Their reserves in the world are limited and the demand is growing quickly. . . . The deposits of these minerals in Manchurian and Mongolian territory are for us a godsend; they are essential for our industry and our national defence.

"On the wings of economic development, we shall soon be able to move forward and create our new continental empire." When Japan has in her hands the transport system of Manchuria and Mongolia, she will proceed to secure a monopoly of the sale of specially Manchurian products, and then she will develop her ocean transport. In her hands will be the trade of enormous quantities of Manchurian and Mongolian products used in China, which it will be necessary as far as possible to prepare for the market in Japan itself, to provide her unemployed with work.

The Will foresees the need of combating Chinese emigration into Manchuria and Mongolia, which latterly in consequence of civil war in China has assumed enormous dimensions. "We must take all steps to stop this flow, otherwise, in ten years, China will be able to break us with the help of just this same policy." As to the principle of equal opportunities, since the Washington Conference and the Treaty of the Nine Powers, Japan cannot prevent other Powers from putting their capital into Manchurian and Mongolian enterprises; but the Will insists that such capital should be drawn by preference into railways whose construction is already completed, into electric works, etc.

"We want the Powers to recognise our special position in Manchuria and Mongolia, both political and economic. . . . We must aim at obtaining that our policy should extend also to the diplomatic relations of China with other Powers. . . .

"The policy on Manchuria has been conducted since the time of the Emperor Meiji on the basis of his instructions, and it



is working out and completing the development of a new empire, which is necessary for the growth of our national glory and the prosperity of innumerable coming generations. . . . Our negotiations with the constantly changing governments of Manchuria and Mongolia have ended in failure. Besides that, the Treaty of the Nine Powers, signed at the Washington Conference, has limited our special rights and privileges to such an extent, that we have lost all freedom of action. Danger threatens the very existence of our country. . . .

"According to the testament of Meiji, our first step should be the conquest of Formosa, and the second the annexation of Korea; then must come the third step, which consists of the conquest of Manchuria, Mongolia and China. When that has been done, the rest of Asia will be at our feet, including the South Sea Islands . . .

"For the defence of herself and others, Japan will not be able to remove obstacles in Eastern Asia, except by conducting a policy of 'blood and iron' . . . If in the future we want to seize control of China, we shall have to come into conflict with the United States of America . . . but to conquer China, we must first conquer Manchuria and Mongolia . . . to conquer the world, we must conquer China. If we are able to conquer China, all other countries of Asia and all the Southern Sea will capitulate to us. The world will then understand that Eastern Asia is ours, and will not dare to violate our rights. Such is the plan bequeathed to us by the Emperor Meiji. . . . If we have at our disposal all the resources of China, we shall pass on to the conquest of India, the Archipelago, Asia Minor, Central Asia, and even Europe. . . . To take into our hands the control of Manchuria and Mongolia is the first step, if the race of Yamoto wishes to distinguish itself in continental Asia."

As to North Manchuria and the C.E.R., the Will of Tanaka mentions that the chief sources of wealth are concentrated in North Manchuria, and "if we do not have the right of penetrating thither, it is clear that we shall not be able to secure the riches of that country. While our people cannot settle there, Chinese are settling by millions. . . . At present Russia is losing all her influence and is not in a state to move forward in Manchuria and Mongolia. . . . We must have under our control the railways, both in South and in North Manchuria. . . . But if the C.E.R., which belongs to Soviet Russia, is developed in this area in the future, then our new continental policy will receive a blow, and this in the nearest future will bring about an inevitable conflict with the USSR. In this case, we shall again have to play that part which we played in the Russo-Japanese War.

The C.E.R. will become ours, just as the Southern Manchurian Railway became ours. Apparently it enters into our national programme that we shall again have to cross swords with Russia on the fields of North Manchuria and Mongolia, with the aim of obtaining possession of the riches of Manchuria. Till this hidden reef is blown up, our ship will not be able to go forward quickly."

We do not know how other Japanese statesmen regard these questions; but one thing is clear, that the policy of Japan in Manchuria has developed entirely on the lines of the programme of Tanaka. In the last few years, construction has been feverishly pressed forward in Manchuria. The building of railways and harbours mentioned eight years ago is probably in the main already completed. With the acquisition of the C.E.R. and the expulsion of Russia from the limits of Manchuria, it may be assumed that the chief and most difficult part of the Pan-Asiatic programme has been carried out. Manchuria and Inner Mongolia have already been dealt with. Japan has moved forward some thousands of versts along the southern frontiers of Siberia, and has reached the rear of North China, and all this has been done in the last few years, instead of the several decades which Tanaka foresaw for this object. This success has been obtained without great losses of men or means. Now there are no longer any serious obstacles to a further forward movement of Japan in all directions. All this shows that the Soviet Government can in no way serve as a barrier to Japanese expansion in the Far East.

It is suitable at the end of this article to quote some passages from the memoirs of the former Russian Foreign Minister, Sazonov, taken from his extremely interesting conversation with the German Emperor, Wilhelm II, which took place when the two Emperors met in May, 1912, at Baltisch Port. "When, after the first dinner on board, the hosts and guests went up on deck," writes Sazonov, "the Emperor Wilhelm took me aside, and engaged me in a conversation which lasted an hour and a half. After a certain preface, the Emperor began by saying that he was keenly interested in our Far Eastern policy, and told how he had always regarded with favour all our moves on that side, and recalled the help which he had given us during the long and dangerous voyage of the squadron of Admiral Rozhdestvensky by supplying our ships with coal in the open sea. Without this help, the fleet would never have got to Chinese waters. The Emperor mentioned that he, before anyone else, had given warning of the Yellow Danger which threatened Europe, and tried as far as was in his power to attract the attention of the European

Powers to it. 'How did the Powers regard my warning? They gave no response to it, thinking me mad. And what did England do? In 1902 she made an alliance with Japan which made it possible for that country to declare war on you and come out of it victorious. This heavy crime against race solidarity has had serious results, not only for Russia, but for all the peoples of Europe which have an interest in Asia. In the Far East has appeared a new Great Power, and the centre of gravity in that part of the world has at once shifted to Japan. England is responsible for this, and will not escape punishment. The success of Japan in her fight against a great European Power has turned the heads of the Asiatic peoples, and this will first of all affect the position of England herself in India. . . . The Yellow Danger has not only not ceased to exist, but has become more threatening than before, and most of all for Russia. What is to be done to avert it? You have only one thing left to do—to take in hand the creation of a military force in China, to make of it a rampart against Japanese aggression. This is not too difficult, in view of China's unlimited wealth in men and other natural resources. This task can be assumed only by Russia, who is fore-designed for it—firstly, because she is the most interested in carrying it out, and secondly because her geographical position clearly indicates it to her. If Russia does not take this matter in hand, Japan will set about the reconstruction of China, and then Russia will lose once for all her Far Eastern dominions, and together with them her access to the Pacific.' "

We need not stop to note the comments of Sazonov, which are already little more than ancient history. The prophet of the Yellow Danger is still with us, and perhaps he may claim what has happened since then as a verification of his predictions; but he is no longer in power. What is the attitude on this subject of the Germany of Hitler?

STEPAN VOSTROTIN.

## THE ANNEXATION OF CHINESE TURKESTAN

AMID the turmoil of European disputes and the clash of arms in the Far East, the Soviet Government is carrying out a great act of colonial policy in Central Asia. Moscow is trying to find compensation for its check in Manchuria by the annexation of Chinese Turkestan. An immense territory of 1,871,000 square kilometres—that is, a country three times as large as France—is being transformed into a Russian colony. According to the most recent information which reaches us from Nanking, Chinese Turkestan (that is to say, Eastern Turkestan or Sing-Kiang) is effectively detached from China and included in the Soviet system. The Soviet Government intends to establish itself on a firm footing at the most sensitive point in Asia, the gates of India and Thibet.

Nanking feels anxiety at an imminent new loss of territory, which would lead to a culmination of the dismemberment of Great China, though it is true that Eastern Turkestan has never been very closely connected with the rest of China. Soviet penetration in Turkestan is making impressive progress. The Turkish review, *Tiang-Shang*, published in Nanking (end of January, 1935) relates the following important facts which tend to change the map of Asia :—

“ At the head of all administrations Red Russians are now placed. Everywhere in our country one meets Soviet troops. The Chinese Commander-in-Chief, Shen-Hsi-Sei, who is a docile instrument of the Soviets, has arrested the delegates of the central Chinese Government of Nanking, and has opposed the dispatch of planes and motors by Nanking to Turkestan. Chinese Turkestan, after ceasing all commerce with China, now only deals with the USSR.

“ Our country has to face a great danger. If energetic steps are not taken immediately, the Soviets, making use of this puppet General, Shen-Hsi-Sei, will quickly realise their odious intentions: they will proclaim Chinese Turkestan an independent State under the effective protectorate of the USSR.”

In fact, Nanking is waiting in the greatest anxiety for Chinese Turkestan, by the connivance of its autonomous government, to declare itself a Socialist Soviet Republic, and to join the Soviet Union. The USSR, at present composed of seven quasi-independent republics, will then receive an eighth, which will really be nothing but its colonial possession.

It is easy to understand what enthusiasm this annexation would produce in the USSR, where for some time back efforts have been

made to enhance "Soviet patriotism." Not only all the losses of territory since the Revolution would be compensated, but the Union would increase its population by eight million new "citizens." After such a success the Red patriots would pardon their Government its eventual losses in the Far East.

The annexation of Chinese Turkestan would certainly be presented by Moscow as the greatest victory of Leninism and Stalinism in Asia. However, it must be noted that this victory would be no more than a pure and simple accomplishment of the Tsarist policy, as it defined itself as early as the middle of the 19th century. Neither the aims nor the methods of the colonial policy of the Kremlin are a new fact. Stalin has faithfully followed the road traced by the agents of the old Empire.

The Governor-General of Western Siberia, General Gasfort, said in his report of 1857: "The transformation of Kashgar (the southern part of Chinese Turkestan) into a State independent of China under a Russian protectorate would render a great service to its people, for whom the Sino-Manchurian tyranny has become insupportable. . . . We shall make ourselves masters of Central Asia, and we shall be able to hold all the Khans in respect, which will facilitate our march forward." Gasfort's project, which was well received in St. Petersburg, was not put into execution mainly out of fear of complications with England.

The possession of Chinese Turkestan interests Russia not only because it opens the way to India, Thibet and Southern China. The annexation of this country would strengthen the position of Russia in Outer Mongolia, and would turn Russian Chinese Turkestan, situated on the borders of the Empire, into an "inner" territory. The population of the two Turkestans, Russian and Chinese, is homogeneous: the Turkish tribes represent 80 per cent. of the population, and the rest is composed of Kalmyks (Torguts), Chinese Musulmans (Tungans), and Manchu Chinese; the number of these last is not more than fifty thousand, but it was they who held power during the union with China.<sup>1</sup> The history of Chinese Turkestan has long been connected with China, whence its name, Chinese. The sovereignty of China over this country was more or less nominal. The southern part (Kashgar), from the 14th to the middle of the 18th centuries, formed an independent State governed by the Hođja

<sup>1</sup> We borrow these historical and statistical data on Chinese Turkestan from the address which Mustafa Chokai, editor of the *Yash Turkestan*, gave not long ago to the Professional Association of the Foreign Press in France.—N.V.

dynasty. In 1765 the country, being torn by political disorders, appealed to China. China annexed the province, but the internal disorders did not cease at all; there have been more than ten important insurrections in the course of the 19th century.

The Chinese governor, anxious to maintain order, often asked the help of the neighbouring Russian authorities: "Our countries," he wrote in 1864 to General Kolpakovsky, "are as close to each other as the tongue is to the teeth, and naturally you ought not to remain indifferent as to what is happening to us." The Russians acted with a strong hand, and their troops remained guests of the Chinese governor till the country was "pacified."

After the revolt of Yakub-Bey, Kashgar again became independent for some fifteen years. Its government was recognised by Russia and by England, who both concluded treaties with it, the first on 8 April, 1872, and the second on 2 February, 1874. In 1877 Yakub-Bey died. His inheritance was disputed by several pretenders, and finally the State was re-annexed by China. At this time, China, which had become more circumspect, modified its policy. It changed everything, including the name of Turkestan, which became Sing-Kiang—meaning "the new province." The reforms of 1884 set up conditions which hindered the population from taking part in political life. The whole press was prohibited; the Musulmans were deprived of the right of having printing presses; religious schools were placed under the close surveillance of the Government; unions and associations of every kind were suppressed; and the administration was composed exclusively of Chinese; the natives were only entitled to occupy subordinate positions in tax collection.

The Chinese Governor became almost a sovereign, and he kept up regular relations rather with the Russian Government than with that of the Celestial Empire—which is easily explained if one glances at the main routes on the map connecting Turkestan with those two powers. The first station of the Chinese railway system, Kalgan, is 2,668 kilometres away from Urumchi, the capital of Chinese Turkestan. On the other side, Chinese Turkestan is connected with Soviet Turkestan by some ten well-kept roads, of which the longest (that from Andijan to Kashgar) is not more than 554 kilometres.

Since the Chinese revolution more than twenty years ago, Chinese Turkestan is living like a quasi-independent State. Profiting by this condition, Moscow concluded consular treaties with Urumchi, not only without informing the Chinese Government of Nanking, but in defiance of its sovereign rights. To give an idea of the situa-

tion created in Turkestan, it is enough to mention that in 1929, at the time of the Sino-Soviet conflict over the Chinese Eastern Railway, the consuls of Chinese Turkestan resident in Soviet Turkestan publicly expressed their sympathy for the USSR.

According to the official Soviet data, nine-tenths of the commerce of Chinese Turkestan is with the USSR. In these conditions it is not surprising that the Chinese officials, including the Governor, have always been the most loyal servants of Moscow.

This situation naturally could not remain as it was without injuring the prestige of China. The population, subjected to a twofold authority, revolted in 1930. For four years all Turkestan became a theatre of war, in which it was difficult to mark out any line of demarcation between the hostile fronts. The Tungans of the neighbouring Chinese province of Kan-Su broke into Turkestan under the command of Mâ-Ju-Ying, a younger member of the Mâ family, which is the most influential and highborn in the provinces of Kan-Su and Shensi. Helped by his kinsmen, Mâ-Ju-Ying conceived the project of invading Turkestan, turning out the Governor, Jen-Shu-Jen, putting himself in his place, and organising the country on the lines followed in Siberia at the time of Chang-Tso-Ling. The three armed sections—the insurgent Musulmans, the Governor of Urumchi and the troops of General Mâ—fought each other for three years. The situation became further embroiled when the Russians entered the firing line. To start with, the Governor of Urumchi received arms and munitions from Moscow; he then mobilised the Russian emigrants under the threat of handing them over to the Bolsheviks, or simply having them executed, which came to the same thing. The Chinese authorities arrested the Russian women to compel the men to register themselves in the ranks of the defenders of Urumchi; these Russians formed an important detachment which drove off the attacks of the Muselman Turks on Urumchi. It is very curious to note that the "White" Russians were armed with guns and machine-guns which the Chinese Governor had received from the Soviet Government. It is still more striking to know that the forces of General Mâ equally made use of Soviet arms, formerly supplied by Moscow to the well-known "Christian General," Feng-Yu-Siang, who then handed them over to the Mâ family. The *Chini Turkestan Avasi*, a Turko-Chinese newspaper in Nanking, reckons that there were "more than 200,000 Musulmans massacred in Chinese Turkestan with arms supplied by the Soviets."

At the beginning of 1933 the struggle entered a decisive phase.

The insurgents succeeded in freeing all Kashgar from the Chinese and Tungan forces. In August a congress of Turks of Chinese Turkestan meeting at Aksu proclaimed the southern part of the country an independent republic, and elected Khoja-Niyaz-Hajji as president. The life of this phantom republic was of short duration. Exactly at this moment the Chinese Governor received reinforcements consisting of several thousands of Chinese soldiers, which came from Jehol and passed through Soviet territory. A new government had meanwhile been formed at Urumchi, having at its head Lu-Ying-Lung, formerly director of the Department of Education, and General Shen-Hsi-Sei. The heads of the Musulman republic entered into negotiations with the new government at Urumchi, to unite their forces against General Mâ. Mâ was defeated and fled to Soviet territory. The struggle between the republic and the government of Urumchi was resumed at once.

It was then that Soviet diplomacy openly entered on the scene. The President of the Musulman republic, Khoja-Niyaz-Hajji, was invited by the Soviet delegation to Irkeshtam. For the moment we do not know what passed in this frontier town, but the result of the meeting was that the republican government fell into disagreement with the President of the Republic and detached itself. Part of the government, with the Prime Minister, Mulla Sabit Baki, at its head, pronounced against any rapprochement with the Bolsheviks, and embarked on an open struggle with the President of the Republic. While these events were taking place, General Shen-Hsi-Sei, the governor of Urumchi, received from Moscow substantial help in money, men and arms to suppress the last signs of the Musulman insurrection. This was done. The leaders of the Musulman movement who had not yet submitted were drawn into a trap and killed. The Paris paper, *Yash-Turkestan*, has a telegram from Mecca, dated 13 February, which says: "The republican Prime Minister, Mulla Sabit Baki, formerly professor of theology in the University of Alexandria, and the Minister of Justice, Zariif-Kari, have been shot by the Chinese at Aksu, and the Minister of Commerce, Satyb-Aldy, has been shot at Tash-Kurgan." The two places named are close to the Soviet frontier; Aksu is the centre of Soviet influence in the south of Chinese Turkestan.

Thus the Musulman republic of Turkestan has come to an end. The three Ministers were shot because they opposed the rapprochement with the Soviets. After their execution, Moscow may regard as complete its work of internal consolidation of Chinese Turkestan. If we may believe the Nanking journal already quoted, the Soviets



have, in fact, not delayed in inaugurating a complete and implacable sovietisation of the country. "All the bases of the old life are being destroyed," writes the *Tiang-Shang*, "religion and national feeling are persecuted and humiliated. The mosques are transformed into Communist clubs. . . . Everywhere they are setting up Bolshevik schools where the minds of our children are poisoned by Communist teaching and their pure and innocent souls are being indoctrinated with anti-religious and anti-national feelings, hostile to family life. Deprived of the most elementary rights, the natives in their economic life are no longer anything better than Soviet slaves. The respected and venerated men who raised their voice against the Soviet oppression are arrested by the Ogpu and killed. The bloodstained claws of the Ogpu, that unprecedented instrument of human cruelty, have dug deep into the living flesh of our dear country."

As we see, the traditional russification has changed its methods. The new colony is naturally destined to suffer the lot of its new mother country.

NICHOLAS VAKAR.

## THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT IN RUSSIA, 1904-5

*Editorial Note.*—This article is part of a study of the history of Russian legislative procedure and outlines the various steps by which Russia approached a constitutional régime in the period leading up to the First Duma. A large measure of representation of the public already existed in the shape of the zemstva or county councils, which took the most prominent part in pressing for reform at that time.

*The Congress of the Zemstva on 6/19 November, 1904.*

The beginning of the Liberal movement can be dated from the Congress of representatives of the zemstva on 19–20 November, 1904, held in St. Petersburg. Here a wide programme of reforms was worked out, of which we give the principal points.

The Congress regarded as one of the general evils of the old régime the separation of the governing power from the educated public, considering that a union of both was essential to the welfare of the country. In its opinion this separation had come to be felt more generally somewhere about the beginning of the eighties. From that time the central government had distrusted the institutions of local self-government, and had in every way tried to hinder the educated public from taking part in this work.

Another evil, it considered, was the complete lack of a rule of law. The bureaucratic régime, separating the sovereign power from the people, gave rise to the arbitrary rule of officials. In this condition no one could rest assured that his rights would be duly respected. This could only be corrected by a union between the people and the governing power. To prevent the abuses consequent on the arbitrary régime, the Congress urged the introduction of the principles of personal freedom and of inviolability of dwelling. Nobody should be fined or restricted in his rights otherwise than by a decision of a law court. The complete establishment of a rule of law made it necessary to guarantee the strict responsibility of government officials before the ordinary courts and the abolition of administrative justice. To further the development of the spiritual forces of the people and to help educated opinion to make its needs and necessities known to the government, the Congress urged the introduction of freedom of conscience and of faith, and also freedom of speech, of the Press and of the right to organise meetings and associations.

The Congress required the equality before the law of all classes of the Russian public. The position of the peasantry specially demanded consideration. Peasants should be made equal in their rights with the other estates of the realm and be free of the arbitrary power of the local officials chosen by the government from the gentry (land captains). The zemstva ought also to be reconstructed, as at that time the gentry had been given a predominant position in them. Class distinctions should be abolished in all the work of local self-government.

The Congress also urged the additional institution of a small unit of local government. It claimed also that all local affairs should be delegated to the organs of local self-government, restricting the administrative authorities from interference in them as much as possible.

Finally, the Congress stated that all these proposed reforms could only be brought into operation when a constitutional régime was substituted for the autocratic in Russia. Already three distinct opinions could be noticed in the Congress. There were the Slavophiles, who equally asked for reform, but represented the right wing of the zemstva; they were full of admiration for the old Russian life, and did not wish to break with traditions. The two other directions, which were still most closely united, were those of constitutionalism and parliamentarism. The purely constitutional view, represented by Count Heyden, asked for a share of the people in legislation, leaving the executive independent of the legislative body. The parliamentary group, which later took shape in the Constitutional Democratic or Cadet Party, wished to introduce in Russia a parliamentary régime on English lines. These two groups acted together in the Congress. The Slavophil group, represented by the chairman of the Congress, D. N. Shipov, was already moving away from the others and was in a minority.

*The Ukaz of 12/25 December, 1904.*

The sovereign tried to a limited degree to meet the claims of the zemstva and issued an ukaz, which contained certain promises. It announced that the fundamental laws of the empire (embodying the autocratic régime) would be maintained, but that some reforms would be introduced. It promised to enlarge the sphere of activity which belonged to the organs of local government in the towns and the country, to guarantee equality before the law to every Russian subject, to make the law courts independent of the organs of administration, to restrict the use of the so-called exceptional legislation, by

which the administration could supersede the normal legal procedure. The same ukaz promised to improve the conditions of factory workmen, to grant a limited freedom of religion, and to "abolish unnecessary restrictions of the Press." Nothing was so far said about a national assembly.

Almost at the same time appeared a government *communiqué* in which the aspirations of the zemstva were declared to be contradictory to the fundamental laws of the empire, in which no change could be made. For this reason the attitude of the zemstva men was regarded as insubordinate and not in conformity with the true aspirations of the people. The government remained conservative, only acknowledging that it was not opposed to gradual reforms, which in no case must be allowed to affect the substance of the old régime, and even this attitude remained subject to its interpretations by the government's own agents.

9/22 January, 1905, and its sequels.

The beginning of the year witnessed bloodshed in the streets of St. Petersburg. A procession of workmen, led by the priest Gapon, was met with musketry fire on its way to the Winter Palace, and was dispersed.

It was probably in part under the influence of the events of January and still more that of the assassination of the Emperor's uncle and brother-in-law, the Grand Duke Sergius, who had been Governor-General of Moscow, that was issued the ukaz of 18 February/3 March, which announced greater willingness on the part of the government to meet the reforms of the people. It stated its desire to further their welfare and for this purpose to introduce certain changes in the machinery of government. It recognised that it was necessary that the voice of all subjects of the Tsar should be heard. It proposed to give new vigour to the old right of petitions established since 1558, and stated that the Ministers should give consideration to the proposals of societies and of private individuals to improve the institutions of government.

*Rescript to Bulygin.*

On the same day in a rescript to the Minister of the Interior, Bulygin, the Tsar announced his intention to summon representatives of the population and to give them a share in the work of legislation. He, also, stated that he did not wish to break with the traditions of the past, retaining the right of earlier Tsars who had summoned the Zemsky Sobors (the national assemblies of the 16th

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and 17th centuries). He declared his intention of calling together the best men of the country invested with the confidence of the population, which meant a national assembly. A committee was set up under Bulygin to draft a project of this assembly.

### *Manifesto.*

On the same date appeared a manifesto which did not seem to conform to the other two pronouncements. It was stated that the fundamental laws of the country were to remain intact, and all faithful subjects were invited to rally round the throne in this difficult period.

Soon after these three pronouncements a secret circular was sent out by the Minister of the Interior to all governors of provinces containing instructions which restricted the meaning of the Ukaz of 18 February. Free discussion of projects of reform, of any kind, was prohibited, and consideration was to be limited to such proposals as conformed with the ideas of reform already expressed by the government.

### *Congress of zemstva members in Moscow, 22-24 April/5-7 May.*

The zemstva congress of 22-4 April was the next step in the liberation movement. It continued the work of the Congress of November, 1904. The same principles of constitutionalism which had already been formulated in November now received more detailed consideration. The principles recommended by the Congress were as follows:

The national assembly should not be a representation of classes (estates of the realm) or of different interests, but of the people as a whole; the legislature should consist of two chambers, the lower elected by direct and universal suffrage, the higher to consist of representatives chosen by the organs of local government; both chambers should possess the same rights. The Congress adopted a motion to the effect that the government was not to be trusted in its promises of reform and that, therefore, the first national assembly should assume the rights of a Constituent Assembly. Here the zemstva men embarked on a dangerous road, which might imply taking the power of the government by force.

The Congress also repeated the requirement put forward in November, stating that any new régime could not be established without granting freedom of speech, of person, of meeting and of association. It again pressed for the abolition of the "exceptional legislation" and of the land captains.

In taking up the agrarian question, it thought that the peasants should receive additional allotments, for which purpose part of the estates belonging to the gentry should be alienated.

This congress was the occasion for a strong division of opinion. The Slavophiles set loyalty to the throne as the corner stone of their political creed. Thus they were opposed to any constituent assembly. Shipov and his adherents therefore formed a separate group with a different programme, which was as follows : (1) the national representation should consist of a body called the Zemsky Council of State ; (2) it should deal with all questions of legislation and the budget, and should possess the right of initiating legislation ; (3) it should also have the right of interpellating Ministers, but these should be responsible to the Tsar and not to the Council ; (4) it should elect several candidates from whom the Emperor should select its president ; (5) the electoral principle should not be based on direct and universal suffrage, but representatives should be elected by the councils of local government from their own members. The zemstva should be reorganised on a democratic basis and extended to the whole country ; (6) beneath the zemstva should be created a small local unit of self-government (cantonal councils). According to this constitution, the executive would be completely independent of the legislature. The Slavophiles did not believe in a régime where the people's representatives could impose the nomination of Ministers as in parliamentary countries.

*Audience of 6/19 June, 1905.*

The defeat of the Russian fleet at Tsushima on 14-15/27-28 May greatly agitated the Russian public. Shipov now made an appeal to the other zemstva, asking them to send from four to six representatives from their provinces to what he called a "coalition congress," where disagreements should as far as possible be forgotten. This Congress drew up an address to the Emperor and asked him to receive a delegation. On 6/19 June the Tsar in person received the deputation of members of zemstva and town councils in his palace at Tsarskoe Selo. The following prominent persons took part in the deputation : Prince S. Trubetskoy, Baron P. Y. Korff, Count P. A. Heyden, Prince G. E. Lvov, I. I. Petrunkevich, Prince Paul D. Dolgorukov, F. A. Golovin, M. M. Kovalevsky, Yu. A. Novosiltsev, F. I. Rodichev, Prince D. I. Shakhovskoy and Nikitin Fedorov. The last named and Baron Korff represented the town councils, and the rest came from the zemstva.

Prince S. Trubetskoy addressed the Emperor on the critical

position in which the country found itself, and pled for reform. He said a distinction must be made between (1) anarchy, which was now rife in Russia, (2) the Russian people, which stood for reform, but against anarchy, and (3) the bureaucratic régime which evoked general hatred. Anarchy, said Prince Trubetskoy, was not dangerous in itself, but it became so because the country was disorganised, and the cause of the disorganisation was the irresponsible rule of government officials. He believed the Tsar to be deceived. He recognised his sincere wish for the happiness of Russia, but evil was being done in his name. The only way out was the way of reform, summoning representatives of the country as the government had already announced. This must be not a class representation, but one of the whole country, for the Tsar was not simply the Tsar of the gentry, of the peasants, or of the merchants, but of all Russia, and the national representation was a representation of the whole people, and must have as its aim the welfare of the whole country. The first national assembly called in this way would have the task of reforming the State (an indication that it would be a constituent assembly). Bureaucracy existed in every country, but what was hated was the so-called *Prikazny Stroy*, the régime in which archaic government institutions of the bureaucratic type assumed the rights of the supreme power. The government officials must be restricted from their arbitrary actions and must abstain from encroaching on the rights of the sovereign. The officials of the Tsar must be responsible before the people.

The Tsar, in reply, declared that his intention to summon representatives of the people was unchangeable, and that he himself was daily engaged in the preparatory work. He asked that as in olden time union should be established between the sovereign and the country (*zemskie lyudi*). This would create an order of things in conformity with ancient Russian principles (*iskonnia russkia nachala*).

*The Congress of the Town Councils on 16/29 June.*

On 16/29 June was held in Moscow a great congress of the representatives of town councils. Eighty-seven chief provincial towns were represented. This Congress repeated what had been urged in the foregoing congress of *zemstva* or county councils. It expressed itself in favour of universal suffrage, including women. It was in favour of two legislative chambers.

*Congress of zemstva and town council representatives in July.*

On 6/19 to 8/21 July, a joint congress of *zemstva* and town

council representatives took place in Moscow. At this time the results of Bulygin's committee for drafting a project of a national assembly, though not yet announced, were already unofficially known. The Congress announced this project to be inadequate to meet its requirements. At the same time it urged the public to take part in the proposed assembly, and through it to make known to the government what were its real claims, and by moral influence to compel it to introduce a genuine constitutional régime. F. F. Kokoshkin announced that a draft constitution was already being published in No. 180 of the *Russkia Vedomosti* (the organ of a very strong group of Liberal professors of the University). This had been drawn up by several members of the bureau which had prepared the work of the congress, and had been accepted by the bureau. Here the claims of the zemstva, announced in November, 1904, and later formulated in April, 1905, received a final shape. Here are the principal provisions of this draft.

The government of Russia is based on a strict foundation of law (Clause 1). No laws of the Empire can be in contradiction to the fundamental laws (Cl. 4). Legislative proposals are initiated by the Emperor or by the State Duma (the name already given by the government to the new national assembly), and become complete only after their approval by the Duma and confirmation by the Tsar, given under his sign manual (Cl. 5). Everyone is equal before the law (Cl. 10). The law courts must refuse to enforce any provision of law contrary to the fundamental laws (Cl. 4). Law, as such, is distinguished from the enactments of administrative power (ordinances); these can only establish the way a law is to be brought into operation, and no addition to it can be made by ordinance except where the law itself states that this is admissible.

The draft constitution further gave detailed provisions as to the freedom of the citizen. All classes are free in all questions belonging to religious belief. No one can be persecuted for his religious belief or forced to follow the rites of the established church. Anyone is free to abandon any confession of faith and join another (Cl. 17). There can be no restriction of propaganda of any religious belief unless it leads to acts contrary to the existing laws (Cl. 18). No one can be prosecuted otherwise than by procedure established by law (Cl. 19). No one can be arrested otherwise than in cases provided by law. Any person arrested in a town or in other places where there are organs of the judicature can demand either to be set free or to be delivered to these organs in not more than twenty-four hours. In such places where there were not such organs, this term



is prolonged to thirty-six hours. The magistrate, after he has examined the case, either liberates the person concerned or gives an order for his further detention (Cl. 21; this clause was founded on the English *Habeas Corpus*).

Entry into a private dwelling without permission obtained from the owner of the same, the search of a private dwelling and the removal of objects of private property, are forbidden except in such cases and under such procedure as is established by the law (Cl. 25). Letters and other private correspondence cannot be held up, opened and read unless an order is given to this effect by the organs of the judicature, and in such cases the procedure established by the law must be followed (Cl. 26).

Anyone is free, within the limits established by the law, to express his thoughts both orally and in writing, and also to make them public through the printing press and otherwise (Cl. 28). Every kind of censorship is abolished.

All Russian citizens can freely gather under the open sky or in closed places peacefully and without arms, and no preliminary notice to the authorities is required (Cl. 30).

All Russian citizens have the right to form unions and associations, provided that their aim is not illegal (Cl. 31).

All Russian citizens can forward to the government petitions concerning needs and reforms (Cl. 33).

These very simple provisions, which in the main form part of every Western European constitution, were included in the proposals of the Congress. In 1905 they were still new for Russia and were an ideal to which the educated public looked with hope. They were never brought into operation, and these ideals of 1905, like others, still await their realisation.

The organisation of the legislative power, according to the draft constitution, was as follows: The legislative body is called the State Duma. The State Duma is a body of elected members who, possessing the confidence of the people, take part in legislation and in control of the executive (Cl. 33). The Duma consists of two chambers, that of representatives of the *zemstva* (*zemskaya palata*), and that of representatives of the people (Cl. 37). The *zemskaya palata* consists of persons elected by the *zemstva* of the provinces and the councils of towns of more than 100,000 inhabitants (Cl. 38). The chamber of the people's representatives is elected by the whole population by secret, universal and direct ballot (Cl. 42). The right to vote belongs to every citizen of the male sex who has reached the age of twenty-five. The constitution makes the usual restrictions, depriving of the

franchise those who are not *personæ sui juris* (e g. imbeciles), military men, government officials, such as governors of provinces, etc., public prosecutors, and various persons restricted in their rights by a decision of a law court, such as bankrupts (Cl. 43). The representatives of the people are to be elected for four years (Cl. 46).

The initiative in legislation belongs to the Emperor, and in such cases the project is forwarded to the legislative body by a Minister of the Crown. It also belongs to the legislative chambers themselves; and in this case projects, in order to be considered, must be signed by not less than thirty members of the lower house and fifteen of the higher (Cl. 83). All legislative proposals which are accepted by both chambers are forwarded through the Chancellor or the Prime Minister (neither of which offices at the moment existed) to the Emperor for confirmation (Cl. 84). Legislative proposals rejected by either chamber or by the Emperor cannot be reconsidered during the same session. No political or trade agreement of the government has force unless it has received the confirmation of the Duma (Cl. 86).

The Budget is carried as a separate law each succeeding year. The civil list of the Imperial Court is established at the beginning of each reign and cannot be changed without the consent of the Emperor (Cl. 87). The Budget is first discussed by the lower chamber and then forwarded to the chamber of the *zemstva*. When accepted by both chambers, it is forwarded for confirmation to the Emperor (Cl. 88).

New taxes, duties of all kinds and government laws must be based on new acts of legislation, except where provisions are made in advance for any other procedure in the yearly budget (Cl. 89). The chambers have the right of controlling the finances of the State (Cl. 90).

The chambers may accept written petitions containing grievances (Cl. 91), and have the right of interpellating the government (Cl. 92). They may make investigations into the activities of the local administrative authorities. This is done through sub-committees elected for the purpose (Cl. 91).

The general rule that the right of initiative belongs also to the chambers is restricted. The predominant position of the monarch and loyalty to the throne require that in certain cases the law can only be changed when it is the will of the monarch; to such cases belong the laws relating to members of the Imperial family, special obligations of subjects to the sovereign, and the sovereign's right of creating various distinctions.

The Chancellor (or Prime Minister) is nominated by the Emperor

(Cl. 98). Other Ministers are also nominated by the Emperor on presentation by the Chancellor (Cl. 98). Each Minister is responsible (1) for his own administration, (2) for all acts of subordinates done in execution of his orders, (3) for all ordinances issued by the Emperor and countersigned by the Minister (Cl. 100). The Chancellor and other Ministers are responsible to the chambers for the conduct of state affairs (Cl. 101). For every violation of the law committed in the execution of their duties Ministers are responsible to the ordinary law courts (Cl. 102).

Provinces, districts and cantons are governed in all their local affairs by zemstva (or county councils). Towns form separate units of government (Cl. 104). The lower units are elected by universal suffrage, the higher units are elected by the lower units (Cl. 105).

The judicial and administrative powers must be separated from each other (Cl. 109, 110). Judges are irremovable (Cl. 111). So-called administrative justice is abolished. Any government servant can be prosecuted in the ordinary law court for any illegal acts committed in the execution of his duties; the permission of his superior need not be asked nor any information sent to him (Cl. 112).

Such are the chief features of the constitution of the zemstva. It embodies all the political aspirations of Russian Liberalism in 1905, and at the same time has the wisdom not to plunge into extremes. Though universal suffrage of males is included, the age limit is twenty-five years. The Congress refused the one-chamber system advocated by the Left Wing, and the upper chamber was to be elected from the provincial zemstva. These had already forty years of experience in local affairs; they could furnish a contingent of experienced workers and could check any extravagance of the other chamber. The suggested relationship between the legislative and the executive also seems reasonable. Systems of parliamentarism or rule by the lower chamber are usually based on precedent and not on law. The system advocated by the constitution of the zemstva also admitted of development into a parliamentary system. The constitution did not abolish the independence of the executive, though making it responsible to the chambers. The Chancellor, a title borrowed from the German Constitution, is nominated by the Emperor; the executive is left independent of the fluctuating majorities in the chambers, a *modus vivendi* which might be acceptable both to the sovereign and to the national representatives.

#### *Bulygin's Constitution.*

At the same time the government was itself preparing its own

project of a constitution, and on 6/19 August, 1905, it published the result of its work. This was the so-called constitution of Bulygin, Minister of the Interior, who had presided over the committee which had submitted the draft to the Emperor. Here, too, the legislative body is called the State Duma, but the State Duma of Bulygin is only a consultative body and not a legislative. It is to assist in legislation; but the government can also legislate without it through the existing Council of State. The Council of State, as before, remains a consultative body and becomes the channel through which projects originating in the Duma reach the sovereign (Cl. 1). Thus the Council at last acquires that rôle which its creator, Speransky, had desired to give to it in 1811. The State Duma itself retains some of the archaic features of the old Council of State. It consists of members elected to it. It has no right to form committees, like national assemblies in other countries, but is divided into permanent sections. The number of these permanent committees or sections is defined by the law as not less than four and not more than eight. Each such committee or section consists of twenty members (Cl. 6). Any question brought before the Duma is first considered in the relevant section and then by the whole assembly. In this respect, too, Bulygin's Duma resembles the old Council of State, where every matter was considered twice, first in the department and then in the full assembly.

The Duma, according to Bulygin's project, is a body dependent on the executive. A Minister can even bring a matter direct to the State Council, if in two successive meetings of the Duma a sufficient number of members has not appeared (Cl. 52). If the sovereign considers that discussion in the Duma is proceeding too slowly, a time limit for a final decision can be set. If by that time no decision is obtained, the Council of State can pass to the consideration of the matter without waiting for any further consideration by the Duma. Questions of legislation and of finance are within the competence of the Duma (Cl. 33), but it possesses only a very incomplete control of the executive; this relates only to the legality of the activities of the organs of administration and not to questions of policy. When the law is violated, the Duma has a right to ask the relevant Minister for his explanations. If by a majority of two-thirds the Duma expresses its dissatisfaction with the explanation, the matter comes before the Council of State (Cl. 58-61).

The Duma possesses the right of initiating legislation, but if the executive does not approve of the project in question, a majority of two-thirds of the Duma is required to send the matter on for the

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consideration of the Council of State; otherwise the question drops (Cl. 54-57).

The electoral law of Bulygin was also very far from the requirements of the zemstvo men. The suffrage was dependent on a high property franchise; voting was not to be direct, but in two or even three stages (three for peasants and small landed proprietors).

Such were the chief functions of the constitution of Bulygin. It seems to us to be a patchwork of the old Council of State and of the institution of the zemstva in 1864 and perhaps of the full scheme of Speransky. It is an attempt to bring into operation the old Slavophil formula: "To the people the strength of opinion, to the Tsar the strength of power."

### *Congress of 12/25-15/28 September.*

The Russian public remained completely dissatisfied with the project of Bulygin, and the movement went forward. The zemstva representatives met at a congress of 12/25-15/28 September. The programme of the zemstva had, as we know, already been worked out and formulated, so it remained for the Congress of September only to deal with the social as distinguished from the political proposals of the zemstva. The main principles had been outlined in some of the former congresses and were only carried further in the congress of September. With regard to the peasants, the chief remaining point was the question of additional allotments to be given to them, and the alienation of a portion of the private property of the big landowners. Claims were made for the factory workers, including the establishment of an eight-hours day. The financial programme of the zemstva included the increase of direct taxation, the reduction of indirect taxation and a progressive income tax. The legal position of the peasants was also brought under consideration; the special system of peasant justice was to be replaced by the ordinary law courts, and the peasants were to be set free from the so-called land captains, who were administrative and at the same time judicial officials appointed from the local gentry.

The Congress also expressed its desire that universal free education should be introduced in Russia. It urged that there should be an increase in the number of secondary schools and an easy system of transition between primary, secondary and higher education (the ladder system). Universities and other higher schools were to receive self-government, including the right to elect their Principals.

The question of nationality had also to receive an answer. All the peoples constituting the Russian Empire were to have a wide

self-government and the right to cultural self-determination. Primary education should be conducted in the language of the respective community. In all parts of Russia the local communities were to form self-governing units (*zemstva*), to which practically all local affairs were to be referred. Some parts of the Empire, such as Finland and Poland, were to receive what may be described as a dominion status (autonomy). This could only be granted to such parts of the Empire where special national considerations required it, and in each such case a special law would have to be passed.

*Formation of the Cadet Party.*

The next congress was to be held in October, 1905, but owing to the General Strike only a part of the members could reach Moscow. As a matter of fact, this congress became the first meeting of the so-called Constitutional Democratic Party (Cadet), which was the Left Wing of constitutional Liberalism. This party was already in process of constitution in September, and its leading members, coming together in Moscow, in less than a month worked out a programme. The party was formed out of the Union of Liberation (supporters of the Liberal emigrant periodical *Liberation*, edited by Struve) and another group of *zemstvo* constitutionalists. Thus was created the first great Russian parliamentary party.

*Manifesto of 17/30 October.*

Meanwhile the struggle between the Russian Government and the people went on. The Great Strike broke out in October and the government decided at last to grant concessions. This was announced in the famous Manifesto of 17/30 October, 1905. This Manifesto contained promises :—

1. To introduce the principles of freedom outlined in various *zemstvo* congresses.
2. To summon to the Duma those classes which were not represented in the electoral project of Bulygin.
3. To establish the principle that no law should be valid which had not passed through the Duma. Thus was the Duma changed from a consultative to a legislative body. The Manifesto of October raised great expectations, but at the same time the public was still in doubt of the sincerity of the government.

One very important question still remained after the publishing of the October Manifesto, and this was whether the first national assembly would be able to assume the character of a constituent assembly. The government considered that the right to shape the

constitution belonged to itself, and accordingly on 11/24 December, 1905, it published a new electoral law giving practically universal suffrage. Thus one of the chief tasks of the proposed Constituent was already settled by the government.

Soon after this came another split in the ranks of Russian Liberalism. In January, 1906, Prince Eugene Trubetskoy, a very remarkable figure in Russian scientific and political life, left the Cadet Party. He explained his action by several grave points of difference with the Party. He considered that it shared the traditional mistake of the Russian intelligentsia of bowing to the left towards Radicalism. Other parties were formed which reflected different shades of Russian Liberalism: the party of Democratic Reforms of Professor Maxim Kovalevsky, and the party of Peaceful Renovation, led by Count P. A. Heyden. Both these groups were afraid of the land programme of the Cadets, which included expropriation, and both felt a greater loyalty to the throne. The Right Wing of Russian Liberalism, however, also stood for a responsible Ministry; but it did not believe in putting forward the principle of rule by a parliamentary majority.

We have now reached the conclusion which will explain why the Liberal movement missed its chance of reforming Russia. We have noticed how twice a most important split took place among the zemstvo men. First, the secession of the Slavophiles under Shipov deprived them of those men who could best come into touch with the sovereign and find a common language with him. The second secession left in a minority those Liberals who combined a progressive spirit with the best wisdom of the educated class. The remaining Liberal majority, the Cadet Party, drifted to the Left and brought the movement to a comparative failure.

VLADIMIR KING.

## THE AGE OF RUSSIA

WESTERN Europe is firmly of the opinion that Russia is a young country. She is always looked upon by westerners as a young and even a "new" land. What is the basis of such an idea? For one thing, European observation of the process of the Europeanisation of Russia, which started in the time of Peter the Great and continued through the 18th and 19th centuries. Reckoning this process unfinished, the European turned involuntarily to its origin. And to him this origin seemed to be not very remote. From that viewpoint Russia appeared to be a country which began to share western culture after evolving from a primitive State, of which western Europeans have often the most vague notions.

Further, the prevalence of such an idea among foreigners was largely influenced by the existence of analogous views among Russians, chiefly held by the intelligentsia in the 19th century. That intelligentsia obtained its knowledge of Russia not so much from its own experience, as from the riches stored up by 19th-century Russian literature. That treasury is a noble one, and I shall not attempt to criticise its artistic value. But justice demands that we give attention to the fact that in spite of its exceptional endowments Russian 19th-century literature was not entirely free from the influence of the general ideas of European civilisation current in the epoch of enlightenment, that is, the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. Although conforming to Russian conditions, such ideas lay at the basis of Russian literature, determining its tradition.

One of the basic ideas then current in Europe was associated with the name of Jean Jacques Rousseau. As is well known, one of his notions was a sentimental exaggeration of the "natural" relationship between man and nature, especially that between the so-called primitive man and primeval nature. From this he concluded that natural truth existed in some sort of natural "sanctity" of primitive life in a primeval land. In the West, Rousseau's ideas led to the creation of sentimental literary romances about the life of different primitive peoples. Among the most popular of the peoples so treated were the North American Red Indians.

These views, associated with the ideology of Jean Jacques Rousseau, materially assisted in the development of the tradition of "populism" (*narodnichestvo*) among the Russian intelligentsia. Long ago Russian literature believed in an original peasant perception of truth. Tolstoy's teaching at the end of the 19th century is the culminating point of this tradition, but its origin is not Russian.



Its source was the group of ideas enshrined in western European culture, and principally in those of the days of Jean Jacques Rousseau.

Russian 19th-century literature began as a literature of the gentry. The Russian gentry were then closely identified with Western European civilisation, and divided from the peasant, who was as yet uninfluenced by that civilisation, as though by a ravine. What did the gentry see across this ravine? Did they see Russian folk in their historical aspect? Did they see a Russia reckoning its historical existence for one thousand years? The question has to be answered rather negatively. The literature of the Russian gentry, based on the general ideas of European civilisation, has a tendency to consider the man of the people not as a man with a long historical past, but as a man with no past at all. Some thought that this man should be taught to adopt European ways of life. Some were of the opinion that that was unnecessary, that he should be left to that instinctive consciousness of life's truth which is its natural law. In each case Russian literature looked upon the man of the people as a happy, or unhappy native. The literature produced by the gentry or the intelligentsia presents the views, creed, desires of the Russian man of the people from the viewpoint of natural geographical conditions, forgetting his history.

Nineteenth-century Russian literature was but slightly interested in history. Pushkin was an exception; he had a keen and lively interest in Russia's past. He felt it, and in that sense neither Turgenev, Dostoyevsky, nor even Tolstoy, followed him. For Tolstoy, Russian history begins with the origin of the Russian gentry. The great majority of Russian writers of the last century lacked historical feeling, or, more exactly, a sense of history. By history I mean the events of the centuries that passed before Peter the Great founded the Empire. The fact that the most eminent of Russian 19th-century writers were brought up on estates or in towns in that part of Russia stretching from the River Oka to the south, where forest gives place to steppe, was largely responsible for this lack of historical feeling. This part of Russia has no historical landscape. Its towns lack reminiscences of the past. From the viewpoint of Russian history, those districts, Tula and Orel, which cradled Russian writers, are really "new lands." They had quite recently been "wild spaces," or places of new settlement, both by gentry and peasants. Having passed a considerable part of his life in the historical region of Pskov, Pushkin was in a different position in that respect. Impressions of his Pskov days played an important part in the development

of a feeling for Russian history as a whole, which was always part of him. Pushkin regarded the Russians as an historical nation. And when his thought turned to Russia's historical destinies, the habit had been instilled in him by his understanding of the varied and complicated paths of Russia's past throughout the centuries.

When, at the beginning of the 20th century, interest in the historical artistic inheritance of Russia was revived, those who participated in that movement discovered numerous unknown and unexplored historical facts. They had to acknowledge the strange fact that the rich and gifted Russian literature of the 19th century had overlooked phenomena of great importance, not only from the viewpoint of national consciousness, but from the viewpoint of the highest spiritual world values. Suddenly vast perspectives of early Russian art were opened. It became obvious that early Russian architecture was an example of a most original and very independent national creation. To the surprise of wide circles of the Russian intelligentsia it became clear that early Russian painting, ranging from the 12th to the 17th centuries, had created remarkable works of art in the mural paintings of Russian churches, and in the icons adorning those churches. We have every reason to be as proud of those remarkable works of architecture and painting belonging to Russia's past, as the Italians of the frescoes of the early Renaissance, or as the French and Germans of the Gothic cathedrals and statues preserved in Germany and France.

There is this to be noted. Those who approach Russia through her early art, that is through one of the most important aspects of her historical existence, cannot but come to an entirely different conclusion in regard to the psychological characteristics of the Russian people to those implanted in Russian 19th-century literature. After all, that literature is the source of the views adopted about the anarchistic and mystic qualities of the Russian people, of their giftedness always linked with disorder, of their lack of reserve and balance, of their indifference to such creative activity as leaves lasting traces in life. Were those features really innate in the Russian people, how could they co-exist with the characteristics of early Russian national art?

Both our early architecture and painting are notable for their striving after balance. In both there is almost an infallible feeling for proportion and understanding of rhythm. In both, composition, that is the submission of artistic endeavour to strict laws, is the most successful side. Early Russian architects and painters were always

extremely logical in the solutions of their artistic problems. They always showed restraint in expressing emotion. They submitted themselves to a sense of proportion. Early Russian art rather suffered from exaggerated abstractedness. It has no elements of nerves and hysteria, such as are to be met in western European Baroque, or in medieval German art.

How could it happen that the evidence of early Russian art was in such striking contradiction with views on the Russian people expressed in 19th-century Russian literature? Who is right in that strange argument? Where lies the truth?

To solve this question we must turn to history, which 19th-century literature failed to do. We shall then see that our works of art are not an isolated phenomenon. The early, the so-called Kiev period of our history, gives a picture vast and harmonious in all its parts. 11th-century Kiev was a large, rich and cultured city, one of the greatest in contemporary Europe. It possessed scores of Orthodox churches built in original style by gifted Russian architects. The Church of the Tithes, the Cathedral of St. Sophia, the chief church of the Pechersky Monastery were adorned by precious mosaics, similar to those of the Constantinople of their day. On one of its squares stood an antique bronze quadriga brought from Korsun. It was similar to the quadriga that the Venetians mounted on the Cathedral of St. Mark about the same time. The Court of the Grand Duke of Kiev, which was connected with many European princely families, encouraged a love for learning and books. Russian literature was founded about 1050, and the *Discourses of Hilarion*, belonging to that time, enable us to say that this literature excelled the contemporary French literature. And Hilarion did not stand alone. He addressed himself to the enlightened Russian reader of the time, to him, as he said, "who has tasted to his satisfaction the joy of learning." In Kiev Russia such readers were to be found not only among the men, but among the women. Anna, the daughter of Prince Vsevolod, who spoke five languages, founded the first school for girls. The 11th century saw the production of the *Russkaya Pravda*, compiled under the ægis of Prince Yaroslav, and the *Izbornik of Sviatoslav*, remarkable for its variety of subjects. The first Russian chronicles appeared in the 12th century, one hundred years before the first French chronicler, Villehardouin. That unexcelled work of genius, the *Tale of Igor's Host*, belongs to the end of the 12th century. That this poetical work was not unique, that there were others which have not come down to us, is proved by the existence of a remarkable 13th-century literary fragment—

the *Epic of the Wreck of the Land of Russia*—the story of Tartar destruction.

Thus, in historical perspective, the works of early Russian art, seen in the light of contemporary taste and interests, do not appear an incomprehensible phenomenon. If that may be said of the Kiev epoch, the same may be remarked of other periods of Russian history. Let us turn to the end of the 14th century, that remarkable era in Russian art. Novgorod was at the apex of its greatness. So many churches were built that the chronicles were full of the record of them. The Novgorod architects built an entirely original type of Orthodox church with eight-gabled roofs. In Pskov, not far from Novgorod, other architects were already approaching the most original, able, purely Russian solution of the constructional problem that led, one hundred years later, to the building of tent-shaped stone churches in the Moscow region, in the construction of which the gifted Pskov architects certainly had a share. At the same time, Novgorod churches were painted with frescoes and adorned with icons. Up to this day Novgorod preserves remarkable works of art. It is the Russian Florence, while Pskov is the Russian Siena. Not only guilds of Russian artists worked there, masters from Constantinople were summoned thither at times. Thus, for example, Theophanes, the Greek, after residence at Constantinople and at Genoese Caffa, came to Novgorod, and was invited to Moscow, where he covered the walls of the Kremlin cathedrals with frescoes, adorned books with miniatures, painted portraits and even, as the chronicles relate, painted for Prince Vladimir Andreyevich, "the city of Moscow on a stone wall."

Is this great artistic activity which, at the beginning of the 15th century, brought Andrew Rublev, the most eminent Russian painter, to the front, in contradiction with the general historical picture of the epoch? We know of the intellectual movement in Novgorod in the second part of the 14th century, of the expression of the first ideas of rationalism there, of the appearance of sects which, in a Russian setting, had similar tendencies to those characteristic of the predecessors of the Reformation in the West. In the following century was opened a profound discussion on questions of theological knowledge which stirred the enlightened people of those days while, endeavouring to free herself from the Tartar yoke, Russia was passing through a period of national upheaval. St. Sergius of Radonezh worked hand in hand with the Grand Duke of Moscow in uniting the Russian hosts for the battle of Kulikovo Pole.

In the latter part of the 14th century and during the 15th century

the Russian tongue, Russian thought, Russian Orthodox consciousness spread to the West in a broad wave. A remarkable historical episode of Lithuanian Russia has recently attracted the attention of our scholars. Russian culture had permeated the Lithuanian Russian State which arose in the 14th and 15th centuries. Russian was the official and literary language. The Lithuanian statutes, which were later the source of the legal statutes of the Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich, were written in Russian. The discussions in the Lithuanian seim, analogous to the medieval English Parliament, were carried on in Russian. That language was used even for the debates of the conferences which led to the establishment of the Union of Lublin, which attached Lithuania to Poland, and drew her out of the orbit of Russian culture.

But even after this break Russian culture penetrated into Lithuania, and, by means of the Lithuanian lords and clergy, into Poland. Russian artists painted frescoes in the cathedral of the ancient archiepiscopal town of Gniezno. 15th-century Russian paintings exist to this day in Supraśl, near Białystok, in Sandomierz and Lublin. They are still to be seen in the Chapel of the Holy Cross at Crakow, above the tomb of King Casimir Jagiellonczyk.

This is a remarkable example of the "expansion" of Russian culture during the 15th century. In the following century the spread of Russian culture westward was accompanied by a diffusion of energetic State activity. This State activity took shape in the policy of the Moscow Tsars, who, at one and the same time, extended their possessions at the expense of eastern kingdoms, and, with arms in hand, sought an outlet on the Baltic. If we fail to find affinities in the accepted opinion of the characteristics of the Russian national character and the outstanding features of Russian national art, shall we find those affinities in State life, in the policy of Moscow? History rarely offers an example where, in spite of changes in Tsars and rulers, throughout the centuries everything was submitted to such a degree as in Muscovite Russia to one purely logical idea of territorial expansion and the search for an outlet to the sea. When the first English translation of Klyuchevsky's history appeared, an English critic, I do not recall his name, remarked that Russian political history of the Moscow period presented itself as the most definitely consequential, and the most logically implacable policy of all that Europe of that time knew. We may reproach the Moscow Tsars with their cruelty, for bending human and individual elements to the needs of the State, but we cannot reproach them with inconsistency, with lack of balance, with excessive impressibility, with

levity or forgetfulness, with all those deficiencies which 19th-century literature has assigned to Russians in general.

What great mastery in accomplishing great aims with limited means was shown in the conquest of Siberia by Moscow in the time of Ivan the Terrible. Moscow skilfully used the mercantile energy of the Stroganovs, the Cossack recklessness of Ermak's followers. A few hundred brave men secured Siberia for the Moscow Tsar. In the 16th century they accomplished on the frontiers of Europe and Asia that which was accomplished by Cortes and Pizarro in the ancient empires of America. The difference lies in this, that the gallant deeds of Ermak and his men are known to us; they were not cruel, the Tsar's men never behaved in western Siberia with the cruelty that ravaged Mexico and Peru. The fact that the Tsarevich Mametkul, the captured son of Kuchum, Tsar of Sibir, was received in Moscow with honour, and that he took part with Russian troops in the Livonian war, waged by Ivan the Terrible, shows Moscow's brilliant political and diplomatic art.

Such is the evidence of Russian history. If we take the works of Russian art as a point of departure, taking into consideration Russian literature, the movement of Russian thought, the activities of the Russian State, passing from one epoch to another, from one historical moment to another, we shall arrive at a general understanding of early Russian civilisation, we shall sense the long historical life of Russia. Art is a faultless witness. *Ars longa, vita brevis*. The age of Russia is thus defined.

Russian 19th-century literature ignored historical Russian civilisation largely because it was an Orthodox civilisation. Among Russian writers there were such brilliant interpreters of the mystical side of Orthodoxy as Gogol, Dostoyevsky and Constantine Leontiev. But only a few writers out of the main stream of the literary movement, such as Leskov, for example, have written of the other, the historical side of Russian Orthodoxy. Russian national life was based on the Orthodox Church. Orthodoxy is often accused of being enmeshed in the detail of life. But that constitutes its national strength. Even the material side of life could be a source of positive construction. Rising to the height of a mental habit, it defines the spiritual life, and the psychological characteristics of a nation.

After all, the Orthodox tradition has led Russia through all her vicissitudes. It conquered the Tartars at Kulikovo Pole. It rescued Russia from disintegration and ruin in the Time of Troubles. It saved Moscow when it put into motion the orderly hosts from northern towns and villages against the hordes which came from the

south. The subconscious thought of the basic welding of Russian Orthodox life and Russian national historical elements lives in us all. Sometimes we do not ourselves know that we belong even now to the tradition that shaped early Russian civilisation. But it manifests itself at times. The Russian emigration, wherever it may be, takes reverent care of its Church. There are fifteen or sixteen Orthodox churches in Paris alone. Brotherhoods and monasteries have been founded, yet the *émigrés* consist for the most part of the Russian intelligentsia, which only lately was indifferent to church life. It must be said that the great trials through which we have passed have made us turn to Providence. But that is not the only explanation. The Russian *émigré* holds to his Church not only as a spiritual but as a national refuge. He proves in everyday experience that he belongs to the great, national, Orthodox civilisation. In this way the Russian consciousness proves its historical age. The age of Russia is the age of Eastern Christendom on Russian soil.

PAUL MURATOV.

## SAINT SAVA

IF the day of St. Sava belongs to the foremost festivals of the Yugoslav State, it was celebrated with especial fervour this year by the Serbs—and Croats and Slovenes did not fail to take their part—for on 27 January, 1935, seven centuries had passed since the great Serbian saint died at Trnovo.

This son of Stephen Nemanja, Veliki Župan or Supreme Count of Rascia—the most important of the Serbian princes in the 12th century, is one of the first figures in Serbian history of whom the outlines are at all clear. We know something of the father from the biographies written by his sons and from other chronicles, but of the grandfather nothing is known, beyond the bare fact that he bore the name of Savida. But even St. Sava stands only half in the light of history, and half in the twilight of legend. Of his two biographers, Domentian and Theodosios, the former is supposed to have written in the year 1254, the latter late in the 13th or early in the 14th century, but this is largely speculation, and there are some who regard Theodosios as nearer in time and Domentian as having merely borrowed from him. But in any case, both accounts belong to hagiography rather than critical history, are vague in their facts and full of gaps, to say nothing of faulty psychology. The historian must often rest content with suppositions and conjectures: seldom do the words “perhaps,” “probably” or “seemingly” occur so often as in a modern and conscientious monograph on St. Sava. Still less reliable is popular tradition, which is full of saga and tells us not so much what St. Sava was as what the average Serb through the centuries thought him to be. It is much the same with the iconography of the saint. In the cloisters of Studenica and Sveti Nikita there are frescoes of Sava, but of only one portrait are we justified in assuming that it is contemporary. A fresco in the cloister of Milešovo, much ravaged by time, shows the face of a typical ecclesiastic; the features are at once ascetic and mild, the head is full-bearded but bald, the eyes are large, bright and arresting, and we may agree with Stanoje Stanojević that the thin, close-pressed lips show strength of will.

There are sufficient grounds for believing that it was an inward call which drove the third son of the “Magnus Jupanus Rasse,” Rastko, in 1192, at the age of eighteen, to enter the famous cloister of Mount Athos. Eight years he lived as a monk among monks, he took the name of Sava after Saint Sabbas, and finally prevailed upon



his father, who had reached the limit of his activities and life, to lay down his princely crown, and like himself to become a monk of Athos, under the name of Simeon. In common they erected on the Holy Mountain the Serbian cloister of Hilandar, where Sava became hieromonach and archimandrite, and after his father's death still remained there for eight years. In 1208 he returned to Serbia and acquired a prominent position as abbot of the cloister of Studenica and as the builder of new monasteries, such as Žiža. In 1217 he was again at Athos, and two years later went to Nicaia, in order to win, from the Greek Emperor, Theodore Lascaris, and the Orthodox Patriarch, Manuel I, the permission to found an autocephalous Serbian Church. He became archbishop and organiser of the new Church, visited the Holy Land in 1229, and undertook a second journey in 1234, perhaps at the instance of the Bulgarian Tsar, Asen. On his return death overtook him at Trnovo in Bulgaria; two years later his remains were transferred to the cloister of Milešovo and interred there.

As he was canonised very soon after his death, he lived in the memory of his own age as, above all, an apostle of the faith and promoter of Christian doctrine. In reality he at first won fame solely owing to his services to religion and his saintly character and in popular memory he survived as a worker of miracles. Folksongs tell how his amazing miracles put to shame the followers of Islam and their powerless deity; but not all of these miracles bear an ascetic character. For instance, Sava came one day as the envoy of his brother Stephen to Hungary in blazing summer heat and asked in vain for the ice-cold wine to which he was accustomed in Serbia, because the heat had melted all the ice. On this he prayed to Heaven, and at once there was a hailstorm, so that the Serb could offer to the astonished Hungarian King a great silver barrel full of ice, as a gift from God.

It was undoubtedly a genuine desire for spiritual experience which drove the young Rastko, against the will of his parents, to visit Athos by night and storm; in those days to become a monk seemed the sole way of serving the Spirit. By his prayers and penances the Prince soon outbid all his associates of lower rank, and in later life he never denied that his whole character had been formed by sixteen years of cloister life. The writings which have earned him the repute of the founder of Serbian literature, are altogether ecclesiastical in character. Had he been a secular writer, he might have left works of travel of high cultural value, for he had travelled as no other Serb of his time in the Balkans, Palestine, Syria and Egypt.

(Indeed, according to Domentian's doubtless exaggerated account, he had been as far as Persia and Babylon.) Instead of this, following strictly Byzantine models, he produced a *Typicon* and a Book of *Rules* for each of the three cloisters, Karyas, Hilander and Studenica; and when he sat down to write a biography of his father, it was not the Veliki Župan Stephen, but only the monk Simeon of whom he treated. As a sort of appendix there was a "Služba Sv. Simeona," a mass for the dead Simeon. The language of these writings is the Church Slavonic in which Cyril and Methodius had written, though slightly adapted to the Serbian. Sava's brother, Stephen, also wrote their father's life, and many critics put it higher, from the purely literary point of view; while an authority such as Matthias Murko treats the Saint as lacking all claim to originality, despite his merit as the first Serbian writer.

However fully St. Sava may have deserved the golden halo about his head, his importance as a secular statesman far transcends his rôle as churchman. He was undoubtedly religious in the medieval sense, but he had no sense for refined theology; he accepted the Church's dogmas without subjecting them to deep enquiry or research. For him the difference between Rome and Byzantium did not express itself in a difference between articles of faith. For so pre-eminent a realist Christianity embodied, above all, a higher social morality. Living at Athos, he had more than one opportunity, on journeys to Salonica and Constantinople, to observe more developed economic and cultural forms than the Serbian lands could show. As Abbot of Studenica, he got to know the Serbian people at close quarters—backward, poor, ignorant, full of superstition, in a word, barbarians whose Christianity was but skin-deep. As the spiritual teacher of this people, he did not limit his sermons to the Ten Commandments or fulminations against adultery or sodomy, but was actively concerned to bring his Serbs to a higher social level. As the monasteries were at first in Serbia, as in other medieval states, the only centres of culture or economic training, St. Sava, with every new cloister cut a clearing in the primitive forest of barbarism which covered the country. If Theodosios tells us that for poor people at home or in the meadows it sufficed to call upon the name of St. Sava, in order that their milk should at once turn to cheese or excellent sour milk (*kiselo mleko*), this is doubtless a miraculous interpretation of the fact that perhaps not Nemanja's son, but the monks in Serbia were the first to teach the proper making of cheese. No less characteristic is the popular legend according to which the Saint introduced windows in the houses,

till then unknown—St. Sava as bringer of light and air! In other ways also the people had a keen sense for the material side of his achievement: for it tells how Sava taught the women to weave and the men to plough, to forge iron, to smoke trout, to cut out shirts. He is regarded as the inventor of rope-walking and blanket-making, and as having brought in improved methods of saddlery. To this day several of these trades celebrate St. Sava as their patron—for instance, the dyers of Pirot and the makers of Opanke (peasant shoes) throughout Serbia. This is all too *simpliste*, for all these trades must have already been known to the Serbs; but the Saint stood to them as the symbol of a whole period which meant transition from barbarism to civilisation. St. Sava is the great civiliser of Serbdom.

It was not, however, Christian charity alone that influenced him in this work. In the years which he spent together with his father on Athos, the father succeeded in inspiring his younger son with a part of the political passion that was his, and bequeathed to him as his political testament the task of consolidating the dynasty. After his return to his native land, Sava soon revealed his political temperament, as the wise adviser of his brother, King Stephen, and often as his envoy to foreign courts. He now came forward as a member of the ruling family, and a hostile cleric in those days has left us the following picture of him. "He is altogether absorbed in worldly cares and worldly ambition, and is beginning to attend banquets, to ride rare horses with splendid trappings, and to travel round in pomp, with a large and glittering retinue. . . ." That he had his father canonised, had worldly and political grounds; there thus fell upon the whole Nemanjid race a supernatural splendour from its beatified founder. But his work in creating an independent Serbian Church was also a political achievement of the first rank. Russia almost had the appearance of a theocracy; and it was no accident that besides Stephen Nemanja and his younger son, Sava's elder brother, Stephen, also took monastic vows before his death, and that two of his sons in their turn, Predislav at once, Radoslav after many blunders and disappointments as a ruler, also entered the cloister.

Quite apart from this, however, the Church was in medieval Serbia the old element of intellectual life; all that literature, theatre, press, wireless mean to us today, came to the men of those days through the medium of the Church, and he who ruled the Church controlled all that was immaterial in the life of the people. By placing this Church on its own feet and giving to its supreme head

a title reminiscent of royalty—"by the grace of God Archbishop of All Serbian lands and of the Coast," he made it independent of all external influences, and made of it, as the State Church, a firm bulwark of State and dynasty alike. Sava's father, whose centre of political gravity lay in the mountain district of Ras, near the modern Novipazar, had extended his power westwards to the Adriatic, eastwards to the Morava, Struma and Vardar. But this new State was thinly populated, without cities, without a middle class, with very strong survivals of a tribal constitution and no less strong separatist ambitions on the part of the great feudal lords; it was lacking in roads and means of communication, and its main tendencies were more centrifugal than centripetal. In other words, it only faintly resembled what we call a State, until it acquired spiritual force through the church organisation of Sava.

A similar effect was produced by the foundation of monasteries, each one of which, thanks to its rich endowments in land, represented a powerful social factor. Four of them were, according to Byzantine precedent, made into "Royal monasteries," in the election of whose abbots the Crown had decisive influence. The Church and the monasteries were thus combined in an organisation, on which the dynasty had its hand, and this greatly strengthened the Nemanjids. Each of the nine bishoprics into which Serbia was divided—Zeta, Ras, Hvosno, Hum, Toplica, Budimlje, Dabar, Moravica and Prizren—was a bulwark no less at home than abroad. The Veliki Župan, as the largest landowner among the Serbian nobility, against whom he had to hold his own, was at first only *primus inter pares*; it was only the coronation of Stephen that raised him to a higher status. But while the King had to consider the National Assembly, which included representatives of the greater and lesser nobility and also of the secular and monastic clergy, the latter henceforth stood solidly behind the dynasty and either attracted the nobles to its side or let itself be played off against them.

If Sava showed wisdom, caution and endurance at home, his foreign policy was marked by the same qualities. The Nemanjide State was then wavering between Rome and Byzantium, drawn now to one, now to the other, as by a magnet. When Sava stood at the height of his powers, West Rome seemed about to triumph definitely. The Fourth Crusade ended with the erection of the Latin Empire in Constantinople and the partition of the Byzantine Imperium into the three States of Epirus, Nicaea and Trapezunt. Under the influence of these events, Sava's brother, Stephen, coquet-

ted so persistently with the West, that he married a granddaughter of Enrico Dandolo, the Venetian Doge, and in 1217 received at the hands of the Papal Legate the royal crown at which he had aimed. As Sava rejected Roman Catholicism not on account of its dogmas, but for reasons of world-power—in the Adriatic coast districts he tolerated it—he opposed his brother's policy. To him it seemed that a sense of political reality demanded close reliance upon the East and, above all, that more advantages were to be obtained from a weakened Power such as Byzantium. Convinced that he would never secure from Rome the independence of "his" Church, he sought the point of least resistance and found it in Nicaea. As he had expected, emperor and patriarch hastened to fulfil Sava's wishes, in order to win the House of Nemanja as an ally in the impending struggle for existence. By linking his church organisation to the Byzantine system, Sava determined what we should now call the "Eastern orientation" of the Serbs; and within its framework his realist mind turned in later years to the rising power of Bulgaria. At the same time in Serbia a *coup d'état* of the nobles drove Radoslav from the throne, and replaced him by Sava's second nephew, Vladislav, father-in-law of the Bulgarian Tsar, Asen II.

Sava has been called not only "the greatest Serb of the Middle Ages," but also "the greatest man of the Slav South down to our own day." If he is also described as revolutionary, democrat, nationalist and the creator of Serbian nationalism, this is, of course, a misuse of words which do not belong to Serbia in the 12th and 13th centuries. As a prince of the Serbian dynasty and its conscious representative, Sava accepted the feudal State as it then was. If he preached to the great and wealthy, that they should not be proud or think themselves better than others, since there could be no reliance on earthly treasures, but on God alone, this did not go beyond those general exhortations to Christian humility which beseeemed a prince of the Church; and if he made himself a protector of the poor and the blind, the lame, the dumb and the orphan, paying the debts of the unfortunate and releasing slaves, the care of the poor was then a main duty of the ruling family, and the revolutionary idea of freeing a whole class such as the oppressed serfs, certainly never entered his head. His outlook on such matters is well illustrated by his attitude to the Bogomil sect, which might conceivably be regarded as a national, democratic and social revolutionary movement. Not merely did he approve their extermination by his father, but he "converted" what was still left of them—

certainly not by mild methods, since those who offered resistance were driven from the country. A poet of the 19th century sings of him :—

Otrok, sebar i vlastelin,  
Pred tobom su bili ravni,  
Svi članovi jednoga tela,  
Ne razlučni, punopravni.<sup>1</sup>

But if to Sava the Archbishop all were certainly equal in the sense of Christian doctrine—"slave, commoner and noble"—to the Nemanjid Sava each one of them took his place in the order of a feudal State, resting upon social inequality. In the same way nationalism as we conceive it was an idea foreign to the age of Sava. What distinguished the territory of the Nemanjide House from other States, was that it was ruled by that house, not that it was inhabited by Serbs, for Serbs settled in other lands also. Sava's patriotism was thus purely dynastic in character. He served the interests of Nemanja, just as Frederick II of Prussia served the interests of Hohenzollern and thought of nothing else.

Yet the development of later centuries brought together the, at first, separated ideas of dynastic interest and Serbian nationalism. When the Turkish flood submerged the Balkans and destroyed all outward links between the medieval Serbian States, one organism still remained whole and prevented the Serbian spirit from flowing into desert sand : this was the Church of St. Sava's creation. When Serbdom, under pressure of the Ottoman yoke, slowly reawakened to national consciousness, like parallel movements of the spirit throughout Europe, this Church formed the unifying link, and its founder, by a natural process, became the patron of the national liberty to which the Serbs aspired. Thus the cloister of Milešovo, where he lay buried, acquired the character of a place of national pilgrimage, and (though even many Turks also went there) attracted the vengeance of the Pashas and Viziers of the Land of Rumili. They made of St. Sava a posthumous martyr on 10 May, 1594, when his bones were disinterred and burned on the Vračar, near Belgrade. But the idea with which his name was identified, could not be turned to ashes : the watchword of Serbian freedom was still attached to the name of Sava.

The cult of his name was naturally strongest through the centuries in the districts where he himself had worked and erected monastic buildings, but he was no less held in honour in Hercegovina,

<sup>1</sup> "Servant, peasant and lord, to thee all were equal, all members of one body, inseparable, equal in rights."

Montenegro, the Bay of Kotor (Cattaro), most of Bosnia and North Serbia, and in Old Bosnia and Macedonia as far as Štip and Kratovo eastwards, and Prizren southwards. The Bulgars also paid him honour, and even the Catholic Croats could not wholly escape his influence. In the 18th century, Andrija Kačić-Miošić celebrated him as a "second Elijah," and claimed that he had been consecrated as Archbishop at the instance of the Pope:—

Po naredbi pape velikoga,  
Svega svita oca duhovnoga,  
Komu Grci podložni bijahu,  
Za glavara tada poznavahu.<sup>2</sup>

None the less, till the 18th century, few churches were dedicated to him, and it was only in the 19th in liberated Serbia that his cult was revived. On the bell of the Velika Škola—the Belgrade High School of 1810—his portrait was cast. In 1823, Prince Miloš Obrenović made St. Sava's Day a national holiday, and by a law of 26 Jan., 1841, all the schools of the Principality were bound to celebrate it. Since then numberless poets have sung his praises—Nikanor Grujić, Jovan Sundečić, Stefan Kačanski, Mita Popović, Jovan Ilić, Jovan Jovanović Zmaj, Vojislav Ilić, Aleksa Šantić, Milan Kujundžić, and others; and though he is mainly celebrated as the patron of Serbian education, he was in the darkest days of the war thought of unreservedly as protector and saviour of the nation.

Whatever, then, the historical Sava may have been, for the Serbian people Saint Sava has become in the course of seven centuries a figure which holds its place beside Marko Kraljević—beside the warrior, the spiritual leader, beside the hero of the sword, the hero of the book.

HERMANN WENDEL.

<sup>2</sup> "by order of the great Pope, spiritual father of the whole . . ., to whom the Greeks (i.e., Orthodox) were subject, recognising him as their head."

## WALLENSTEIN, AFTER THREE CENTURIES

THREE centuries have passed since Albrecht Wallenstein, Duke of Friedland, was murdered at Eger on 25 February, 1634. His life was strange and memorable, but the violent and terrible manner of his death stirred his contemporaries no less than posterity. He became one of the most keenly discussed personalities of modern history, and still remains an inexhaustible subject for scholars, pamphleteers, popular writers and poets.

His career suggests four general questions : (1) Was he a traitor, and if so, at what stage in his development did he become one? The answer has to be given no less from the moral than from the legal and political point of view. (2) What were his personal motives and the more general causes of his action—egotism, ambition, Czech patriotism, desire for peace? (3) How was his character compounded : did vulgarity, idealism, economic, strategic and political interests all play their part? (4) Who ordered the final catastrophe? Who were its instigators and where did the responsibility lie?

From the point of view of historical research it was, above all, important to bring out the difference between the Wallenstein legend, created after his death by the rival parties in a whole series of pamphlets, and the real facts, which could only be extracted from original documents. Leopold von Ranke wrote a special study of Wallenstein in 1869, and the value which he attached to the famous report of Secima Račín, the Bohemian *émigré* and subsequent renegade, was confirmed by various sources published mainly in the last thirty years. To Czech scholars Wallenstein was a national problem. Anton Gindely blamed him severely, while H. Hallwich, the editor of Wallenstein's private papers and the correspondence with his Bohemian cousins, took a favourable view. From Arnold Gaedike we know that ever since 1630 Wallenstein had an unbroken connection with the Swedes and Count Arnim. H. von Srbik published many new details on the catastrophe of Eger, based on a report of General Gordon. The best psychological portrait is given by the novelist, Ricarda Huch. Masses of documentary evidence have been published right down to our own day, so that we have ample material for a just and accurate portrait.

The Waldsteins were an ancient, noble Czech family, taking their name from an old castle in the Bohemian mountains near Bunzlau—"Waldstein," which was changed by the Czechs to Wallstein and



Wallenstein, owing to difficulties of pronunciation. Albrecht Wallenstein never felt himself to be a Czech, he never used the language, and found the Bohemian national idea too narrow for him. Hence no one hated him more intensely than his cousin Slavata, with the real hatred felt by kinsfolk and co-nationals. Wallenstein's personal style and culture were German and universal, but some typical Slav qualities should not be overlooked in any analysis of his character. The mere fact that he was a Germanised Slav was perhaps enough to make him a problematic personality. He was born of Protestant parents on 24 September, 1583, at Hermanič, the estate of his father. His parents belonged to the Bohemian Brethren, and, though both of them died young, he was brought up in their religion. Indeed, the connection with his Czech and Protestant relatives was never broken and became to a certain extent disastrous for him. It was not until the age of twenty-three that he was converted, in 1606. He was *not* educated by the Jesuits at Olmütz, as the legend says. When a student in Altdorf, famous for his wildness, he was still a Protestant; but after going on the "grand tour," or Kavaliersreise, especially through Italy, he became a Roman Catholic. His companion was Kepler, and his friendship and Italian culture combined to give a decisive trend to his life. He liked Italy, learned the language fairly well, had many Italian friends, such as the Piccolomini, admired Italian culture, or, perhaps, rather the revived civilisation of ancient Rome. Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Cæsar, the Sforza and the Medici became his models. Italy made of him the last and perhaps the greatest condottiere, while Kepler made of him an insatiable astrologer. Wallenstein was a born politician, and he became a Roman Catholic only because the Jesuits impressed him as true Roman politicians. He was never religious and showed not the slightest understanding of sectarian prejudices. He was thus much more a man of the Renaissance or of the 18th century than he was of his own period.

Wallenstein's special interest was mathematics. He sought in calculation the key to politics, war and the questions of eternity. He could not believe, and so he wanted to interpret fate and rationalise destiny. He was absolutely lacking in creed, but was not philosopher enough to be satisfied with criticism and contemplation. As a man of action, he despaired because he could not attain to exact knowledge, and so he dreamed of terrestrial and cosmic figures and conjunctures.

Wallenstein married an elderly widow, a Moravian lady with a large fortune, and showed his brilliant qualities as an organiser in

the administration of her estates. Despite her age and ill-health, he always remained grateful to her, and in general his attitude towards women was chivalrous. His second marriage with Countess Harrach, a lady of the Viennese Court, was a happy one; in an age of general debauchery his deportment was one of marked decorum. Wallenstein was not in the least an erotic type, he remained always cold, egotistical, concentrated on his schemes. He was far from being an average or typical military man, for he had no liking for animal pleasures, he disdained the prevalent mania for heavy drinking and avoided noisy carousals. He liked loneliness, he was very sensitive to all sensuous impressions. From time to time he and his associates suffered from his fits of bad humour and sudden outbursts of rage. In his letters and in conversation he often displayed good spirits and a ready wit, but he preferred generally in his best times to keep silent or to restrict himself to short epigrammatic sentences. Melancholic and inclined to brood, he liked to keep his own line, and stood apart, an object of interest, of fear, of distrust and of hatred.

He made a very big fortune by lamentably bad means, buying up the confiscated estates of the Bohemian rebels for next to nothing and paying for them with bad money. Indeed, he first became a soldier by supplying provisions to the army. He was and always remained a business man, a very modern capitalist, with an extraordinary gift for financial transactions, a hard creditor and a most successful speculator. Hence he could hardly fail to become a general—since war was the great business of the period.

Count Tilly lived and died as a brave and honest officer of the Spanish school, respectable and fanatical; Gustavus Adolphus fascinated his contemporaries as a bold, brilliant strategist, not always cautious, but formidable to the enemy and overwhelming even for his own soldiers. But Wallenstein remained a mean contractor; even when he came to hold command, he never became more than a Fabian hesitator and a shrewd chess player. War was no heroic passion for him, but the supreme opportunity for winning political and economic power. As a general, Wallenstein was always more interesting than popular; his soldiers feared and respected him, his rare appearances among them seemed almost demoniac and unearthly. He gave free play to every instinct of gossip and of mysticism.

Wallenstein bought the dukedom of Friedland, and in 1624 became Prince of the Empire with the rights of a count palatine, bestowing fiefs and conferring titles of nobility. He was now a great personage, arrogant as ever, rendered more ambitious through

success; confident of his stars, he considered himself the equal of any German prince, but he always remained in the eyes of those same princes a suspect and dangerous upstart. Here lies one important clue to the final disaster. In 1625 he became "capo" of all the Imperial armies in Germany with unlimited power—a wonderful opportunity to prove his new and modern military system—the system of contribution and sequestration. Any country to which Wallenstein came with his army was administered entirely by his officers and officials. Their pay and provisions were taken from the inhabitants. It was not only military occupation, it was government, and, indeed, a very hard, successful government, the government of a new state capitalism. Wallenstein worked as the "Principe;" as a pupil of the Italian reason of State (*Ragione dello Stato*)—the condottiere governing as an enlightened absolutist. He did not allow senseless cruelties and punished severely any waste of money and goods or needless bloodshed, just as he punished any lack of discipline in his army. Instead of ruthless pillage and furious slaughter executed by petty barbarous officers he organised and systematised a new method of exploitation. Doubtless he was at once envied and hated for this, especially by the hereditary princes of the Empire, the upstarts of yesterday—but for the inhabitants his method was preferable to the traditional method of warfare.

As a young man Wallenstein had made the friendship of Archduke Ferdinand, then as yet remote from the Imperial crown, but now Emperor Ferdinand II. The two men were attracted to each other—the bigoted, harmless, somewhat puerile Archduke was impressed by Wallenstein's superior intelligence, while Wallenstein, certainly not a sentimental character, always retained a personal feeling of devotion and allegiance towards the Emperor. Ferdinand admired him, created him generalissimo in 1628 with the privilege of making promotions up to the rank of colonel, and then, as a reward for his great military triumph, made him Duke of Mecklenburg, in the teeth of protests from the Electors. Mecklenburg was quickly lost when Gustavus Adolphus began his series of victories, and, indeed, it became Wallenstein's misfortune: The Emperor was weak enough to dismiss him in 1630, to sacrifice him both as general and as duke to the hatred, jealousy and conceit of the German princes at Regensburg. Wallenstein never forgot the blow; it rankled in him, and henceforth his most fervent desire was to take his revenge, to win back Mecklenburg or obtain some other compensation for it, to become greater than before, to fulfil his mission, to prove the prophecies of the planets, to humiliate the princes and especially

the Elector of Bavaria, and to win for himself a better crown than any electoral cap.

Wallenstein's household was now nearly imperial. He had the building passion. His castle of Sagan was to become one of the wonders of the world, but it remained unfinished. But the Waldstein Palace in Prague shows his brilliant taste, his love for space and splendour in the Italian manner; its open hall, with a wonderful view on to the park, is a real masterpiece of noble architecture. There are fountains, ponds, cages with wild animals and birds, marvellous old trees; he enjoyed art blended with nature as a gradation of the perfection of human creative power. Wallenstein was especially keen on fresh air and cleanliness, standing apart from his century even in this point of detail.

In 1630 Wallenstein received the first overture from Gustavus Adolphus, and from that time he remained in touch with the Swedes. At this historical period the sense of obligation and full loyalty to the impersonal abstraction of the State was scarcely felt. Change of party, change of religion did not dishonour a man, treachery was an everyday occurrence, the existence of renegades in no way unusual. The conception of high treason was new and controversial. Wallenstein always considered himself as a prince of the Empire, even after the loss of Mecklenburg. Already during his first command he became legally entitled to conduct diplomatic conversations. The successes of Gustavus Adolphus forced the Emperor to recall Wallenstein under quite extraordinary conditions. The right to negotiate peace was one of the chief points at issue—he was appointed “*capo in absolutissima forma*,” he was now really “*imperator del imperatore*,” the master of the whole business of the war, and no longer dependent upon the Hofkriegsrat in Vienna. Ferdinand, the Roman King, was not allowed to join Wallenstein's army, Wallenstein even acquired the sovereign right of definite confiscation of property, and was now at one and the same time chief of the armies and Minister of War. Glogau was given to him as a pledge for Mecklenburg; and he also obtained the promise of a new dukedom on equal terms with the Electors, a real hereditary crown. Undoubtedly, his position was that of a maker of war and peace, of a dictator, of the Emperor's *alter ego*—in a word, a position whose greatness was only equalled by the dangers to which its holder was exposed. The sudden death of Gustavus Adolphus gave Wallenstein the greatest chance of his life. The Swedish king's last offer to Wallenstein had been the dukedom of Franconia; while his own Czech cousins, Terzka, Kinsky, and the head of the emigrants, Count Thurn, offered him the crown

of Bohemia. Wallenstein himself seems to have shown a preference for the Palatinate.

Why, then, did Wallenstein fail at a moment when his various dreams seemed to be approaching fulfilment? His first aim was to make peace, for he was personally much more of a statesman than of a general. War and bloodshed disgusted him more and more, and especially the cruel civil war among the Germans. He did not believe in this war as a means of practical policy, he never was a fanatic, and did not share the religious passions of his day. His own personal interests and the general interest of Germany coincided : peace—a reasonable peace, based on compromise, understanding and tolerance—was no illusion ; and, indeed, the Peace of Prague in 1635, and the Westphalian Treaty of 1648, did actually fulfil Wallenstein's intentions. He was the first leading man on the Catholic side to see this point. But two powerful factors worked definitely against peace. The first group was formed by the policy of Spain, represented in Vienna and Munich especially by the Jesuits. Spain fought for the complete and definite victory of Catholicism and for Habsburg world power ; Spain refused any compromise and aimed at building up a new " *Lothari regnum* "—a Rhenish Barrier-State stretching from the Netherlands to Milan, and including both Alsace and the Palatinate, as a foundation to Spanish hegemony over France, Sweden and the whole Protestant world. The Palatinate was to be the point of collision. Wallenstein the peacemaker found in Spain his deadly enemy : the admirer of Jesuit political methods was overthrown by their political programme.

But Wallenstein's own army was also against peace. He was the great condottiere whom his generals served as lesser fry, but in a similar rôle : while he himself longed for a Crown, his officers, as his instruments and imitators, aimed at becoming counts and barons. That meant the winning of estates and castles ; in other words, war meant good business for them, while peace, probably, spelt bankruptcy.

Moreover, in February, 1633, Wallenstein deeply hurt the feelings of his army by the so-called " bloody judgment of Prague," the pitiless execution of many soldiers and officers, counts and knights amongst them, on charges of cowardice and pillage at the battle of Lützen. Wallenstein had lost the battle, the death of Gustavus Adolphus transformed it into a victory—influential groups of the officers understood those cruel executions as a sort of cunning diversion, an unfair and unnecessary trick which could never be

pardoned. Here, perhaps, may be found the turning-point of Wallenstein's career.

Till February, 1633, Wallenstein acted as a serious statesman and continued to be taken seriously, in spite of some curious habits which he developed in his later period. He was and remained very cautious in writing, but he became extremely rash in speech, behaving now like an independent sovereign. He no longer took any precautions in conversation, he enjoyed the intoxication of power, his fancy was occupied with mesmerising possibilities, he even took a certain satisfaction in discussing all these perpetual day-dreams with friends, partners and spies. This was, of course, a new psychological fact, which told heavily against him. Wallenstein was now a man of fifty, tortured by gout and podagra, frail and suffering from indigestion and internal complaints; he was often confined to bed, and was carried about in a sedan chair. The apothecary's bill after his death is a pathetic document, and shows clearly that he had in any case only a short time to live. He had no son to inherit, his daughter was only ten when he was murdered. A deep natural instinct warned him to settle his affairs, and while his body grew weaker, his spirit enjoyed an Indian summer. Wallenstein, in the last year of his life, is a different man, no longer sure of himself, irresolute, unsteady, trusting many people in the face of all reason, mad with illusions of greatness and independence, of being still the master of his fate—a pathetic and disarming figure in his futile zeal for fresh projects, certainly not troubled by moral doubts like Schiller's hero (for Machiavelli, not Kant, was his teacher), but blind, bewildered, dazed, weak, unstable even to falseness and duplicity. All the discords of his personality became now active and malignant. He was a Germanised Slav with cosmopolitan tastes in politics and art, he was neither German nor Czech, neither Catholic nor Protestant, an unbeliever full of superstitions. His policy disturbed his army, and his army spoiled his policy. He was no longer a general and not yet a king, he would fain have remained loyal to his Emperor and hated the Spaniards for dominating that weak monarch.

The Spanish Ambassador to the Court of Vienna, Oñate, expounded there the Spanish theory, the right of the monarch to be the absolute judge and to exercise the power over the life and property of the subject; and on that theory he based his demand for Wallenstein's "execution." The political philosophy of the Austrian Habsburg was still more patriarchal; the hereditary monarch is entitled to act in the interest of his position. His action is legal independently of the methods employed; he can do no wrong, and even murder is a

simplified legal action, which can be justified in critical circumstances if the Christian religion and the monarchy should be in danger and there is no time and opportunity for ordinary procedure. Public opinion in Germany never agreed with such a sophistical justification of pure terrorism, but the absolutist régime made convenient use of a right proclaimed with such an emphasis.

It was no easy matter to convince the Emperor that Wallenstein should be executed. Finally, a secret order was issued (24 January, 1634), that he should be taken prisoner or killed as "a man convicted of guilt." The Imperial house of Austria liked to keep up its reputation of clemency, an open step was avoided as long as possible, and a double game was played, which resolved itself into a conflict of rival hypocrisies. The last act is on both sides sad and disgusting, an ugly catastrophe rather than a tragedy in the classic Greek sense. There was a competition of treachery in Bohemia. The poor sick Duke conspiring with the Saxons and Swedes, and at last even with Richelieu, falling more and more into despair, desiring to secure his army or even a part of it, was in the end deserted and betrayed by nearly everybody. It would without doubt have been technically quite possible to take him prisoner alive, but the murderers at Eger preferred to kill his last few friends and relatives and himself, because it seemed the best and quickest way of taking possession of their property. In the supreme moment not a shred was left of military glory, Roman dignity or cosmic wisdom; there was only a poor ailing wretch begging in vain for the rude Landsknecht's quarter which a Landsknecht might have given.

An end so cruel and mysterious gave to the dead Wallenstein a popularity which he had never enjoyed in his lifetime. Protestant writers and pamphleteers praised him as an heroic friend of peace and freedom, a victim of the Jesuits, a martyr to Habsburg ingratitude. The Court of Vienna was embarrassed, because Wallenstein's papers did not yield sufficient proof of high treason. Resort was therefore taken to falsifications, such as the famous clause of loyalty at Pilsen. Curiously enough, now that the man had been killed, it was necessary to kill his reputation. Poets and historians studied and interpreted that extraordinary character, plays had already been written about him before Schiller, Bohemian scholars praised him as the supposed national hero of the Czechs.

Wallenstein had become too great to be a loyal subject, but he always remained too small to play the part of Cæsar or Napoleon. He was a Shakespearian figure, compounded of Macbeth and Coriolanus. To aspire to a crown cannot, of course, be described as mere

folly; did not the houses of Habsburg and Hohenzollern have their rise in the fortunes of simple counts? Did not some hundred years afterwards the upstarts Bonaparte and Bernadotte successfully grasp imperial and royal crowns? Wallenstein's best ideas were statesmanlike in a high sense; he anticipated the "Great Elector" of Brandenburg in the wish to expel the Swedes from Germany, he anticipated Prince Eugene in the hope of expelling the Turks from Europe, and in his dream of a united and peaceful Europe. But as a statesman Wallenstein was always handicapped by his origin and by a certain strain of unreliability and uncertainty—so that the end predestined for him by the elements of his own nature was the death of an adventurer.

VEIT VALENTIN.

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## THE UKRAINIAN MOVEMENT IN GALICIA

I—1772-1867, NATIONAL REVIVAL. II.—UNDER THE DUAL SYSTEM

THE Austrian Government united the territory of Galicia which under Polish rule was called "Red Ruthenia" and part of Podolia with the Polish Principalities of Zator and Oswiecim (Auschwitz), and later with the Grand Duchy of Krakow, and formed them into the province of Galicia. A common administration for Pole and Ukrainian was of no profit for a nationality that already in 1772 had no nobility of her own, but consisted of illiterate peasant serfs and of a poor and far from numerous bourgeoisie and clergy. The latter spoke Ukrainian only with the peasants, using Polish among themselves, and, indeed, those belonging to the Greek-Catholic Church had no special education or culture of their own.

Moreover, the Polish nobility—the so-called *szlachta*—aroused the suspicions of the Austrian Government against the Ruthene or Ukrainian population, on the ground that it had treasonable sympathies for Russia; treating the Roman Catholic faith as an emblem of Polish nationality and Greek Catholicism as the emblem of Ruthene nationality; the Polish nobility persuaded Austria that it was better to promote the former in Galicia at the expense of the latter.

But the Greek Catholic Bishop of Lemberg at that time, Leo Sheptitsky (1749-1779), tried to persuade the Austrian Government that the Ruthenes were a people different from the Russians and Poles, and were entitled to equal rights; all the more so as their political importance for Austria was great and she might hope one day to unite all Ruthene countries under her sway.

Owing to his care the candidates for the Greek Catholic priesthood were able to study in the Viennese theological seminary known as the "Barbareum," and in 1783 the Emperor Joseph II founded a Greek Catholic seminary in Lemberg. At the University of Lemberg (founded in 1784), lectures in Ruthene were introduced in 1787-1809 in the theological and philosophical institute (the so-called "Studium Ruthenum"). Though the language of instruction was not the pure language spoken by the people, but a mixture of Old Church-Slavonic (Old Bulgarian) and the Ukrainian vernacular, yet these lectures served to awaken the national spirit among the Greek Catholic clergy, who till then had been accustomed to hear and employ Polish only. Those clergy who studied in Vienna in

their turn had opportunities of making the acquaintance of students of other Slavonic nations and their national aspirations, and this contact did not fail to kindle their own national consciousness.

The revived Greek Catholic Archbishopric of Lemberg (in 1807) considered it its duty to organise elementary parish schools after 1815. But the Galician Government forbade the teaching of Ukrainian there, on the ground that Polish alone was the official language. The protests entered by the then Metropolitan, Michael Levitsky (1815-1858), who argued that Galicia was not a Polish country, but the territory of the old Galician-Lodomerian State and that even the Polish Government regarded Galicia as a Ruthene country, proved in so far successful that children now received instruction in the Ukrainian language where there were only Greek Catholics. But where there were Roman Catholic pupils, even though in a minority, Polish was upheld as the language of instruction. The Ukrainian population in mixed parishes might, of course, support Ukrainian schools for their children at their own expense, but a sharp eye was kept lest the Greek Catholic bishops should encourage their flocks to found such schools. Such was the actual favour shown by the Austrian Government after 1815 to the Ruthenian national movement.

When Canon Ivan Mohilnitsky attempted to found in Peremyshl a "Societas Presbyterorum Ritus græco-catholici Galiciensium," for the purpose of publishing school handbooks and scientific treatises on church history, canon law, economics, hygiene, etc., he met with the prohibition of Cardinal Severola (1817). Moreover, the Governor of Galicia forbade Metropolitan Levitsky to print his pastoral address in the Old Slavonic language, advising him to write it in Polish.

This same Mohilnitsky wrote a treatise on the Ruthene language, intended to provide scientific proofs of its special position and rights; and it is of importance as explaining the national views of this first leader of eminence in Galicia. He held that the Ruthene nation, in which he included the Ukrainians and White Russians as sharing the common historical tradition of Kiev, is different both from the Polish and the Russian nation. His views were shared by a few Greek Catholic priests in Galicia in the second half of the 19th century; among others Emil Ohonovsky, professor of Ukrainian language and literature at Lemberg University, who, in his *Studien auf dem Gebiete der ruthenischen Sprache* (1880), treats the White Russian language as a Ruthene dialect.

The consciousness of a national difference between Ukrainian

and White Russians on the basis of linguistic distinctions had first arisen at the point where these two peoples bordered on each other in the Russian Empire. The leaders of the Ukrainian national movement inside Russia towards the end of the first half of the 19th century considered the White Russians as more akin to the Russians than to themselves. In the statutes of the Ukrainian "Brotherhood of St. Cyril and St. Methodius" in Kiev (1846-47), which advocated the union of all Slavonic peoples in a federation of national States, the Ukrainians were included in the list of such peoples, whereas the White and the Great Russians were to form a common State.

It must not, however, be thought that the idea of a national State of their own was strange to the Ruthenes of Galicia, though by the middle of the 19th century 500 years had passed since their loss of independence. They had, of course, lost their native aristocracy, which had turned Roman Catholic and Polish, though Mohilnitsky insisted on its Ruthene origin, basing his arguments on the polemics of a 17th-century priest named Meletius Smotritsky, and various other documents. Moreover, the Greek Catholic clergy up to the 'thirties of the 19th century also only used the Polish language and some of the sons of these clergy were under the influence of Polish conspirators, and were drawn into the struggle for Polish independence. But this had the inevitable effect of kindling among the Ruthenes also the idea of their own liberation. As early as 1832 three Uniat priests, Markian Shaskevich, Jacob Holovatsky, and John Vahilevich, sometimes called the "Ruthene Trio," made national educational propaganda among the Greek Catholic theological students in Lemberg for the introduction of their mother tongue in every-day life among the cultured classes, for the revival of Ukrainian literature in Galicia and for opposition to the use of the Polish language.

Though they won over a majority of the students for this programme, they met with considerable obstacles on the part of the Government. Their collected works on folklore, *Zorya* (The Dawn, 1834) and *Rusalka Dnistrova* (The Nymph of the Dnister, 1837), were confiscated by the censor. All those Ukrainians who tried to raise the standard of their people and to induce the educated class to speak its native language, were denounced as "Russophil," bent upon union with Russia. In reality, these Galician national progressives who called themselves "Ruthenes" (in Ukrainian "Rusini") laid great stress on the claim that the Ruthenes were a separate people from the Russians, whom they called "Muscovites."

Formerly the Galicians had regarded the Ukrainians and White Russians as a single nation, but as closer connections were formed between the Galician authors and those of the Ukraine under Russian sway, there awoke the clear consciousness of a national distinction between them and the White Russians, too; and, following the example of their brethren on the Dnieper, the Galicians adopted the new national name "Ukrainians" in order to distinguish them more strictly from the Russians.

The Greek Catholic Bishop of Peremyshl (afterwards Archbishop of Lemberg), Gregory Yakhimovich, drew the attention of the Government in Vienna in 1842 to the political advantages which might be derived from this affinity between the Galician Ruthenes and the Ukrainians in Russia, but argued that to produce its full effect, it would, above all, be necessary for Austria to show favour to Ruthene national and cultural aspirations.

Up to 1848 there were still many friends of the union of Ruthenes and Poles on the basis of equal rights, above all among those who had belonged to the Polish secret societies. But already in the first beginnings of the Austrian Revolution many of them became disillusioned; in March, 1848, in reply to their suggestion that in the Polish petition to the Emperor mention might be made of Ruthene rights and aspirations, the Poles raised a shout that there was no separate Ruthene nation. This attitude alienated from them the majority of the Ruthenes who had till then unquestioningly accepted Polish national watchwords.

With a view to countering Polish efforts to persuade the Government in Vienna of Galicia's exclusively Polish character, there assembled on 19 April in the Metropolitan Palace beside the Cathedral of St. George in Lemberg some patriotic Ruthenes under the leadership of Bishop Gregory Yakhimovich. They sent to the Austrian Emperor a petition demanding the Ukrainian language in schools and offices, the same rights for the Greek Catholic clergy as for that of other religions, and access to all public offices. On 2 May, 1848, the Galician Ruthenes founded in Lemberg their first political organisation, the Ruthene National Council (*Narodna Ruska Rada*), which for the next three years (1848-51) voiced the rights of the Ukrainian people, demanding among other things autonomy for Eastern Galicia, Bukovina and the Ruthene counties of Hungary, united as a single Crown land (*Russinenland*). The Council maintained contact with the people through the agency of district and parish branches.

The Ukrainian peasantry in Galicia, though mostly illiterate in

consequence of prolonged serfdom, were nevertheless following the instructions of the National Council, thanks to the indefatigable educational work of a small group of Ukrainians progressive nationalists, helped by a few educated peasants. The majority of the peasantry in 1848 felt the need of self-organisation for the defence of their interests, and were very ready to subscribe for national, political and cultural aims. They and the nationally-conscious educated class signed a joint petition to the Austrian Government in favour of dividing Galicia into a Ruthene and a Mazurian (or Polish) province. Moreover, the Ukrainian peasant deputies displayed a vigorous activity in the Austrian Parliament of 1848 at Kremsier; out of a total representation of thirty, no fewer than nineteen were peasants, eight priests, and only three laymen of the educated classes.

To preserve order in the country and ensure their national rights, "Ruthene National Guards" were formed in the towns and "National Sentries (Watches)" in the country districts. On the Galician-Hungarian border, the Ukrainian Carpathian peasants organised military detachments for defence against the Hungarian insurgents. Moreover, the Galician Ukrainians set up a rifle battalion of volunteers which in the autumn of 1848 was sent from Lemberg to garrison Kaschau (Košice) in Slovakia. The National Council planned the formation of a regular Ruthene regiment. But this design was thwarted by Count Agenor Gołuchowski, then Governor of Galicia. He persuaded the Austrian Government that in the interests of peace with Russia and of the retention of Galicia by Austria, it would be inadvisable to encourage the national aspirations of the Ukrainians, whose real aim was the union of their whole people in a single State with Kiev as its capital. Being apprehensive of Ukrainian irredenta, the Austrian Military Command also dissolved the Ruthene Rifle Battalion after its return from Hungary in January, 1850.

Gołuchowski's warnings to Vienna were not without grounds, for though the National Council assumed a loyal attitude towards Austria, it did not abandon the hope of national unity with its kinsmen in the Russian Empire. In its first proclamation to "the Ruthene people" on 10 May, 1848, it clearly stated that the Ruthenes of Galicia belonged to the great Ukrainian people, speaking the same language and forming 2,500,000 out of a total of 15,000,000. A contemporary confiscated brochure entitled, "A word of warning," written by the Uniate priest, Basil Podolinsky, speaks of the existence among the Galicians of a "purely Ruthene Party," whose aim was a

“free and independent Ukraine.” Even if its followers were not numerous at that time, the very fact of its existence in the first dawn of political aspiration helped the Poles to realise that they would not succeed in assimilating them either nationally or politically, and, indeed, the political organisation called “The Ruthene Union,” which was founded by East Galician Poles of Ruthene descent, entirely failed to attract the Ukrainian majority.

In 1848 there appeared for the first time an Ukrainian press in Galicia. Ruthene delegates took part in the Pan-Slav Congress at Prague from 2 to 12 June, 1848; they agreed with the Polish delegates as to equality of rights between the two nationalities in Galicia, but this agreement led to nothing. Nor did the Austrian Government settle the problem of the division of Galicia, as raised by Bishop Yakhimovich during the debates of the Constitutional Commission. The dissolution of Parliament on 7 March, 1849, was followed by the new absolutist era in Austria, lasting till 1860. The Ruthene National Council, which was engaged in cultural as well as political work, was obliged to dissolve in 1851, owing to its denunciation by Gołuchowski at Vienna.

It was thanks to Gołuchowski that the Austrian Government became more favourable to the Poles, with the result that a section of the Ruthenes in their disappointment turned their hopes towards union with Russia. When in the Galician Diet on 18 April, 1866, too, the Bill for the division of Galicia was rejected, the editor of the Ruthene newspaper *Słowo*, Bohdan Diditsky, began to speak quite openly about “one Russian nation from the Syan” (San, a river on the frontier of Eastern and Western Galicia) to the Amur (the river in the Russian Maritime Province in Siberia). The followers of this Russophil tendency held that the Ruthenes of Galicia ought to accustom themselves to the Russian literary language, which in their view had once been the Old Ruthene language. This group based its arguments upon the tradition of a common State under the dynasty of Rurik, comprising alike the Ukrainian, White Russian and Muscovite (later Russian) countries; upon the similarity of the old national name of the Ukrainians in their own language (*Rusin*—the noun; *rusky*—the adjective) and of the name of the Russians in theirs (*rusky*—both noun and adjective); and, lastly, upon the fact that the so-called etymological spelling of the Galician Ruthenes was identical with that of the Russians. The first Galician to espouse the idea of “one Russian nation” which was to unite all the Eastern Slavs, was the historian, Dionisius Zubritsky, who established close relations with the Muscovite professor, Michael Pogodin, in the first half of the 19th century.

Though the adherents of "the one Russian nation" could not attract all the Ukrainians of Galicia, in whose hearts the love of their mother-tongue had struck deep roots, they none the less succeeded in captivating a section of it. Consequently, there arose a Russophil party which divided the Ukrainians into two hostile camps, and thus played into the hands of the Poles, to whom was assigned control of the administration of Galicia under the new Constitution of 21 December, 1867. Following the principle of "divide et impera," the Poles often forced a quarrel between the Russophiles and the Ukrainian nationalists. Thanks to this internal breach, the Ukrainian people in Galicia failed to elect a due number of deputies to the Austrian Parliament and Galician diet, and were weakly represented in comparison with the predominant Poles.

## II. THE PERIOD OF DUALISM (1867-1906)

After Austria's defeat in the war with Prussia in 1866, she retired from the German Confederation, granted a wide autonomy to Hungary and granted a new Constitution for the so-called Austrian Crown lands. This Constitution of 21 December, 1867, proclaimed among other things the equality and liberty of all citizens and equal rights for all the peoples of Austria. But there were as yet no executive norms for adapting the principle of equality of rights for all nationalities in the schools, administration and public life of each province. Hence the Poles, in whose hands the provincial administration now rested, being reluctant to introduce this principle in Galicia, tried to make good use of the time which must elapse before the Austrian Central Government published adequate rulings for its due execution. They attempted to secure for themselves more rights in the province than were their due. They prevailed upon the Austrian Chancellor, Count Beust, to appoint a separate minister for Galicia and to introduce the Polish language in the administration, law courts and schools. The Imperial Decree of 24 January, 1868, impressed a Polish stamp upon the Galician School Board. In the Galician Diet of 1868, the Polish majority carried a resolution in favour of using the Polish language in the administration and law courts, and also demanding the autonomy of Galicia, with specially wide powers for the Diet.

As this autonomy, securing to the Polish majority in the Diet a decisive vote in the provincial administration, was an encroachment upon the rights of the Ukrainians, their representatives in Vienna did their utmost to prevent the realisation of the so-called Galician Resolution. They brought before the Diet a petition to the Emperor (13 November, 1868), in which the electoral law was condemned as

unjust to the Ukrainian peasant population, restricting their representation to 47 seats, whereas on a basis of equality they would have elected 94 deputies. They pointed out that in consequence of this unequal franchise, due to the privileges of landholders and towns in the Galician Diet, the power rested with an artificial Polish majority, which controlled the Provincial Board and was able to select deputies to Parliament virtually according to their taste. At the same time, the self-government of the rural communities was greatly restricted. In the secondary schools of Eastern Galicia, the Ukrainian language had become an optional subject, whereas in the elementary schools Ukrainian children were forced to learn Polish. Only the Poles benefited from the provincial funds, though at least half were derived from rates paid by the Ukrainian population. The Courts and the administration forced on the Ukrainian population the Polish language. As a corrective to these abuses the Ukrainian representatives appealed to the Emperor for autonomy for both nations in Galicia, and they drew a contrast between the Polish bid for hegemony and the Ukrainian demand for equal rights.

But this modest Ruthene draft petition to the Emperor was rejected by the Polish majority. As an answer to this the Ukrainian deputy and Vice-Marshal of the Diet, Julian Lavrivsky, moved a new resolution on 27 October, 1869, reaffirming the equal rights of the Ukrainian and Polish nations in Galicia. Lavrivsky did not insist on the division of Galicia into two portions, and was ready for co-operation between the two within a single united province. But even this compromise was regarded as inadmissible, and equally unsuccessful was the resolution of Basil Kovalsky, urging the Austrian Government to summon a Constituent Assembly, including representatives of every province and nationality, for the purpose of revising the Constitution. The Poles, on the contrary, who had from time to time threatened the Austrian Government with the withdrawal of their delegates to Parliament, managed to secure the creation of a special Minister for Galicia, and the appointment of a Pole (11 April, 1871). To Kasimir Grocholski, the first holder of this office, the Poles are indebted for the Polonisation of the universities of Lemberg and Krakow and of the polytechnic school in Lemberg.

In such circumstances the political organisation of the Galician Ruthenes, known as "the Ruthene Council" (founded in 1870 in Lemberg), sent a petition to Parliament at Vienna (21 Mar, 1871), in which they demanded equitable representation, corresponding to the real needs and conditions of Galicia, direct election to Parlia-



ment,<sup>1</sup> and a Law of Nationalities (*Nationalitätengesetz*) for the defence of the national minority against the oppression of the majority.

The direct election of representatives to Parliament was introduced by the Austrian Government during the Premiership of Prince Adolf Auersperg in 1873. At that time "The Ruthenian Council" was conducting in Galicia an electoral action in agreement with the Jewish organisation "Shomer Israel," a fact which aroused discontent among the Ukrainian population. "The Ruthenian Council," moreover, taking an uncompromising attitude towards the Poles, leant more and more towards the Russophil party.

The Uniat priest, Stephen Kachala, the notable Ukrainian patriot, was then, together with Lavrivsky, putting forward a moderate federalist programme with the Poles, but without any renunciation of Ukrainian national independence. As he was opposed by the Russophil party, the Ruthene Council did not put him forward as candidate for Parliament, and he was elected by the Poles. The idea of Ukrainian federation with the Poles, as advocated by Kachala, also won the approval of the Russian Ukrainians, who in their struggle with Russia wished to come to an understanding with Poland. Just at that time (1873) the Russian Ukrainians, Alexander Konisky, Elizabeth Miloradovich, Dmytro (Demetrius) Pilchikov, and Michael Zhuchenko, together with Kachala, founded in Lemberg the "Shevchenko Society," which, from 1892 onwards, followed purely scientific pursuits and virtually acquired the status of an Academy of Sciences. Apart from its scientific aims it performed the very important task of serving as a link between the Ukrainians in Galicia and in Russia. A cultural and educational mission among the Galician masses was also performed by the educational association, "Prosviata" (founded in 1868).

Meanwhile, no compromise could be reached between Poles and Ukrainians. On 19 May, 1875, a Pole, Ignace Kamiński, supported by fourteen Polish and three Ukrainian delegates, brought a motion before the Diet in favour of a just arrangement of relations between the two nations; but the Polish majority did not even allow the Bill to pass the first reading. The Ukrainian representatives could not even induce the Diet to sanction the introduction of Ukrainian as language of instruction in schools where the principle of the equality of rights would demand it—much less the opening of an Ukrainian elementary school in Lemberg, for which they were obliged to appeal

<sup>1</sup> Till the franchise reform of 1873 Parliament consisted of delegates from the Diets, not of directly elected deputies.

in Parliament at Vienna (1877). Again in 1878 the Polish majority completely disregarded the Ukrainian protests against the failure to employ both languages in the railway administration of Galicia, and also at the ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the new building of the Diet.

Characteristic light is thrown upon the condition of the Ukrainian people in Galicia at that time, by the declarations of their representatives in 1879, towards the close of the first Austrian Parliament elected on the new direct franchise of 1873. Vasyl Kovalsky complained that the Ruthene language was neglected in Galician schools, and that there was not even a Ruthene elementary school in Lemberg (it was not opened till 1880). Ivan Naumovich pointed out that Ruthene was not employed in government offices. Finally, Alexius Zaklinsky thanked the German centralists in Parliament for their defence of the vital interests of the Ruthene people, but at the same time expressing his discontent at the double game of the Austrian Government, he declared: "The destruction of the Ruthene people in Galicia was decided, alas, by the people of a kindred race in Lemberg, but the arms for this purpose are forged in Vienna, under the Imperial and Royal Austrian Constitutional Government!"

Such was the situation in Galicia, when the Russian Government issued a decree forbidding the use of the Ukrainian language within the borders of Russia (1876). Now the eyes of the Russian Ukrainians were henceforth continually turning westwards. Unhappily the Ukrainians, under pressure from the Polish provincial administration, in 1879, only elected three representatives to Parliament, and in the same year there came a split inside their chief political organ, "the Ruthene Council," which at this time favoured unity. This organisation was with the Russians and would not admit as members the adherents of Ukrainian independence. A lucid interval in these depressing circumstances was the first national congress convoked by Volodymir Barvinsky, the first editor of the Ukrainian daily *Dilo*, at Lemberg on 30 November, 1880. At this meeting the Russophil party were also present, and supported the resolution demanding equal rights for the Ukrainians as a free nation within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

The Galician Ukrainians now began to realise that it was time to bestir themselves. With a view to organising schools of their own, independent of the Government, they formed, in 1881, the "Ruthene (afterwards Ukrainian) Pedagogical Society" (now "Ridna Shkola"—the National School) in Lemberg; and in order to free themselves from their economic dependence on alien elements, they founded,

in 1883, in Lemberg, the first Ukrainian commercial institution, "Narodna Torhovla" (National Commerce). In the course of time a series of Ukrainian professional organisations sprang into existence.

In the eighties the Ukrainian deputies both in Parliament and in the Diet fought in vain for the rights of their people. Disunited by their political views, they were steadily losing their authority even among their own people; and hence the executive of the new Ukrainian political association known as the National Council—founded in 1885 in Lemberg—appealed to the parliamentary representatives to offer united opposition to the Government (1889).

The conference of Ruthene notables summoned on 25 March, 1890, in Lemberg, with the object of bringing together the Ukrainian national party and the Russophiles, ended in failure. A section of the former, influenced by modern ideas of social reform, seceded and formed on 6 October, 1890, the Ukrainian Radical Party. The new party was equally bent upon strengthening national self-consciousness and solidarity among the masses of the Ukrainian people; but the element of theoretic socialism in its programme could not, of course, win many followers among the Galicians, whose first aim was national liberation.

On the other hand, the Galician Governor of that time, Count Casimir Badeni, on instructions from Vienna, called upon the Ukrainian representatives (November, 1890) to secure the loyalty of the Ukrainians in Galicia in the event of war between Austria and Russia; but he did not so much as promise a single concession to them. Those who attended the conference with the Governor were strongly criticised by the Radicals and Russophiles for their readiness to compromise with the Poles of the so-called "New Era"; and it came to the dissolution of the Ruthene Deputies' Club. At the parliamentary elections of March, 1891, the three groups fought each other, with the result that very few Ukrainians secured election. But within the "New Era" Party itself discontent was rapidly gaining ground, owing to the Government's failure to fulfil its pledges. Up to 1892 all that the "New Era" had obtained was a single Ukrainian gymnasium in Kolomea, a chair of Ukrainian history at Lemberg University, and the introduction of the Ukrainian language in the courts and on public notice-boards. The threat addressed by Badeni to the Ukrainians in 1894, when their deputies in the Diet were criticising the provincial administration, led some of their chief leaders (among them Julian Romanchuk) to join the Opposition. The Governor fulfilled his threat at the elections to the Diet in 1895, when the provincial authorities, by their methods

of electoral pressure prevented the return of a single Ukrainian Opposition deputy. On this a special deputation of Galician Ukrainians went to the Emperor to lodge a protest, but was reproved by him for this demonstration. Henceforth the provincial administration forbade the Ukrainians to hold political meetings, and cases occurred when Ukrainian members of the Diet were arrested while reporting to their constituents. At the elections to the Parliament in 1897, eight Ukrainian peasants died by the bayonets of the gendarmes, twenty-nine were wounded, eight hundred arrested.

On the dismissal of Badeni the Ukrainian population heaved a sigh of relief, but their demands for an investigation of abuses during his term of office and for the division of Galicia into two provinces, remained unsatisfied. The struggle for their rights was hardening the Galician Ukrainians and helping to formulate clearly their political ideas. The close of 1899 saw the formation of the Ukrainian National Democratic Party, which aimed at the union of the Ukrainian districts of Galicia and Bukovina in a separate autonomous province, the establishment of close connections with the Russian Ukrainians and the spread of national consciousness among the Carpathian Ruthenes of Hungary. The programme of this party proclaimed as its final aim the union of the whole Ukrainian people in a single national organism, in which the whole people would co-operate, alike in the cultural, economical and political sphere. In its manifesto of 5 January, 1900, the party executive declared that their ideal should be an independent Ukrainian State, but that in the meantime they should strive to obtain an autonomous national province within the Austrian State. Almost simultaneously (3 January, 1900), the Russophil organisation—formerly the Ruthene, but by now the “Russian” Council—which hitherto had never clearly defined its relation towards Russia, proclaimed the national and cultural unity of the Galician Ruthenes with the Russians.

Meetings arranged in different parts of the country in favour of the division of Galicia and of universal suffrage, revealed the solidarity of the people with its political leaders. The latter still had to conduct an unequal struggle in Parliament and in the Diet, from which, as a sign of protest at their unfulfilled demands, they twice publicly seceded (on 8 July, 1901, and 29 October, 1903). From the beginning of the 20th century the conflict between Poles and Ukrainians grew more and more embittered, because of the university problem. The Ukrainian representatives demanded a separate Ukrainian University in Lemberg, while the Ukrainian students seceded from the Polish University in that city in 1901. In 1902–03 there were

agrarian strikes among the Ukrainian peasantry, as a protest against the oppressive measures of the great Polish landlords. The heedlessness of the Polish provincial administration went so far that the Governor, Count Andrew Potocki, issued in 1904 a decree forbidding the emigration of Ukrainian farm-hands to Germany. The starosts (or principal district officials) sent gendarmes to dissolve the Ukrainian gymnastic association "Sich," and even to disperse church processions. The responsibility for these abuses naturally lay with the Austrian Central Government for not having heeded the complaints of the Ukrainian representatives, and thus encouraged the provincial administration in its abuses. There was therefore an Ukrainian demonstration against the Government on the occasion of the visit of the Premier, Dr von Koerber, to Lemberg on 31 August, 1904.

This oppositional attitude of the Ukrainian representatives in the Diet and in Parliament was also shared by the Greek Catholic Metropolitan of Lemberg, Count Andrew Sheptytsky, the Bishop of Peremyshl, Constantine Chekhovich, and the Bishop of Stanislviv, Gregory Khomyshyn; the whole Ukrainian people of Galicia was unanimous in defence of its national rights. The introduction of Universal Suffrage by the Government of Baron Gautsch filled the hearts of the Ukrainians with the hope of gaining their fair share of seats in Parliament. But in its final form the Bill was found to contain unfavourable provisions for the Ukrainians, who were consequently forced to continue the unequal struggle in the reformed Parliament.

*(To be concluded).*

J. ANDRUSIAK.

## OBITUARIES

### MYKHAILO HRUSHEVSKY (1866—1934)

A GREAT Ukrainian figure has passed away. Mykhailo Hrushevsky is dead. . . . As historian of Ukraine, his immense activity has written a new page in the history of his people. After a long interval of a hundred and fifty years it was he who renewed the tradition of the sovereigns of Ukraine, those Hetmans whose life and work he had studied with such energy and talent.

Hrushevsky was the first President of the democratic republic of Ukraine on its proclamation in 1917, more than that—he was its founder, the chief inspirer of the Ukrainian people.

Ukrainian autonomy had received a mortal blow after the defeat of Mazepa and his ally Charles XII in the Battle of Poltava. The repression of Peter the Great had a terrible effect on Ukraine. At the time of Catherine II the country was deprived of all its liberties and became no more than a simple province of Russia. It was thought to be completely subjected and crushed, but its revival soon declared itself in the appearance of a real genius, a poet who at the same time was the prophet of his country, Taras Shevchenko (1814–1861). The movement continued to develop, and it was Dragomanov (1841–1895) who rationalised it, modernised it, and gave it a political programme; but his time was a heavy one for Ukraine, and he himself was no more than an *émigré*.

It was only in the 20th century that the Ukrainian movement assumed a clearer form, penetrated into the mass of the people, and became a great political factor. The field of national activity was considerably widened. This was the period of Mykhailo Hrushevsky, who for a long time became the real head of the Ukrainian nation. In 1917, at the outset of the revolution in Ukraine, his popularity was fabulous. He was quite naturally elected president of the central Rada, the constituent assembly of an Ukraine that was being born again. His experience of the political life of Western Europe, his profound knowledge both of Ukraine and of Russia, his daring and his political temperament contributed much to the organisation and working of the government apparatus of the Ukrainian republic. But the political part played by Hrushevsky ended too rapidly at the beginning of 1918. It was the coup *d'état* of Skoropadsky that overthrew him. Later, after the re-establishment of democracy in Ukraine under the Directory, and throughout a long and bitter war against Red Moscow, Hrushevsky was no longer prominent. The

daring struggle which Ukraine had to conduct called for simple formulas, demanded a line of action comprehensible for the whole people. Hrushevsky was too complex for that, and at the same time not firm enough to stand for a sole and single political conception, to become a man of a single idea. It is impossible in this short notice to make clear all the moral and political tragedy of Hrushevsky. Here we can only state the final result. Simon Petlyura took his place as the spiritual leader of the Ukrainian people.

Hrushevsky finished his political career at the point which finishes the great awakening of the Ukrainian people, when a nation already conscious of itself is beginning to seek for practical ways of accomplishing its ideal. Hrushevsky remained above all a great "awakener," one of the great precursors of the resurrection of Ukraine, whom we do not hesitate to put beside Shevchenko and Dragomanov.

Historian and statesman, Hrushevsky served only a single cause, and all his activity was directed towards the awakening of his people, the liberation of Ukraine. Among peoples who are awakening from a long sleep the study of history always plays an enormous part, and nowhere else are historians held in such honour as a Palacki with the Czechs or a Hrushevsky with the Ukrainians. The past speaks, and becomes a living call to action. By his history of Ukraine, Hrushevsky aroused others to work, but certainly and before all, it is the past that summoned Hrushevsky himself to play his proper historical part. It was in the history of his country that he sought a lesson for the present and for the future.

As a historian, Hrushevsky must be regarded as one of the greatest of his time, a scholar with a complete mastery of the modern methods of historical research. He is the greatest historian of Ukraine, though this country had already had such remarkable scholars and talented historians as Kostomarov and Hrushevsky's own great teacher, Vladimir Antonovich, from whom Hrushevsky inherited all his critical ability, his perfect knowledge of sources, his profound ideas on the past of the Ukrainian people. Under the scholarly direction of Antonovich, as later under that of Hrushevsky, a great number of documents have appeared on the history of Ukraine. Hrushevsky himself wrote a large number of books and pamphlets and articles; bibliography has reckoned them as numbering 1,700; but apart from some special studies of great value, we have his *History of Ukraine*,<sup>1</sup> in nine large volumes, which is his fundamental work. He begins with the study of prehistoric times

<sup>1</sup> M. Hrushevsky, *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusi*.

in Ukraine, and his last volume is devoted to the period of Hetman Bogdan Hmelnitsky. Thus his work remains unfinished. For all who wish to study the past of Ukraine it is of capital importance. As Hrushevsky wanted to leave a complete study, he could not rest content with an analysis of monographs devoted to such and such an epoch or problem of Ukrainian history; there were still too many gaps in the knowledge of our past. Hrushevsky, then, relied directly on the original documents, which he examined with care, and of which he gave a masterly criticism both in his fundamental history and in his special studies.

His work not only gives a detailed account of all the political history of Ukraine. Whole volumes are devoted to the cultural development of the country, its social, economic and juridical problems.

It is also Hrushevsky who has scientifically established the setting of the history of his people. He is opposed to those who treat Ukraine as a sort of annexe to the history of Russia. The Russian historians, from Karamzin onwards, have studied Russian history as beginning with that of the principality of Kiev in the 10th and 13th centuries, and have thus followed the tradition of the old Muscovite annalists, who regarded history from the viewpoint of the dynastic principle, for they simply followed out the story of the dynasty of Ruric, with his descendants in Kiev, Novgorod, Vladimir and Moscow. Just like these chroniclers of the 16th century, Russian historians commence their narrative with the history of the Grand Duchy of Kiev, and then explain how the centre of Russian history was transferred to Vladimir, to Moscow, and finally to St. Petersburg. The history of Ukraine appears only in episodes in their account, when they speak of the Lithuano-Ukrainian State, of Hetman Bogdan Hmelnitsky, of Mazeppa, etc. Thus the history of Ukraine, as Hrushevsky put it, became simply a series of "*membra disjecta*." Hrushevsky insists on the propriety of treating separately the history of two peoples, the Muscovite and the Ukrainian, as also he would give separate treatment to White Russia. According to him, Muscovite history will itself gain by this; for in seeking the direct connection between the Kiev period and that of Vladimir, Russian historians too often failed to study seriously enough the historical past of the Muscovite people in its own territory.

As to Ukraine, according to Hrushevsky it is to it that belongs the period of the Grand Duchy of Kiev. Life itself does not stop in Ukraine—neither during the decline of Kiev, nor during the existence of the feudal Lithuano-Ukrainian State, nor during the



Polish domination, nor, finally, under the Cossack republic. These are perhaps very different historical processes; but they are originally linked together by the principal actor in this tragedy in several acts, the Ukrainian people, and also by that territory which is the stage of the whole story. But apart from this, each of these periods has naturally influenced the one which succeeded it; and without this chronological study, which goes back to the root of an event in each preceding period, the history of the Ukrainian people would never be scientifically grounded.<sup>2</sup>

Among the works of Hrushevsky one cannot fail to place by the side of his masterly *History of Ukraine* the five volumes of his *History of Ukrainian Literature*, in which he develops in an even more fascinating way the ideas which are scattered over the nine volumes of his *History*. He finds much room for folklore, popular songs and anything which expresses the spirit and beliefs of the Ukrainian people.

Hrushevsky has written several popular historical works in Ukrainian, Russian and French. His illustrated *History of Ukraine* in one volume is very highly appreciated in that country. There is also a single volume of Hrushevsky's *History* translated into French.<sup>3</sup> In making this rapid sketch of Hrushevsky's work, one must not omit his course of sociology, "Pogatky Hromadinstva,"<sup>4</sup> which shows the full scope of his scientific work.

To the portrait of Hrushevsky as statesman and historian must needs be added that of Hrushevsky as a great organiser of the scientific and cultural life of the Ukrainian people. Educated at the University of Kiev, it is there that he began his academic career. On the recommendation of his master, Vladimir Antonovich, he became in 1894 Professor at the University of Lwów, where during the Austrian domination he was able to lecture in Ukrainian. He was at once elected president of the Learned Society of Shevchenko at Lwów, and there soon proved that he possessed exceptional energy and an organising talent of quite the first order. In a few years he succeeded in founding a whole school of his pupils, and he well knew how to utilise all those around him for the cause which he

<sup>2</sup> See a study of Hrushevsky on his scheme of the history of the Eastern Slavs in the *Zbornik statey po slavyanovedeniu*, ed. Academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, 1904. The same subject has recently been very well treated by Professor Doroshenko, "Was ist osteuropäische Geschichte" Zur Abgrenzung der ukrainischen und russischen Geschichte *Zeitschrift für die Osteuropäische Geschichte*.

<sup>3</sup> M. Hrushevsky. *Histoire de L'Ukraine* Paris, 1920.

<sup>4</sup> Vienna, 1928.

served. Here is a simple list of his work of twenty years at the head of this Society :—

The Annals of the Society (*Zapysky*) which, instead of appearing as heretofore, only once a year, came out very much more frequently. The number of volumes issued during this period reached a hundred.

Fifteen volumes of collections (*Zbirnyk*) of the historical and philological section.

Twenty-five volumes of the *Library of History*.

Seven volumes of the *Ukrainian Archives*.

Twenty volumes devoted to jurisprudence.

Several volumes devoted to economic and social problems. (*Studii z pola suspilnykh nauk i statystyky*).

Collected volumes devoted to philological studies, to natural sciences, and to mathematics.

Special commissions of the Society also published numbers of volumes under the indefatigable direction of Hrushevsky. Thus this great scholar transformed the Learned Society of Shevchenko into a real Academy of Ukrainian sciences.

As soon as it was possible to organise a learned society in Kiev (1908), it was he who became its president and the organiser of its work. He was also organiser and chief editor for twenty years of the best Ukrainian literary review, *Literaturno-naukovy Vistnyk* (1898), which played a part of the first importance in the intellectual life of Ukraine.<sup>5</sup>

Such are the principal stages in this astonishing life. During the Great War he was arbitrarily arrested by the Tsarist Government and deported from Ukraine to the centre of Russia. The Revolution of 1917, as we have mentioned at the outset of this article, brought him to the climax of his life. But the Revolution also ruined him completely. From 1919 to 1923 he was an emigrant and lived successively in Paris, Geneva, Vienna and Prague. He believed he could reconcile himself with the Soviet Government, for which he was bitterly criticised by some of his compatriots, and returned to Ukraine, where he became a member of the Academy of Sciences of Kiev. In spite of the great difficulties of life under the Soviet régime, he gave fresh proofs of his energy, which remained as youthful as ever. He again published a historical review, *Ukraine*, and a number of studies devoted to special questions in Ukrainian history or that of its different regions. Here he wrote the ninth volume of his history of Ukraine. It was precisely the appearance of this

<sup>5</sup> See Professor A. Lotocki's book, *Notes et Souvenirs* (2 parts). Warsaw, 1933. Published by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute.

volume that launched against him a vehement campaign in the Soviet press. As before, under Tsarism, he was deported to Moscow and St. Petersburg. But that was his real decline; he lost his strength and vigour and he became blind. He lived in great misery, maintained by his wife and his daughter Catherine who, like him, was a remarkable student of sociology. When he was at the end of his strength, the Soviet Government allowed him to go to Kislovodsk, and it is in that Caucasian watering place, which he loved and where he had lived with his father in childhood, that his life came to an end. The Soviet Government, with a sort of irony, now allowed his remains to be carried back to Kiev.

Thus ended this extraordinary life, so full, so abundant. Wherever he passed, life sprang up. He was an inspiration. Those who had the pleasure of knowing him and of being near him will always retain their memory of the sparkling intelligence, the admirable spirit of Hrushevsky, so kindly and so full of that humour which is characteristic of the people that gave Nicholas Gogol to the world. A great historian, a great Ukrainian, has now in his turn passed into history. It is history that will have to judge his actions and his life, so full of devotion in the service of his country, Ukraine.

A. SHULGIN.

### V. V. KUIBYSHEV

THE Communist Party in the USSR have lost one of their ablest leaders in V. V. Kuibyshev, President of the State Planning Commission (Gosplan), who died on 25 January, 1935, at the age of forty-six from sclerosis of the heart.

Kuibyshev joined the Russian Social-Democratic Movement at the age of sixteen, and from that time worked incessantly with the Left wing of the Party. He took an active part in the Revolution of 1905, and during the years of reaction (1906-1908) was engaged in Party work in Siberia (Omsk, Petropavlovsk and Tomsk). In 1908 he was arrested at St. Petersburg and sent to Siberia for five years. In 1915 he was again arrested and sent for three years, this time to Irkutsk; but he managed to escape from there to Samara. Here he was arrested for a third time, and was sent to the remote Turukhansky Kray for five years.

The Revolution of 1917 opened for Kuibyshev vast possibilities for the utilisation of his tremendous energy and his capacity for organisation. During the Civil War he was actively engaged in fighting the insurrection of Dutov at Orenburg and Uralsk. He took

a vigorous part in fighting the Czechoslovak legionaries and, in conjunction with Frunze, the army of Kolchak. His name was also widely known on the Turkestan Front.

He entirely shared the so-called "General Line" of the Communist party, as opposed to the orientation of Trotsky, Kamenev and Zinovyev, and this gave him a chance of occupying important posts both in the Party and in the Soviet Government; he was at one time Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party and then became President of the Gosplan, and Deputy-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries and of the Soviet of Labour and Defence.

The Five Year Plan entirely absorbed all his energy and here he used the same revolutionary methods, which were his second nature. He did not doubt the success of the Plan and he was not discouraged by its shortcomings. In all his lengthy and numerous speeches he acted as the mouthpiece of the Party, and we should not necessarily expect to find individual ideas of his own in them. But it may be of some interest to our readers to read the following abridged quotation from his speech, delivered on 7 January, 1935, at the Third Congress of the Moscow Province Soviets on commodity circulation, a problem which occupied the minds of Soviet leaders, and on the solution of which depends the success of the Second Five Years Plan :—

One of the most important tasks of the country's national economy at the present time is the development of commodity circulation.

. . . The abolition of the card system and the exchange of grain for agricultural raw materials were possible only because we have an increase in State grain resources, an increase in the supply of general consumers' goods, and an increase in the retail trading system.

. . . The material and cultural requirements of the toilers of our country have grown immeasurably, and greater and greater demands are going to be made on the trading organisations.

. . . The work which has been done in this connection is still insufficient, and the trading organisations must display greater energy, initiative and flexibility in this field than hitherto.

. . . The trading system must decisively eradicate from its practice mechanical methods of distributing goods and distribution according to all sorts of "average" indices, as a result of which goods frequently get caught in the chinks of the tremendous network of commodity distribution.

The most serious attention must be paid to increasing the assortment of goods. During the years of rationing, the assortment not only of food, but also of a whole series of industrial products, decreased. Industry is still reorganising itself too slowly for the demands of the consumer and

does not recognise the needs of the population. The trading organisations are also failing to study the needs of the consumer, in spite of the decisive directions of the Party and Government, and are therefore not presenting the proper demands to Industry.

The situation is now changing. The consumer will present higher demands for assortment and quality of goods and will penalise poor work by refusing to buy.

The most important task of Soviet trade besides this, is a struggle for lower prices.

. . . The prospects and possibilities for the growth of commodity circulation in our country are at present very great, and they can be successfully realised on the condition of unflagging attention to the problems of the development of commodity circulation on the part of Soviet, Party and trade union organisations."—(*The Moscow News*, 17 January.)

S. P. TURIN.

## EEMIL NESTOR SETÄLÄ

THE sudden death of Professor Eemil Nestor Setälä at the age of 72, which took place on 8 February last, has deprived Finno-Ugrian philology of one of its two *Altmeister*. By a sad coincidence the death of the other, Professor Zoltán Gombocz, of Budapest, also took place this spring, and the subject has thus suffered a double loss in one year.

In a notice as brief as this it is possible to mention only some of Professor Setälä's multifarious activities. At the University of Helsinki, Setälä began his studies along *junggrammatisch* lines, and soon after began to apply these methods to the study of Finno-Ugrian, which had not up till then been treated scientifically. The possibilities of this method were at once apparent with the publication (in 1889) of his thesis, *Zur Geschichte der Tempus-und Modus-stamm-bildung in den finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen*, and more particularly, with his *Yhteissuomalainen Äännehistoria—Konsonantit* (1891), in which he outlined the phonology of the consonants of Baltic Fennic. Shortly after this he began work on a subject which was to remain a life-long interest, the consonant-ablaut of Finno-Ugrian, and in 1896 he published what is perhaps his most famous work, *Über Quantitätswechsel im finnisch-ugrischen*. In 1912, Setälä demonstrated the relationship between Finno-Ugrian and Samoyed, and about the same time he published two important works on the Germanic loan-words in Baltic Fennic. Thus, in the works so far mentioned, Setälä discussed almost all the classical problems of

Finno-Ugrian. Not the least striking thing about them is that they remain today the standard works on the subjects.

Apart from the purely linguistic side of Finno-Ugrian, from his student days Setälä had another great interest, Baltic Fennic folk-poetry. His early work in this field mostly centred in the Kullervo-theme; his work on the Kalevala includes a number of papers and culminated in his most recent work, *Sammon Arvoitus*, which deals with the Sampo in minute detail.

Much of his important work appeared in cooperative publications. Here I will only mention the invaluable *Suomen Suku*, which contains a mass of important information about the Finno-Ugrian peoples, their history and pre-history.

Not only was Setälä a great philologist, but he was something much rarer, a great organiser of philology. He was a prime mover in the foundation of *Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen* and *Virittäjä*, two of the best-known Finno-Ugrian periodicals. He planned the important series, *Monumenta linguæ fennicæ*, the *Suomen kansan vanhat runot* (to be completed shortly) in some thirty large 4to volumes, and also great dictionaries of present-day Finnish, Finnish dialect and Old Finnish (all at present in course of preparation). Finally, he was responsible for the founding of the "Suomen Suku" Institute, an institute for the study of the Finno-Ugrian languages and peoples. Here an immense project has been undertaken, nothing less than the world's largest etymological dictionary, the *Etymologicon Magnum Fenno-Ugricum*, which will be a complete etymological dictionary of all the words in all the Finno-Ugrian languages. To this work Setälä devoted most of his energies in recent years.

There is no space to say anything here of Setälä's numerous articles, which are scattered throughout the literature of Finno-Ugrian philology. But any account of his work should, I think, include a reference to his delightful *Aapiskirja*, an ABC-book for children, surely the most charming book of its kind in any language.

Setälä's activities were not confined to philology. He played a leading part in the university, in public life, and, particularly, in diplomacy, (for some time he was Finnish-Hungarian Minister to Copenhagen). In conclusion I must add that he was a remarkable practical linguist, (he spoke Hungarian perfectly—a rare accomplishment), and that he was a member of many learned institutions at home and abroad.

For myself I will merely say that I shall always remember him for his kindness and hospitality to me at the "Suomen Suku" Institute, and that I shall always be grateful for the kindly advice

which he was ready to give on all occasions to one beginning the difficult study of Finno-Ugrian philology.

*University of Leeds*

ALAN S. C. ROSS.

# ALEXANDER ONOU

As a scholar A. M. Onou from 1890 was engaged, like Vinogradov, Kareyev, Luchitsky, Savin, Petrushevsky, and other Russian historians, in examining the pre-revolutionary political, social and economic conditions of western countries. Auguste Comte, re-interpreted by publicists like Pisarev and Mikhailovsky, brought about a pre-eminently sociological approach in the selection of historical facts. The study of *stages* and *types* of civilisation, completed by, or colliding with a growing tendency in favour of a purely *economic* interpretation, necessarily forced the student of history into fields of social evolution. Trained in his craft according to the principles of minute research, the study of what had happened in the West might help him to ascertain the factors or agents of social and political change that would not fail to operate in his own country. Familiarity with conditions in Russia at the same time could assist him in reconstructing the past of the more "advanced" countries. An adequate presentation of the latter would then entail something like a prescience of things to be expected at home. Indeed, an assumption fit to engender a special zest in the examination of censuses, taxes, dues, services, land tenure, however obscure their terminology, however remote the origins of a given institution or group! Personalities such as, say, Queen Elizabeth or Napoleon, Luther or Dzhingiz-Khan, were relegated to a department of study which in our days has the detective novel as its complement. Racial and national peculiarities were viewed as products not as agents, in the process of historical sequence.

It seems to me that in this spirit Onou, having satisfied his teachers as an extremely capable and promising student by an essay on Emperor Joseph II, approached the antecedents of the French Revolution, with regard to one problem: When and how did the forefathers of the ruling bourgeoisie of France formulate and assert its aspirations political and economic? The answer to this question could not be given unless the national mandate of the Third Estate—*Les Cahiers du Tiers Etat*<sup>1</sup>—were subjected to textual and higher criticism. Onou's Master's Thesis, of which summaries and sections appeared also in French, by the recommendation of the Faculty of

<sup>1</sup> The Elections of 1789 and the Cahiers of the Third Estate, S.P.B. 1908.

History obtained the Pushkin prize, which was a subsidy for its publication.

Apart from its merits as a work of subtle research, which reflected not only the intellectual qualities of the writer, but his French affiliations with scholars (Aulard, etc.) and others—Onou's mother owned land in le Loiret—the thesis threw some light on the insufficiency of the economic factor for the explanation of the advent to power of the Third Estate. If I remember rightly, a considerable portion of the cahiers and some sections in most of them reflected ideas and formulas nurtured among Paris non-class propagandists, and automatically incorporated into the grievances of the country people. Thus the psychological factor in the discharge of the revolutionary passion was held by Onou to be of more importance than those dictates of economic wants. I am not prepared to labour the point here; it only matters to ascertain Onou's position among the scholars of those days.

I remember—it must have been about 1892, at one of the literary at homes of K. K. Arsenyev, the patriarch of the political reviewers (in the *Vestnik Evropy*)—Onou replying to a spirited argument of young Marxians—Vodovozov and Struve—said, if I am not mistaken: "Famine and hunger, certainly a direct manifestation of the economic factor, in some countries have led to cannibalism and riots; the Russian peasant at present hides himself on the stove and rests motionless, waiting for what is coming. Otlezhivaetsya was his expression."<sup>2</sup> I cannot recollect the further development of the discussion, but I am giving it here as indicating the trend of Onou's thought, always alert, of a clarity which one might term French, and a vivacity of expression and temper, which amateurs of racial genealogy would ascribe to the other strain in his descent—the Moldavian. The ancestors of Onou's father were among those who sought refuge in Russia from Turkish rule. He personally, to use his own expression, had "self-determined" himself as a Great Russian.

Onou's intention to abandon the offices of the Imperial State Council for an academic career did not materialise. He actually ascended, without great enthusiasm, the hierarchical ladder, although a year or two at the Secretariat of the State Duma in 1906 and 1907 formed a more exciting interlude. The terms which he spent lecturing at the Imperial Lyceum on Modern History, gave him and his audience much satisfaction.

With the abdication of the Emperor a new chapter opened for Onou, as assistant to Vl. Nabokov in charge of the Secretariat of the

<sup>2</sup> This is also repeated on p. 47 of his essay on "Revolutions."



Provisional Government. In the *Contemporary Review* (of October 1933), Onou has given some of his recollections. Anticipating great difficulties, he was glad to follow a call to London as Consul-General.

Until the recognition of the Soviet Government and his subsequent retirement, the ever-increasing want among the Russian colony was a heavy load to carry. Then followed years of trying need for himself. But all the time he was always ready to discuss and to lecture on the Russian problem in its European setting. In 1919 he lectured on Russian history at King's College, London; during the last years of his life he gave a course of lectures on European Civilisation at the Polytechnic. A contribution on "Revolutions" in the *Festgabe to Milyukov* (Prague, 1929) contains a concentrated account of Onou's final conception ("The Sociological Nature of Revolution").

Only late in life did Onou devote himself to the study of the Eastern Question, thus discovering for himself what had been the life interest of his father, Russian Minister in Athens and sometime senior dragoman in Constantinople under Count N. P. Ignatyev, and of his great-uncle Jomini (Gorchakov's right hand), in whose house he spent the agitated years of studentship at St. Petersburg, in frequent contact with Lenin's elder brother Ulyanov. The readers of the *Slavonic Review* will recall his articles on Ignatyev, and the audience of the Anglo-Russian Literary Society his recollections of the latter.

As the 46 or 47 years when I could turn to a friend who is no more, traverse my mind, I realise that I have been gathering two "Fruits of Friendship." The one that "works two contrary Effects, for it redoubleth Joys and cutteth Grievs in Halves," the other being "healthful and sovereign for the Understanding . . . neither is this to be understood only of Faithful Counsel, which a Man receiveth from his Friend; but before you come to that, certain it is, that whosoever has his Mind fraught with many Thoughts, his Wits and Understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another . . . more by an hour's Discourse than by a Day's Meditation" (Bacon's *Essay of Friendship*).

If a tribute to Onou's scholarship and clear thinking should be levied, commensurate with his full powers, it could be obtained by a translation into English of his essay on the Sociological Nature of Revolution, the result of lifelong thought and observation at close quarters.

A. MEYENDORFF.

# SOVIET LEGISLATION (XIII)

(Selection of Decrees and Documents)

## THE STANDARD ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION OF THE AGRICULTURAL ARTEL.

*Approved by the IInd Congress of the kolhoz shock-workers and confirmed by the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on 17 February, 1935.*

### I. AIMS AND PURPOSES

1. The toiling peasants of the village (settlement, hamlet, khutor, kishlak, aul).....in the district of.....voluntarily band together in order to build up, with common means of production and with common labour, a collective, i.e. socialist farm, to ensure complete victory over kulaks and all exploiters and enemies of the toilers, to ensure complete victory over poverty and darkness, over the backwardness of small individual farming, to create a high productivity of labour and to ensure, by this means, the wellbeing of the members.

The path of kolhozy, the path of Socialism is the only right path for the toiling peasants. The members of the artel take upon themselves an obligation to strengthen their artel, to work honestly, to distribute the kolhoz income according to the amount of work done, to guard the common property, to take care of the kolhoz goods, to keep the tractors and machinery in good order, to tend the horses carefully, to execute the tasks imposed by the workers' and peasants' State in order to make their kolhoz a Bolshevik one and all members of the kolhoz—well-to-do people.

### II. ON THE LAND

2. All boundaries and hedges which have hitherto divided the plots of the members of the artel, are to be abolished and all individual plots and fields are to be converted into one huge field which is to be utilised collectively by the artel. Land occupied by the artel (as well as all other land in the USSR), is national State property. According to the laws of the workers' and peasants' State, the land is leased to the artel for an indefinite period, that is to say, for ever, and must not either be sold or bought or sublet by the artel.

The District Executive Committees are to prepare a State title-deed for each artel, as evidence of the right to the utilisation of land; this title-deed must fix the size and exact boundaries of the land enclosure given to the artel; the land enclosures cannot be decreased, but may be increased, either out of the free State land-fund or out of the superfluous land occupied by individual peasants; always, however, subject to preserving the kolhoz lands in one block.

Small allotments (vegetable plots, gardens) are to be parcelled out of the common land for the individual use of each kolhoz household. The

size of such allotments (exclusive of the site of the house) may vary from a quarter hectare to a half hectare, and, in some districts, to one hectare, in correspondence with local conditions, as determined by the People's Commissariats for Agriculture of the Allied Republics on the basis of the directions issued by the People's Commissariat for Agriculture of the USSR.

3. The land enclosure of the artel may in no case be diminished. It is forbidden to parcel out allotments out of the artel's land enclosure to those members who withdraw from the artel. The withdrawing members may receive allotments only out of the free lands of the State land-fund. The land enclosure of the artel is to be divided into separate fields in correspondence with the established system of crop rotation. Each field brigade is to work on the same portion of fields during the established period of crop rotation. Kolhozy which possess large stock-breeding farms, in case of need and if having a sufficient amount of land, may parcel out certain allotments which are to be attached to the stock-breeding farms and used for the cultivation of fodder for the animals.

### III. ON MEANS OF PRODUCTION

4. To be socialised: all draught animals, agricultural machinery (ploughs, drill-ploughs, harrows, threshers, movers), seeds, fodder in such quantities as necessary for the feeding of socialised animals, farm buildings necessary for conducting the business of the artel and all industrial undertakings for preparing agricultural products. Not to be socialised, but left in individual possession of a kolhoz household: houses, animals and fowls owned individually, farm buildings necessary for sheltering animals left in individual possession of a kolhoz household. Small agricultural implements necessary for the working of individual allotments, are to be left in individual possession of the members when the socialisation of agricultural machinery is effected.

The directors of the artel may, in case of need, allot a few horses, out of the total number of socialised draught animals, for serving the personal needs of the members, but on the condition that these services are to be paid for. The artel is to organise a mixed stock-breeding farm, or, if there are a large number of animals, several specialised stock-breeding farms.

5. Each kolhoz household in the districts of cultivation of grain, sugar-beet, cotton, flax, hemp, potatoes and vegetables, tea and tobacco may have in individual possession one cow, not more than two calves, one sow with sucklings or, if the directors of the kolhoz may think it advisable, two sows with sucklings, not more than 10 sheep and goats together, an unlimited number of fowls and rabbits, and not more than 20 bee-hives.

Each kolhoz household in agricultural districts with a developed stock-breeding may have in individual possession two or three cows and also calves, two or three sows with sucklings, 20 or 25 sheep and goats together,

an unlimited number of fowls and rabbits, and not more than 20 beehives. Such districts are, for instance, agricultural districts of Kazakstan not bordering on nomadic districts, forest districts of White Russia, the Chernigov and Kiev provinces of Ukraine, the districts of the Baraba Steppes and Altai districts of Western Siberia, the Ishim and Tobolsk groups of districts of the Omsk province, the hilly part of Bashkiria, the eastern part of Eastern Siberia, agricultural districts of the Far Eastern Area, the Vologda and Holmogory groups of districts in the Northern Area.

Each kolhoz household in the districts of non- or semi-nomadic stock-breeding where agriculture is of small significance and stock-breeding is the chief industry, may have in individual possession four or five cows and also calves, 30 or 40 sheep and goats in all, two or three sows with sucklings, an unlimited number of fowls and rabbits, not more than 20 beehives, and also one horse or one milking mare or two camels or two donkeys or two mules. Such, for instance, are the following districts: the stock-breeding districts of Kazakstan bordering on nomadic districts, the stock-breeding districts of the Turkoman, Tadzhik, Kara-Kalpak and Kirghiz republics, Oirotia, Khakassia, the western part of Buryato-Mongolia, the Kalmyk autonomous district, the hilly districts of the Dagestan autonomous republic, the Checheno-Ingush, Kabarda-Balkarsk, Karachevsk and Osetin autonomous provinces of the Northern Caucasus, and also the hilly parts of the Azerbeidzhan, Armenian and Georgian soviet socialist republics.

Each kolhoz household in the districts of nomadic stock-breeding where agriculture has almost no significance and where stock-breeding is the all-embracing branch of industry, may have in individual possession eight or ten cows and also calves, 100 or 150 sheep and goats in all, an unlimited number of fowls, up to ten horses, five or eight camels. Such districts, for instance, are: the nomadic districts of Kazakstan, the Nogai district, the nomadic districts of Buryato-Mongolia.

#### IV. THE WORK OF THE ARTEL AND ITS DIRECTORS

6. The artel takes upon itself the obligation to conduct its collective farming according to plan and to execute exactly the plans drawn by the organs of the Workers' and Peasants' Government with regard to agricultural production and the duties of the artel towards the State. The artel is to follow exactly the programmes of sowing, fallow ploughing, weeding, harvesting, threshing and autumn ploughing which are to be drawn up in accordance with conditions and peculiarities existing in the kolhozy, and also the State plan of development of stock-breeding.

Directors and all the members of the artel take upon themselves the following obligations:—

(a) To increase the productivity of the kolhoz fields by means of the introduction and observance of the correct rotation of crops, deep ploughing, extermination of weeds, increasing and improving the fallow and autumn ploughing, timely and careful hoeing of cotton plantations,

putting in manure taken from the stock-breeding farms and from kolhoz households, putting in mineral fertilisers, extermination of pests, timely and careful harvesting without losses, tending and cleaning the irrigation constructions, safeguarding the forests, planting trees for sheltering the fields, the strictest observance of all agricultural and technical regulations established by the local land offices;

(b) to select the best seeds for sowing, to purify them from any admixture, to keep them safe from damage and pilfering, to store them in clean, well-ventilated storehouses, to increase the sowing of pure-bred seeds;

(c) to increase the area under cultivation by means of the utilisation of all land at the disposal of the artel, of improvement and cultivation of lands laid waste, of ploughing up virgin land and by the introduction of a correct land survey within the kolhozy,

(d) to make full use, on the collective basis, of all draught animals and traction engines, of all implements and agricultural machinery, of seeds and all other means of production which the artel possesses, and also of all tractors, motors, threshers, combines and other machinery which the Workers' and Peasants' State supplies to the kolhozy through the Machine-Tractor Stations, to organise correct tending of live-stock and machinery and to use every endeavour to keep animals and machinery in the collective farm in good order and condition;

(e) to organise stock-breeding farms, and in those localities where the conditions are favourable, also horse-breeding farms, to increase the number of animals, to improve the breeds and the productivity of the animals, to assist members who work honestly at the collective farm, in purchasing cows and small cattle, to mate cows, mares, etc., with improved and pure-bred bulls, stallions, etc., not only socialised, but also those cows, mares, etc., which are individually owned by the members, to observe the established zoological, technical and veterinary regulations in respect of stock-breeding;

(f) to increase the production of fodder, to improve the meadows and pastures, to render assistance to members who conscientiously work in socialised production and to ensure for them, as far as possible, the enjoyment of kolhoz pastures, and also to give them, as far as possible, fodder for the cattle owned by them individually, on the condition that the cost of this fodder should be refunded by them;

(g) to develop all other branches of agricultural production in correspondence with local natural conditions and also cottage industries in correspondence with the conditions prevailing in the district, to take care of and to keep clean the ponds, to dig new ones and stock them with fish;

(h) to organise the construction of farm and communal buildings by common labour;

(i) to raise the cultural standard of the members, to introduce newspapers, books, broadcast, to establish clubs, lending libraries and reading-rooms, to build public baths and hairdressing shops, to construct clean and airy field-camps, to keep the village streets in good order, to plant

various, especially fruit-bearing, trees, to assist the members in improving and decorating their houses;

(j) to improve the qualifications of the members, to assist the members in training for such duties as brigadiers, tractorists, combine-minders, drivers, veterinary surgeons and sanitars, stablemen, sow-herds, cowmen, shepherds, field laboratory assistants;

(k) to draw the women into the kolhoz work and the social life of the artel, to appoint capable and experienced women-members to managerial posts, to free women, as far as possible, of domestic work by means of establishing crèches, playing grounds for children, and so forth.

#### V. ON MEMBERSHIP

7. Admission to membership is made by the general meeting of the members, which confirms the lists of new members submitted by the directors. All toilers, women as well as men, who have attained the age of 16, may join the artel. Kulaks and all persons deprived of the right to vote are not to be admitted into the artel.

NOTE.—The following exemptions to this rule are permitted.—

(a) Children of the *lishentzy* (disfranchised) who, for a number of years, have been engaged in work of public utility and who are working conscientiously;

(b) Former kulaks and members of their families who, having been deported for their anti-soviet and anti-kolhoz activities, have proved for a period of three years, by their conscientious work and by their support of the measures passed by the Soviet Government, that they have been corrected.

Individual peasants who have sold their horses in the two years preceding their admission into the artel and who have no seed are to be admitted into the artel on the condition that they take upon themselves an obligation to refund the cost of a horse out of their income by instalments over six years and to surrender the required quantity of seed in kind.

8. Members may be expelled from the artel only by a resolution of the general meeting at which not less than two-thirds of the total number of the members are present. The number of members present at the general meeting and the number of votes cast for expulsion should be explicitly stated in the minutes of the meeting. If an expelled member appeals against his expulsion to the district executive committee of the soviets, the case is finally decided by the presidium of the district executive committee of the soviets in the presence of the chairman of the artel and of the appellant.

#### VI. FUNDS OF THE ARTEL

9. A member admitted into the artel must pay an entrance fee to the amount of 20 or 40 roubles in correspondence with his economic capacity. The entrance fee is to go to the indivisible fund of the artel.

10. Between one-half and one-quarter of the value of the socialised property of the members (draught animals, machinery, farm buildings, etc.) must go into the indivisible fund of the *artel*, the more well-to-do the member, the larger the proportion of his property which is to go into the indivisible fund. The remaining portion of the property is to be considered as the share of the member. The directors are to settle accounts with a withdrawing member and have to return to him his share in money; the withdrawing member may obtain a land allotment only outside the land enclosure belonging to the *artel*. As a rule, the settlement of accounts is effected at the end of the agricultural season.

11. Out of the crops gathered and the animal products raised, the *artel* must :—

(a) Fulfil its obligations towards the State in respect of deliveries of products and the return of seed loans; pay out in kind to the Machine-Tractor Station for the work done by the Station, in accordance with the contract, which has the force of the law, and fulfil other contracts entered into;

(b) store seed for the next year's sowing and fodder for animals for the whole year and create permanent, annually renewed, seed and fodder funds to the extent of 10 or 15 per cent. of the annual requirements, in order to insure itself against failure of crops or shortage of fodder;

(c) create, in accordance with the decision of the general meeting, funds to assist disabled, old or sick people, poor families of Red Army soldiers, and to maintain crèches and waifs; all these funds should not exceed 2 per cent. of the total annual production;

(d) fix the proportion of the products which, in accordance with the decision of the general meeting, is to be sold to the State or on the free market;

(e) share out the remaining portion of the crops and animal products produced by the *artel* among the members in accordance with the number of working days earned by each member.

12. The money income of the *artel* is to be expended for the following purposes :—

(a) To pay taxes to the State established by law and insurance premiums;

(b) to defray necessary expenses in connection with current requirements, such as repairs of agricultural machinery and implements, medical treatment of animals, combating pests, etc.;

(c) to defray administrative expenses of the *artel*, to the extent of not more than 2 per cent. of the total income in money;

(d) to assign money for cultural needs, such as training of brigadiers and other specialists, organisation of crèches, purchasing of wireless, etc.;

(e) to augment the indivisible funds of the *artel* for the purchase of cattle, agricultural machinery and building materials, for paying wages to workers hired for building operations, for repayment of long-term loans received from the Agricultural Bank; the total sum assigned for the

replenishing of the indivisible fund is to equal not less than 10 per cent. and not more than 20 per cent. of the total money income of the artel;

(f) the remaining money income of the artel is to be shared out among the members in accordance with the number of working days earned by each member.

All sums received by the artel must be entered in the books on the day when the money is received.

The directors must prepare an estimate of revenue and expenditure for the ensuing year, this estimate is valid only after it has been confirmed by the general meeting. The directors may spend money only in accordance with the confirmed estimate, arbitrary moving of money from one item of the expenditure estimate to another is not to be permitted, and the directors, if such operations are necessary, must first obtain the consent of the general meeting. The artel must keep its money on the current account with a bank or a savings bank. The withdrawal of money from the current account is made by order of the directors, which order is valid when it is signed by the chairman and by the accountant.

#### VII. ORGANISATION AND REMUNERATION OF LABOUR, AND LABOUR DISCIPLINE

13. All operations in connection with the running of the business of the artel are to be performed by the personal labour of its members in accordance with the rules and regulations approved by the general meeting. It is permitted to engage non-members for agricultural operations only when they possess special knowledge and training (agronomists, engineers, technicians, and so forth). The hiring of outside casual labour is permitted only under exceptional circumstances when urgent operations cannot be performed in time by the members working at full pressure, and also for building and constructional operations.

14. The directors form production brigades out of the members of the artel. Agricultural brigades are to have the same personnel for the full period of crop rotation. The agricultural brigade must work the same plot for the full period of crop rotation. The directors, by a special deed, must hand over to each agricultural brigade all necessary machinery, draught animals and farm buildings.

Stock-breeding brigades are to have the same personnel for the period of not less than three years. The directors must hand over to each stock-breeding brigade productive cattle, machinery and draught animals necessary for carrying out the business, and also stables, cow-sheds, pigsties, and other similar buildings.

Work is to be shared out among the members of the brigade by the brigadier, who must, in the best possible way, make proper use of each member of his brigade, not permitting himself, while sharing out the tasks, to be influenced by family or other private considerations, and taking into account the qualifications, experience and physical fitness of each member and, in respect of pregnant or nursing women, the necessity of alleviating



their work; women must be freed from all work for a period of one month before and one month after giving birth, and during these two months must receive remuneration equal to one-half of the average number of working days they normally earn.

15. Agricultural operations are to be carried out on the basis of piecework remuneration. The directors are to work out and the general meeting is to confirm the normal output and remuneration for each separate job in terms of working days; these standards must be worked out for each agricultural operation. The normal output which a conscientious working man may produce is to be fixed for each operation; conditions of draught animals, machinery and soil are to be taken into consideration. Each operation—as, for instance, to plough up one hectare, to sow one hectare, to hoe one hectare of cotton plantation, to thresh one ton of grain, to dig out two hundredweights of sugar-beet, to pluck one hectare of flax, to moisten one hectare of flax, to milk one litre of milk, and so on, is to be valued in terms of working days in correspondence with the necessary qualifications of the labourer, the complexity, difficulty and importance of the operation for the artel.

The brigadier must, not less than once a week, calculate all the work which has been done by a member, and, in accordance with the established scale of remuneration, enter the number of earned working days into the labour book of the member. The directors must display every month the list of members, showing the number of working days earned by each member during the preceding month.

The annual amount of work and the income earned by each member is to be certified, apart from the accountant, also by the brigadier and the chairman of the artel. The list showing the number of working days earned by each member is to be publicly displayed not later than a fortnight before the date of the general meeting, which is to confirm the distribution of the income earned by the artel.

If an agricultural brigade, as a result of good work, should gather crops from its plot exceeding the average crops obtained by the artel, or if a stock-breeding brigade, as a result of good work, should show a better output of milk per cow, better fattening of cattle or ensure full preservation of young animals, the directors are to increase the remuneration of the members of such brigades to the extent of 10 per cent. of the total of working days earned by them; the best shock-workers in the brigade are entitled to 15 per cent. increase, and the brigadiers or stock-breeding farm managers to 20 per cent.

If an agricultural brigade, as a result of bad work, should gather crops from its plot below the average of the crops obtained by the artel, or if the stock-breeding brigade, as a result of bad work, should show a poorer output of milk per cow, poorer fattening of cattle or larger mortality among young animals, the directors are to fine the members of such brigades to the extent of 10 per cent. of the number of working days earned by them.

The distribution of income among the members is to be made exclusively in accordance with the number of working days earned by each member.

16. Money may be advanced to a member during the year to an amount not exceeding 50 per cent. of the sum earned by him. Advances in kind are to be made by the directors only after the beginning of threshing operations and out of the threshed grain which is left for the requirements of the artel (10 or 15 per cent. of the total threshed grain).

Those artels which are engaged in the cultivation of technical plants, may grant money advances to their members before the deliveries of cotton, flax, hemp, sugar-beet, tea, tobacco, etc., are completed; the advances cannot exceed 60 per cent. of the money received for the delivered products and may be given out once a week, in correspondence with the progress of deliveries.

17. All members of the artel must take upon themselves the obligation to take good care of the property of the artel and of the machinery belonging to the State, and working on the artel's fields, to work honestly, to observe the provisions of the Articles of Association, to carry out the resolutions of the general meetings and the orders of the directors, to adhere to the established regulations, to execute conscientiously the tasks and social duties imposed upon them by the directors and brigadiers, to observe the labour discipline.

The directors are entitled to impose penalties, in accordance with the established regulations, upon those members who waste or neglect the common property, shirk their work without sufficient reasons, work badly or infringe the labour discipline and the Articles of Association; the penalties are: to do the badly done work over again without any remuneration in terms of working days, warning, reprimand, reproof at the general meeting, entering the name of the offender on the blackboard, fines to the extent of five working days, removal to low-paid jobs, temporary dismissal from work. In cases when all measures of education and punishment imposed by the artel fail to produce effect, the directors must put before the general meeting their suggestion to request the expulsion of incorrigible members. The expulsion must be carried out in accordance with the provisions stated in paragraph 8 of the present Articles of Association.

18. Pilfering of socialised kolhoz and State property, a criminally negligent attitude towards property and cattle belonging to the artel and towards machinery belonging to Machine-Tractor Stations is to be considered by the artel as a betrayal of the kolhoz cause and as assistance rendered to the enemies of the people. Persons guilty of such criminal offences which undermine the basic principles of kolhoz order, must be handed over by the artel to judicial authorities to be punished in accordance with the severe laws of the Workers' and Peasants' State.

## VIII. MANAGEMENT OF THE ARTEL

19. The business of the artel is to be managed by the general meeting of the members and, in the intervals between the meetings, by the directors elected by the general meeting.

20 The general meeting is the highest authority in the management of the artel The general meeting :—

(a) Elects the chairman and the directors of the artel and also the auditing commission of the artel; the auditing commission is approved by the district executive committee of the soviets;

(b) effects the admission of new members into and the expulsion of members from the artel;

(c) confirms the programme of the annual production, the estimate of revenue and expenditure, the building programme, the normal outputs and valuation of tasks in terms of working days;

(d) confirms the agreement with Machine-Tractor Station;

(e) confirms the annual report of the directors, which is to be accompanied by the conclusions of the auditing commission, and also the reports of directors regarding the most important agricultural campaigns;

(f) fixes the extent of various funds and also the amounts of products and money to be paid out per working day;

(g) confirms the regulations regarding the carrying out of the business of the artel.

The decisions of directors affecting the matters enumerated in the present paragraph of the Articles of Association are null and void if not confirmed by the general meeting. The quorum of the general meeting is to be not less than one-half of the membership of the artel; this quorum may decide all matters except the election of chairman and of the directors, expulsion of members, and agreement on the extent of various funds; for resolutions upon these matters, the quorum of the general meeting must be not less than two-thirds of the membership. The resolutions at the general meetings are passed by a majority of votes and the voting effected by show of hands.

21. For the running of current business of the artel the general meeting elects, for a period of two years, from five to nine directors in accordance with the size of the artel. The directors are to act as the executive committee of the artel and are responsible for the working of the artel and for the fulfilment of its obligations towards the State.

22. The general meeting elects the chairman of the artel, who is also to preside over the meetings of the directors; the chairman is to manage the day-to-day business of the artel and also to check constantly the execution of the resolutions passed by the directors. The chairman's duty is to convene the meetings of directors not less than once in every fortnight to discuss the current business and pass the necessary resolutions. The directors elect, on the nomination of the chairman, a vice-chairman, who is to assist the chairman in the execution of his duties. The vice-chairman, in all his work, is to follow the directions of the chairman.

23. Brigadiers and managers of the stock-breeding farms are appointed by the directors for a period of not less than two years.

24. The directors appoint an accountant chosen from the members of the artel or hired from outside. The accountant is to keep accounts of the property, income and expenditure of the artel in accordance with the forms prescribed and is to be completely under the orders of the directors and the chairman of the artel. The accountant has no authority to manage independently the funds of the artel, to grant money advances or to expend the resources of the artel. This authority belongs to the directors and the chairman of the artel exclusively. All documents relating to the expenditure of money must be signed by the chairman or by the vice-chairman and countersigned by the accountant.

25. The auditing commission exercises control over all economic and financial activities of the directors, sees if all the revenue in money and in kind is duly credited in the books, if the regulations prescribed by the Articles of Association on expenditure are observed, if the property of the artel is kept in good order, if there is no pilfering of the property or embezzlement of money funds, if the artel meets its obligations towards the State, if it pays its debts and collects debts due to it. Besides this, the auditing commission carefully checks all reckonings between the artel and its members, brings to light every case of cheating by members, inaccurate statements on the number of working days and on delays in payment of remuneration for the earned working days and all other cases of infringement of the interests of the artel or of its members.

The auditing commission audits the accounts four times a year. It is to put before the general meeting its conclusions on the annual report of the directors; these conclusions are to be heard by the general meeting immediately after the report of the directors. The report of the auditing commission is to be confirmed by the general meeting. The auditing commission is responsible for its activities to the general meeting of the artel.

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*Decree of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.*

**On measures for combating crime among minors.<sup>1</sup>**

Aiming at the speediest extermination of crime among minors, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR decree:—

(1) Minors from 12 years of age who are found guilty of committing thefts, assaults, injuries, mutilations, murder or attempt at murder, are

<sup>1</sup> This decree is part of the general campaign against hooliganism, which is explained in the *Chronicle*, p. 204 :—ED.

to be brought before the criminal courts and are to be liable to all the grades of criminal penalty.<sup>2</sup>

(2) Persons found guilty of instigating minors to or of employing them in participation in various crimes and also of forcing minors to such occupations as illicit trading, prostitution, begging, etc., are to be liable to not less than five years' imprisonment.

(3) To cancel Article 8 of "The Basic Principles of Criminal Legislation of the USSR and of the Allied Republics<sup>3</sup>."

(4) To instruct the governments of the Allied Republics to amend the Criminal Codes of the republics in correspondence with the present decree.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,

M. KALININ.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,

V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,

I. AKULOV.

7 April, 1935.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 8 April, 1935, No. 84-5637.)

*Editor's Notes.*—<sup>2</sup>This includes the death penalty.

<sup>3</sup>According to Article 8 of "The Basic Principles," crimes committed by children up to 16 years of age, were exempted from criminal prosecution and the culprits were sent to special homes for defective children. Youths between 16 and 18 years were also not liable to penalties prescribed in the Criminal Code, but were either sent to correctional institutions or bound over (*uslovnnoe osuzhdenie*).

## CHRONICLE

### UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

#### FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

*Great Britain.*—An important move in British policy towards Soviet Russia was made in March, when a British Cabinet Minister, Mr. Anthony Eden, Lord Privy Seal, paid an official visit to Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet Government. Or, as the official Soviet Tass Agency put it, such an invitation was proffered "as soon as the Soviet Government became acquainted with the British Government's intentions concerning Mr. Eden's visit." Mr. Eden, who was accompanied by Mr. Strang, Head of the League of Nations section of the Foreign Office, arrived in Moscow on 28 March, and was accorded a most cordial reception. The railway station was decorated with intermingled British and Soviet flags, and a guard of honour of OGPU soldiers provided. Mr. Eden had several conversations with M. Litvinov on all outstanding international political questions of the day, particularly the London *communiqué* of 3 February, Mr. Eden's recent visit to Berlin, and collective security. Mr. Eden also

had an interview with MM. Stalin and Molotov, at which the same questions were discussed. The social part of the programme consisted of dinners, receptions, a gala performance at the big opera theatre, where the playing of the British National Anthem was greeted with applause, and visits to places of interest, including important aeroplane works. In the speeches exchanged at the official dinner, Mr. Eden and M. Litvinov emphasised the importance of co-operation between the USSR and Britain in the cause of world peace on the basis of collective security as outlined in the London *communiqué* of 3 February. M. Litvinov said Mr. Eden's visit marked a distinct improvement in the political relations between their two countries, and Mr. Eden, replying, said that although his visit was purely exploratory, the personal contact thus established was a hopeful landmark for the future. He also dwelt on the importance attached by Great Britain to the League of Nations and the advantage to that body of the USSR's entry as a member. A joint Anglo-Soviet *communiqué* was issued on 31 March. It stated that the conversations, which had been conducted "in a spirit of frankness and mutual confidence," had dealt with "the principal elements of the present international situation" and the urgent necessity of promoting the building-up of a system of collective security in Europe, as contemplated in the Anglo-French *communiqué* of 3 February and in conformity with the principles of the League of Nations. The statement noted that, "the organisation of security in Eastern Europe did not aim at the isolation or encirclement of any State." The representatives of the two Governments were also "happy to note . . . that there is at present no conflict of interest between the two Governments on any main issues of international policy. . . . They are confident that both countries, recognising that the integrity and prosperity of each is to the advantage of the other, will govern their mutual relations in that spirit of collaboration and loyalty assumed by them which is inherent in their common membership of the League of Nations." The tone of the Soviet Press, which at the time of Sir J. Simon's visit to Berlin had with some asperity harped on "Berlin's victory" over "panic-stricken British statesmen," now changed completely. The "perfect candour" of the conversations was favourably commented on, and the aims of both countries for the peace of the world on a basis of collective security having been found to be identical, this was envisaged as a good omen for the future. The visit had also cleared the ground for a general improvement in the relations between the USSR and Great Britain.

*France.*—The rumours of an impending military alliance between the USSR and France which had been current in December and denied by the French Government, finally materialised into a Franco-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance, signed in Paris on 2 May by M. Laval and the Soviet Ambassador, M. Potemkin.

This agreement was preceded by long conversations between M. Laval and M. Litvinov during the session of the League Council in Geneva, and

an invitation to M. Laval to visit Moscow at the end of April was proffered by the Soviet Government. On 12 April the official Soviet Tass Agency published a statement that, "an agreement, on the basis of the general European security conventions, has been reached in principle between the Governments of the USSR and France concerning a scheme for a Franco-Soviet Security Convention to be concluded later" The Convention itself, the details of which were assumed to have been worked out by the two Foreign Ministers in Geneva, was expected to be signed during M. Laval's stay in Moscow, prior to which M. Litvinov was to visit Paris. A hitch, however, occurred in the negotiations; M. Litvinov was recalled to Moscow to report to his Government and M. Laval returned to Paris where, after a brief suspension, discussions were resumed between him and the Soviet Ambassador. The hitch was due to the difficulty of finding formulas acceptable to both parties, as the Soviet Government apparently desired an automatic application of the clause of mutual assistance whatever and wherever the "aggressor"; while the French, not wishing to commit themselves to becoming entangled in possible Soviet conflicts outside Europe and desiring, moreover, to reconcile the Pact with the conditions of the League Covenant and those of the Locarno Treaty, sought a more flexible formula. After considerable discussion an agreement was arrived at, the Pact, with explanatory Protocol, was signed, and its text published in the French and Soviet Press. The Treaty contains 5 clauses and is based on Art. 15, paragraphs 6 and 7, of the League Covenant, by which the Council is obliged to report on a dispute. Both contracting parties agree reciprocally that on either being threatened by any European State, they will at once proceed to a consultation under Art. 10 of the League Covenant. Should either of the two States be subjected to unprovoked aggression under circumstances specified in Art. 15, section 7, of the Covenant, the other contracting party shall immediately come to its assistance. Clause 3 of the Treaty establishes the obligation of both contracting parties, in the event of aggression by any European State, reciprocally to lend each other immediate aid in the application of Art. 16 of the Covenant. Clause 4 stipulates that "nothing in the Treaty shall be interpreted as restricting the obligations laid upon the high contracting parties as members of the League of Nations." The Treaty is concluded for five years, and is to be prolonged automatically unless notice is given to the contrary by either of the signatories a year before its expiry.

M. Laval arrived in Moscow on 13 May and was given an enthusiastic reception. At the station, decorated with a profusion of French and Soviet flags, he was greeted by M. Litvinov and other high Soviet officials, and drove off along streets lined with cheering crowds and guarded by police troops. The programme contained the customary round of official receptions, sightseeing, and a visit to the military aerodrome at Molino—hitherto forbidden ground to foreigners—where M. Laval was entertained by a display of higher aerobatics and manœuvres both by men and women.

The business part of the programme, besides several conversations with M. Litvinov, included a lengthy interview with MM. Stalin and Molotov, which was followed by a lunch at the Kremlin, the first time the Soviet dictator has ever entertained a foreign guest in this way. A joint *communiqué* was issued before M. Laval's departure, stating that "MM. Stalin, Molotov, Litvinov and Laval have expressed their satisfaction with the agreement signed in Paris on 2 May," and that during the Moscow visit the representatives of both Governments were able to record "the spirit of friendly confidence created between them by this agreement." After declaring world peace and the organisation of security to be the common aim of both parties, the *communiqué* proceeds to say that both parties recognise the obligations which weigh upon the States attached to the safeguarding of peace, their first duty being to prevent any weakening of their means of personal defence. "In this connexion M. Stalin understands and fully approves the policy of national defence adopted by France to maintain her armed forces at the level required for security." "In addition, the two Governments," continues the *communiqué*, "will proceed without delay towards the realisation of a regional pact in Eastern Europe on the basis of engagements of non-aggression, consultation and non-assistance to an aggressor. This constructive work," it is affirmed, "can only find its full realisation in the free and sincere collaboration of all interested States." The most salient point of this *communiqué*, which in itself contains nothing very new, is perhaps the paragraph stating M. Stalin's approval of French armaments. Whether this statement of "the leader of the world proletariat" will pass unchallenged by the French Communists, is not devoid of interest.

A Mutual Assistance Pact between the USSR and Czechoslovakia on the lines of the Franco-Soviet one was signed by Dr. Beneš and M. Alexandrovsky, Soviet Minister in Prague, on 16 May. A Trade Agreement between the two countries had been previously signed on 26 March.

*Germany.*—Although the new orientation of Soviet policy is repeatedly declared not to be directed towards an encirclement of, or against any other country, relations with Germany naturally have not improved. The Soviet Press was loud in denunciations of "Hitler's war preparations" and the menace of "German militarism." An economic agreement, however, was concluded in April between the USSR and Germany, by which the Soviet Government obtained, on orders placed in Germany, a credit of 200 million R.M. for a term of five years, guaranteed by a group of banks led by the Deutsche Bank, at the current discount rate of the Reichsbank, plus 2 per cent. Since the signing of this agreement and until Herr Hitler's speech in the Reichstag, press attacks on Germany abated considerably. Since the speech, however, these attacks have recommenced with redoubled vigour.

*Far East.*—The agreement for the sale of the Chinese Eastern Railway was at last signed in Tokyo on 23 March. The price settled was 140,000,000 yen at par, of which 46,000,000 in cash, one-half to be paid immediately



and the other to be converted into Manchukuo Government bonds redeemable by instalments within three years. The remaining sum of 93,300,000 yen is to be paid in goods delivered to the Soviet Government within three years by Japanese and Manchukuo firms. All payments, whether in cash or kind, are guaranteed by the Japanese Government. An additional sum of 30,000,000 yen is to be paid as compensation to retiring Soviet railway employees. The transfer of the railway was begun immediately, and most of the Soviet employees have already returned to the USSR.

*The League of Nations.*—M. Litvinov took a prominent part in all the deliberations of the League Council and contributed several important speeches on the questions of security and armaments.

#### INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

*Spring sowing.*—This year the work began earlier, and according to the official bulletin published on 26 May, 82,675,000 hectares or 91 per cent. of the total planned area were sown by 20 May, as compared with 83.4 per cent. for the same date last year. The collective farms head the list with 97.5 per cent., next come the State farms with 86.1 per cent.; and last the individual peasants who only sowed 55.9 per cent. of their negligible amount of land. Contrary to custom, the sowing campaign does not attract nearly as much attention of the Soviet Press as formerly, this being ostensibly due to its more than satisfactory progress and vastly improved technique.

*Transport.*—The Government's chief efforts are now concentrated on the reconstruction of the railway transport, which in spite of the enormous sums allotted for that purpose continues to be in a shocking condition. The Commissary of Communications, Andreyev, was dismissed and succeeded by Kaganovich, chairman of the Commission of Party Control and Secretary of the Moscow Regional Communist Party Committee, known as M. Stalin's right hand and an energetic worker. The fact that he was transferred from such responsible Party posts to a purely administrative one was proof of the importance attached by the Soviet leaders to a complete overhauling of the railway transport. In a stern "order of the day" the new Commissary rebuked the railway staff for their "shameful work," lack of discipline, inefficiency and slackness. The number of railway accidents was appalling: the total for 1934 amounted to 62,000 (including minor breakages); there were 7,000 in January, and 5,000 in February of this year. "The number of human casualties in railway accidents ran into thousands of wounded and hundreds killed." During 1934, 7,000 locomotives were smashed or damaged, 4,500 cars smashed and 60,000 damaged. 65 to 70 per cent. of these accidents were due to slackness and indiscipline, and those due to so-called "technical causes" in the long run also depended on "the human element." A system of more rigid individual responsibility and control is to be introduced, and discipline tightened generally.

*The Moscow Underground.*—The Moscow underground railway, "the

finest 'metro' in the world," was opened for public use on 15 May amid great rejoicing and in the presence of foreign guests: four engineers of the London Transport Board and several French engineers of the Paris "Metro." The first section of the Moscow Underground now opened covers 11 kilometres and cost over 700,000,000 roubles. It is built on the most sumptuous scale, each overground station representing some various style of architecture, and the underground stations and booking-halls adorned with marble columns and granite staircases, balustrades, etc., each station having its own colour scheme of different tinted marble, brought at great expense from all parts of the Union. Technically the railway represents the last word in mechanical efficiency and comfort.

*Loss of the "Maxim Gorky."*—The giant aeroplane "Maxim Gorky," which had been built to carry 70 passengers and equipped with a printing press, library and powerful loud-speaker, and was destined to serve as a flying propaganda centre, crashed during a pleasure flight over the aerodrome of the Aero Institute. Forty-eight persons, mostly employees of the Institute with their wives and several children, lost their lives. The cause of the accident was that the pilot of a one-seater machine, which accompanied the "Gorky" on its cruise, looped the loop, in spite of having been forbidden strictly to do so, and struck one of the wings of the giant. The wing broke off, the "Maxim Gorky" overturned, and breaking into pieces in mid-air, crashed to the ground. The pilot of the one-seater was also killed. The victims (with the exception of the guilty pilot) were given a State cremation, and the Government have announced their decision to build three new machines of the same type and size.

*New Loan.*—A new State loan for 3,500,000,000 roubles for a term of 10 years was issued on 5 May. One-half of it is a non-losing lottery loan, and the other bears 8 per cent. interest. Within nine days the entire loan was subscribed, with a surplus of 100,000,000 roubles.

*Progress of Metal Industry.*—During the first quarter of the current year the output in heavy metal industry was 95·3 per cent. of the plan for cast iron, 99·6 per cent. for steel, and 100 per cent. for rolled metal.

*Juvenile Criminality.*—Juvenile criminality, vagabondage and hooliganism, the growth of which has been frequently followed in the Soviet Press, have called for special measures. The more lenient legislation for juvenile criminals has been abolished; and henceforth young offenders from the age of 12 will be tried according to the Criminal Code for adults and be liable to "all grades of punishment" (including the death sentence). Persons convicted of enticing or abetting juveniles to crime and hooliganism will be liable to not less than five years' imprisonment. At the same time a movement has been set on foot to improve discipline and the moral upbringing of children, and parents are asked to co-operate with the school authorities in safeguarding the children from the bad influences of "the street."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the text of the relevant decree see p. 198.

*Renewal of Terrorism.*—A new wave of arrests and deportations was reported during the spring, and is apparently continuing unabated. Shortly before Mr. Eden's visit, the Soviet Press published a list of 1,034 persons—former "Tsarist" officials and higher officers of the Imperial and White armies, police agents, titled persons, and business men who, ostensibly for "passport irregularities," were arrested in Leningrad and banished to remote eastern territories, while a number of them were to be tried for alleged espionage on behalf of foreign countries. According to unofficial information, which it is impossible to verify, the numbers of arrested and banished persons were much greater, and were not confined to Leningrad. Several thousand were mentioned as being arrested in Moscow before the arrival of M. Laval. As usual, the exact purpose of the "clean-up" is difficult to understand, as many of the exiled were elderly and infirm people of both sexes, incapable of political or any other activities.

## REVIEWS

*Česko-anglický slovník.* Part I (A–O), compiled by H. T. Cheshire, B.A., Ph.D., V. Jung, L. Kłozner, Ph.D., J. Procházka, Ph.D., R. E. Ryan, Ant. Šrámek, C.E., 1933. Part II (P–Ž), compiled by H. T. Cheshire, B.A., Ph.D., L. Kłozner, Ph.D., Ant. Šrámek, C.E., 1935. Prague. J. Otto, Ltd.

A REVIEWER may be pardoned if he feels that to estimate adequately a dictionary of nearly 2,000 large pages is a formidable task. He can hardly hope to do more than select certain parts and, from a test of them, draw conclusions regarding the whole work. An appreciation of this particular dictionary presents two further difficulties: the beginning of its composition antedates its completion by about sixteen years, and the work of selecting the Czech words and providing their translation has been shared among seven compilers, whose findings have been to some extent controlled by the joint editorial committee which they themselves constituted.

The introductions (printed, curiously enough, at the *end* of each of the volumes) give detailed information regarding the distribution of the work, and carefully explain the scope of the dictionary. "The requirements of practical life and of the majority of the users of big dictionaries, who are generally persons engaged in work of a technical character," have exclusively guided the compilers, who have therefore forborne to burden the dictionary with "names of flowers, animals, scientific sophisms, and so on, which interest only a small number of readers." "The space saved in this way is devoted mainly to technological and legal terms, in the case of which even the smallest inaccuracy may cause an irreparable material loss."

This information, which is given in the first volume, is supplemented in the second, where it is stated that particular care is given to providing an idiomatic rendering of Czech phrases and to indicating the different shades of meaning of the English translations.

A dictionary of this scope is clearly more important to Czechs than to the English-speaking world, and, indeed, the introduction tells us that two main purposes have been kept in view, namely :—

1. To provide a full and practical dictionary for Czechoslovaks translating into English, and

2. To enable English and American readers to understand idiomatic passages and technical expressions in Czech publications.

The most cursory examination of the volumes is sufficient to show that the definite and modestly expressed claims of the compilers have been thoroughly vindicated. They are pioneers in their field. Until this work appeared, there existed no Czech-English dictionary beyond the dimensions of a real pocket-dictionary, and, although the even larger Czech-German and Czech-French dictionaries published by the old-established firm of J. Otto, were perhaps helpful to the compilers for their store of Czech words, they could not be of any use in providing English equivalents.

Being written chiefly for Czechs, the dictionary has inevitable shortcomings for the English-speaking user, particularly if his interest in the Czech language is more theoretical than practical, more academic than technical. Thus, the pronunciation is not recorded. This is not a serious drawback, because Czech is largely phonetic, but the absence of any information in the body of the text about declension, conjugation and the aspects of verbs will be missed. The omission of a table of abbreviations should be remedied; even to Czech users this must be an inconvenience, and to English ones it will prove troublesome. The poetical and the pre-19th-century vocabulary of Czech are, in conformity with the plan of the work, passed over rather lightly, as are dialectical words and spellings. On the other hand, Czech words which are condemned by purists but are often to be met with in writing and conversation, and many slang words receive admittance into the company of their betters.

The vocabulary recorded is essentially that used in the Czech of the present day, the language of the literature, of the press, of the business world. In one respect the compilers appear to do themselves an injustice : they say that they have been purposely sparing in admitting botanical and zoological terms. The present reviewer, on the contrary, was rather struck by the relatively large number of such technical words and by the care which had been expended to find correct English equivalents. The language of the chase, in particular, appeared to be very fully recorded. As hunting and field sports in general will presumably in time yield in importance to town games like football and tennis, it might have been well to concentrate on the latter, where omissions and inaccuracies are not uncommon; for example, motoring terms and ball-game terms are

not always correct (cf. under *mít*), though it is pleasing to find *házená* quoted with the elegant rendering of "volley-ball."

The question of foreign words must always be a difficult one for dictionary compilers, and particularly difficult for those who record the present-day vocabulary of a Slavonic language. Creations of Latin and Greek origin are being increasingly introduced into the learned and technical vocabulary of all European languages, and many of them must be recorded. But how, exactly, is the selection to be made? Among hundreds of essentially foreign loans (not only classical), the present dictionary gives—to quote but a few of varied character and origin—*as*, *atol*, *atrium*, *axolotl*, *auto-da-fé*, *bona-fide*, *baronet*, *repertorium*, *remingtonka*, *reminiscence*. It is a debatable question if all such words are necessary. There is certainly no other harm done in giving them except that the size, and consequently the price, of the dictionary are increased by their inclusion, but the user will ask why other and similar words should not be included. Whatever may be thought of the inclusion of words of Latin and Greek origin where the Czech and the English word have the same meaning, it is essential to give those words where the sense in the two languages is considerably divergent. *Akcidence* (job-work) or *akcie* (a share), for example, could never be omitted because they are liable to be wrongly guessed at, just as *urnator* (a diver) in Latin, or *renovation* (sewage cleansing) in Norwegian, are the more easily misunderstood because they trap the unwary and superficial reader. In its treatment of loan words, one of the weaknesses of the earlier parts of the dictionary is that there is some stress on the encyclopædic rather than on the lexicographical side. If *as*, *atol*, and *auto-da-fé* are thought worthy of inclusion, they should be "translated" by *as*, *atoll*, and *auto-da-fé*, and not merely have their sense explained. It is unnecessary to explain under *augment* the difference between the syllabic and the temporal augment in Greek, and surely all the world knows that a ball is a "social amusement with dancing." Occasionally the "encyclopædia" breaks down; in view of the closeness of Russo-Czechoslovak relations and the large number of Russian émigrés in Czechoslovakia, *bašlík* is doubtless worthy of mention, but some explanation is needed. To give the renderings *bashlík*, *bashlyk* is insufficient for English users, and presumably also for Czechoslovaks resident in America. *Baronet*, on the other hand, is quite properly explained as well as translated. The introduction of matter which strictly does not belong to a dictionary is often very useful, provided the practice is not abused. Thus the information given under *pan* or *blahorodí* on the use of *Esq.* on envelopes, or that under *paní* on the distinction between "my wife," "Mrs. N.N.," "my old woman," "the Missis or Missus," is a welcome feature of the dictionary. Again the care with which (under *ministerstvo*) the official equivalents in the two languages of various government departments are listed, is labour well spent. It does not seem necessary, on the other hand, to detail the names of the four stomachs of ruminants (under *dršťka*), nor to tell us that episcopal robes

in England (under *biskupský ornát*) consist of lawn sleeves and a bishop's apron—gaiters, which take the popular fancy most, are omitted.

As the dictionary is mainly intended to serve the needs of those more interested in the written than the spoken word, the differences between English and American do not require to be emphasised. The compilers have, however, usually indicated Americanisms as such. The spelling -or for -our and forms like *plow* are noted, but it is above all in idiomatic and slang expressions that attention is paid to American usage. Appraisal of this part of the work is difficult for one who is not familiar with the graphic American spoken by those classes which refuse to be hide-bound by the literary language, but the compilers of the earlier parts especially seem to have weighted "American" speech rather heavily with slang expressions. Slang, indeed, plays a prominent part in the renderings throughout, and it is not always clearly stated that many alternative translations are often quite unsuitable except in jocular contexts. *Američan*, for instance, means an American or, in certain cases, a Yankee, but the addition without comment of Yankee-doodle and Brother Jonathan, and the translation of the plural *Američané* by "our American cousins" without any alternative may need correction in a future edition. The literal translation of *ukaž, jak umíš běhat* (vol. I, p. 29), namely, "show how (fast) you can run," would be adequate, whereas that given "show a leg" is only slang, and equally unnecessary is the translation of *běžeti rychle* as "scoot, leg it."

It seems rather invidious to draw a distinction between the quality of the work done for the various letters of the dictionary, but there is no doubt that after approximately the first quarter of the whole work a great improvement sets in. The early part of the first volume is in some respects unsatisfactory.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, from the point of view of the Czech user's needs, warm and sincere praise must be given to the later part and to the whole of the second volume. Faults that mar the opening letters are: faulty or stilted English; lack of discrimination in the choice of words; inequality of practice in translating derivative adjectives. Typical errors noted are: "he is not worthy to hold a glass of water" (under *aby*), "bible is the book" (under *bible*), "fix the bayonet" and "the question turns on this hinge" (both under *boď*), "that's of course" (under *bílý*), "stitches in the side" (under *bok*), "saddle-sick" (under *bol*), "swimming pool in a bathing house" (under *basén*), "sit at squat" (under *dřepěti*), "how do you like it here" (instead of "being

<sup>1</sup> The technical part of the dictionary is exceedingly full and undoubtedly deserves a detailed account to itself, but it is beyond the powers of the present reviewer to do more than indicate that a comparison of the words and meanings with those quoted for other languages in the big Schlomann-Oldenbourg series of illustrated technical dictionaries revealed both completeness and accuracy. Moreover, so far as it was possible to judge, there was no difference in any parts of the two volumes, from end to end the words seemed to have been well selected, and the meanings and illustrative sentences correct and up-to-date.

here," under *libiti se*), "wallow in the swamp"—which sounds like a Wodehouse place-name—(under *bahněti se*), "the moon is in her horns" (under *měsíci*).

Uncommon and queer words appear rather frequently, as also do words which are either so rare or so archaic as not to deserve being quoted; for example, poachiness, sleetch, forty-guts, squatty, hutted, mulligrubs, doodle-sack, diddle (in the sense of toddle), scrub-poet (for poetaster), a bootikin (a small boot), a male flea, blooming on the sides, pussy (a female office clerk), and so on. Whether "wooden shoes" as a synonym of "the blues," both being given as a "familiar" translation of *bida*, is an example of cockney rhyming slang or not, it is surely hardly worth including.

Adjective derivatives of nouns are very frequent in Czech where they may be formed almost *ad libitum*, but the growing tendency in modern English is to use the noun with the syntactical function of an adjective. The compilers have recognised this fact in the later letters, where the noun is generally quoted with or without a dash (—) after it, or else the *cliché* "of or pertaining to" (the noun word) is used, but in the beginning of the dictionary there is no fixed usage, and too often efforts have been made to find an English derivative word, thus, abdicative, adventual, alabastrian, appellate, associational (labelled as American), Augias', Baalite, cursorial, pigmean, trunkish (an alternative to "box-like"), and similar rather unusual formations find a place. Fortunately, the habit is not indulged in too frequently, and we are spared such a splendid creation as "dogal," which is found in an otherwise satisfactory Lithuanian dictionary as the translation of an adjective meaning "of or pertaining to a dog." Abstract, derived nouns generally fare better, though "dramatisableness," "receivableness," and the like, might be better omitted.

In conclusion, it may be confidently stated that the somewhat lower standard reached in the early letters of the alphabet does not much diminish the value of the whole work. If it had nothing else to recommend it than its copiousness, this dictionary would be of the first importance, but when we add that almost throughout the greatest care has been taken to divide and sub-divide the senses of the Czech words and to find suitable renderings in English of a large number of different styles, including the literary, conversational, slang and vulgar styles, its value is greatly enhanced. And, lastly, by the importance they have attached from first to last to the commercial, legal and technical elements, the compilers have rendered a very great service to large numbers of people who are interested chiefly in the practical aspects of language-learning and in translation work.

To find the name of Dr. Cheshire given in both volumes the first place among the list of collaborators points to the important share that he must have taken in the production of the work, and without suggesting

any disparagement whatever of the labours of the great dictionary-making pioneer mainly responsible for the earlier letters, we may conclude that the subsequent improvement in the quality of the English is due, in part at least, to the skill and efforts of the distinguished former student of the School of Slavonic Studies

N. B. JOPSON.

*Verses from Pushkin.* By Oliver Elton. London, Edward Arnold.

IN his preface to these translations Professor Elton remarks on the knowledge in London of the Russian novelists and the ignorance of their poets. That is, of course, true of the literature of most countries, for poetry is almost impossible of translation. Once and again, as with Baudelaire's poetry and Mr. Waley's wonderful re-creations from the Chinese and, of course, in the one immortal case of FitzGerald's glories of Omar Khayam, miracles have been accomplished. I do not think that Professor Elton has accomplished miracles here. I believe that there is no translation of Pushkin into any language that is satisfactory. I am sure that the thing cannot be done and that Professor Elton knows that it cannot be done. On the other hand, he has, I think, acquitted himself admirably of another task.

In these pages one feels the wealth of energy of Pushkin's imagination. You are brought closer to Pushkin himself. His only point of contact hitherto with us has been through opera and ballet, and Chaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakov have interpreted them to us. Both men definitely had some spiritual and æsthetic kinship with him. Chaikovsky understood his melancholy and Rimsky-Korsakov shared his vitality and gaiety of imagination.

I myself have known a curious experience with Pushkin, because for some three years I knew enough Russian to read him, although clumsily, in the original, and then I left Russia and the Russian language left me. So that to me it is rather as though I had stayed for a while in a house with Pushkin, watched his movements, heard his voice, listened to the actual rhythm of his poetry, and now it is only a reminiscence, an adventure that I shall, alas! never have again. But I know at least this, that in these translations the actual richness and colour of the author is lacking, but that the creative energy, the zest and the enchanting invention is here.

I think that Professor Elton has very wisely abandoned any attempt to be a poet on his own account, an ambition that betrays so many translators of poetry. He has sacrificed everything for the spirit of the author, and this makes this book a delightful thing to read. Take, for instance, the story of the Tsar Saltan; this alone is worth the price of the book, for here is a story that will be new to almost every reader in England, but that is so filled with fresh imagination, vivid detail, humour—so different from anything that we have ourselves in London, that it is an experience many readers will never forget.



This volume is immensely varied and contains also some translations from Alexander Blok and Chekhov. My own favourite, and I wish he could have given us some more of it, is the enchanting "When in the warm springtime" I hope that one day we may have the whole of that poem from Professor Elton

HUGH WALPOLE.

### THE PENALTY OF IDEALISM

*Spiridonova, revolutionary terrorist.* By I. Steinberg. Methuen. 12s. 6d.

IDEALISTS are always dangerous people. They are as much a danger to revolutions as they are to established systems of rule. Success is reached, in great and small affairs both, by efforts to take the first step, and then the second, and so on; not by trying to arrive at the desired end in one desperate leap. Oliver Cromwell kept his ideals in leash. Lenin was severely practical. Robespierre and the German Social Democrats failed for an identical reason—they had their eyes fixed on the far future and did not know what to do next.

One of the reasons for the division of Russian revolutionists into two main groups was a difference of opinion as to the value of political murder. Some, including the Bolsheviks, condemned it as futile, the Social Revolutionaries not merely advocated, but practised it. This party Marya Alexandrovna Spiridonova joined as a girl and in 1906 began her public career by assassinating one of the Tsar's generals, charged with the brutal duty of terrorising a district where dislike of the Tsar's government was suspected.

The methods of this ruffian, as described by Mr Steinberg, make it impossible to feel the slightest regret that he was killed. It is true he was doing his duty, obeying his superiors. That, however, does not exonerate him, though it implicates all who gave him his orders and knew how they were carried out. I cannot help smiling wryly at the pitying reference, in Mr. H. W. Nevins's preface to the book, to "the unhappy Tsar" and "the lovely Tsarina." As I read of the horrors perpetrated for their supposed benefit and with their approval, I feel no pity, but only a consuming rage. Everyone responsible deserved the fate of Spiridonova's loathsome target.

This sentiment of indignation was felt widely at the time. The girl became a heroine in England and America. She behaved with steadfast courage. She had been shamefully ill-treated. She was said to be beautiful (though the photographs in the book do not bear that out). Meetings of protest were held, money was subscribed to enable her to escape. Whether it is true that when the chance was offered she refused it, does not appear clearly, but it would have been entirely characteristic of her. At all events the story enhanced her fame. What she had done was considered fully justifiable, noble even.

Yet when, in calmer mood, we consider murder as a political method, we are forced to Lenin's conclusion that it is clumsy and ineffective. Mr. Nevinson does not seem convinced of this, but the career of Spiridonova, fervent idealist, proves it to be true. She rid the world of one Tsarist executioner, but there were thousands left. She did not "terrorise" the government; she made it more savage. As for herself, she went to Siberia until 1917. Unfortunately, when she returned to Russia after the March Revolution, she was as unpractical as ever. While others slaved silently, at necessary construction work, she orated about "cleansing the moral atmosphere" and "reintroducing the spirit of idealism" and remembering the enthusiasm with which heroic assassins had "mounted the scaffold." She was still a believer in assassination, and was soon mixed up in murder plots again, which gives a comic touch to Mr. Steinberg's lament that the Bolsheviks lacked "the high moral qualities and clean hands" which distinguished her and her adherents! General Eichhorn was killed in Kiev, Count Mirbach in Moscow, senseless acts both. The Bolsheviks may be blamed for treating the L.S.R.'s like mad dogs, but that, after all, was very much how they had behaved.

Mr. Steinberg, whose book is a glorification of political murder all through, is stated on the cover to have been "Commissar of Justice in the first Soviet Cabinet." A curious choice! Presumably the Bolsheviks thought he had shed some of his "idealism." Before long, however, he was as eager for their downfall as he had been for that of the blood-stained tyrants of the old régime. He is now living in England, and has found an English publisher to issue his plea for Spiridonova's release from exile in the Ural Mountains. She is nearing fifty; her health is not good. She has the company of her "dearest friends," Alexandra Ismailovich, who shot at General Kurlöv, but missed, and Kakhovskaya, who helped to assassinate Eichhorn, but she is "in complete isolation from her friends outside." (Mr. Nevinson represents her, inadvertently, as being "cut off from friends" altogether.) It would be a kindly act to let her live wherever she chooses, but no government would be able to contemplate without hesitation setting so determined an opponent free to conspire against it once more. And, after all, those who believe in "terrorism" cannot justifiably complain if they are dosed with their own medicine.

HAMILTON FYFE.

*My Russian Memoirs.* By Bernard Pares. Jonathan Cape 7s. 6d. net.

IN the carefree days before the World War annually, just a little behind the swallows, two men would come winging to St. Petersburg with but a single thought—to bring their countries, Britain and the U.S.A., into closer communion with Russia. I do not know when Samuel Harper's interest was first aroused. Bernard Pares began to think of studying

Russia, then Britain's hereditary enemy, while still attending a preparatory school. Later, that study became his absorbing passion. He made the rapprochement of the British and Russian people his main objective. He pursued his aim with the zeal of a lover. He was unique in his gift of approaching Russians and Britons and persuading them to assist the cause by writing articles, arranging lectures and meetings, or, on a larger scale, by participating in international visits. His triumph came in 1909, when he escorted to London a group of Russian parliamentarians. Preliminaries involved tremendous labour. Pares was organiser, staff and liaison officer combined. The visit was an astounding success. It is a matter of no special difficulty to assemble a party of members of the House of Lords and House of Commons for a visit to a friendly State. The tourists are generally on the best of terms socially; their "enmity" is reserved for the hustings and the forum. Herbert H. Asquith, Prime Minister, and Arthur Balfour, Leader of the Opposition, would go arm in arm to concerts, an example of perfect harmony. It was different with Russians. Political divergences meant social gulfs. Most members of one party would never speak to the members of another faction. Pares's feat in assembling, marshalling and guiding the Duma party throughout a three weeks' tour may be appreciated.

This devoted Slavophil turned Russophobes into Russophils and Anglophobes into Anglophils. His heart must have glowed at its warmest at a pan-Slavonic feast which he describes on page 299 of his memoirs. In this volume, a popular but unabridged edition of an earlier published work, the whole story of his association with Russia is told in fascinating detail. Russia dormant, in revolution, in reaction, constitutional Russia, social Russia, Russia at war, all portrayed by one who watched the varying phases at close hand. He sat under Klyuchevsky, the Russian Macaulay, he drank in Russian at every source. He knew everybody, and all liked him. His force of penetration was marvellous; there was, seemingly, no door he could not pass. "I have seen Stolypin today," he would casually remark at the supper table. Or it might have been Kokovtsev or Sazonov, or even the sternest of the reactionaries. He was equally at ease with the humble. Irina, my brother Harold's cook, made special efforts to tickle the palate of "Persik," as she called him. He was as natural as the peasants, and so drew them to him. He sang Harrow songs, and they rewarded him with old Slavonic airs. In the country he was Russian in his ability to lose the sense of time, but while he lazed his mission was never far from his mind.

No student of present-day Russia can afford to neglect this work. Claims brazenly made by Russia's Communist leaders to be the first to institute crèches, liberal factory laws, etc., etc., are discounted by historical fact here presented. There are valuable pages on Zemstvo organisation and accomplishment, while the efforts of Stolypin to break up the communes are more than outlined.

The author's war work places him in the highest plane of Britain's

servants. He had the entire confidence of the better elements in the Russian High Command, no less than that of the British Cabinets. He passed from front to front, from country to country, to inform himself and others of the situation, and where necessary to amend it. He did a service to both Britain and Russia when he revealed to Mr. Lloyd George the frightful cost—a loss of 3,800,000 men in ten months—at which the “Russian steam-roller” operated in the Allied cause. His advice was sought by Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador, as it was by Sir Arthur Nicholson in less stormy days. The dissolution of the Russian armies under Bolshevik influence and the apparent crumbling of his life work on behalf of the friendship of the two peoples must have been a crushing blow, but the reader gets little inkling of his bitter thoughts. He will, like the author, lay down the book with, “God bless Russia.”

AUBREY L. WILLIAMS.

*Soviet Russian Literature.* By Gleb Struve. Routledge, 1935.

GLEB STRUVE'S *Soviet Russian Literature*, the first comprehensive survey to appear in England, will be welcomed by all students of the subject and will immediately become a useful reference book.

D. S. Mirsky's two volumes, *History of Russian Literature*, stopped at 1925; Gleb Struve's book brings the history up to date. The fact that the latter is intended as a sequel to Mirsky's *Bædeker* places Gleb Struve at a disadvantage, for his work inevitably calls for comparison with the preceding volumes. He adopts the same historical method, writes soberly of the several literary movements, including the new trends in literary criticism, sorts the Soviet authors into the familiar categories of Symbolist, Futurist, and Fellow-traveller and the less familiar Five Year Plan and Social Realist, briefly but sanely summarises the work of each writer of any consequence, and finally gives a valuable list of translations available in English and French. In this formalistic aspect he shows how much he has learnt from Mirsky and that he is treading in his critical footsteps. The spirit, however, that animates the work of the two literary historians is vastly different, and here it is that Gleb Struve has the harder task. Mirsky was confident that he was the long-awaited interpreter who could show English readers how much more there was to be appreciated in Russian literature than they knew, he could give critical estimates of those Russian writers who already had an international reputation as literary masters; he could speak with enthusiasm of masterpieces still unsuspected by foreign readers, and whose translation was long overdue. Gleb Struve, on the other hand, cannot have the same enthusiasm. He is only too well aware that the grand period of Russian literature is over; he has no Soviet literary masterpieces to herald, and he quite alarmingly begins his study by asking if there is such a thing as Soviet Russian

literature at all. He only assumes it for a moment on the first page of his book.

There is no direct answer to his question, but the facts he marshals have a cumulative effect, and although he is telling us of the achievements of Soviet literature, the attentive reader forms the melancholy conclusion that there is no literature in the real sense of the word in Russia today.

Of the pre-revolutionary writers after 1924 we learn that Bely's efforts to harness himself to the cart of the Revolution were pathetic, that most of Ehrenburg's works are a mixture of fiction and journalism and not good literature, that Veresayev's novels have not much intrinsic value, that Alexey Tolstoy has been unsuccessfully looking for a theme until he looked back and found Peter the Great, while Zamyatin has become an emigré and his *We* has been banned from Soviet bookshelves. Only Gorky remains as the leader of Soviet Russian literature, not because he has changed, but because the new literature has moved towards his characteristic Realism relieved by revolutionary Romanticism.

Promising writers like Babel and Ivanov have not yet surpassed their early promise. Fedin, Leonov and Kaverin, whose work is analysed in a separate chapter, are shown to have contributed to the revival of the Russian novel, and Yury Olesha's original *Envy* is singled out for its wide and universal appeal and is described with more personal enthusiasm than is apparent elsewhere. It is to be hoped that publishers will be encouraged to produce English translations of these books. Other Russian prose writers, including Katayev, Romanov and Zoshchenko, are treated as realistic chroniclers of post-revolutionary Russia rather than as serious contributors to the development of a literary *genre*. Thus their value is mainly documentary. Such spirited works as Bulgakov's *Adventures of Chichikov* and *The Fatal Eggs*, Budantsev's *Tale of the Sufferings of the Mind*, and Zamyatin's *We*, have considerable merit as satirical literature; in Soviet Russia they are apparently condemned as counter-revolutionary, and therefore they, too, can presumably be classified among the works of documentary value. In a penetrating chapter on the historical novel, Gleb Struve analyses the main lines of the development of this *genre*, and finds the sources of its inspiration in sociological causes. Such successful historical novelists as Chapygin and Vinogradov are seeking to illustrate the history of the past by dwelling mainly on its revolutionary aspects; others, like Tynyanov and Forsh, are portraying literary and historical figures of the past to escape from the history of the present. The chapter on drama glaringly shows the lamentable dearth of great dramatists; the section on poetry, where the leading poets are dutifully surveyed, serves to illustrate that "the amount of poetical production as a whole is insignificant"; while in discussing the proletarian writers, Gladkov, Fadeyev, and others, Gleb Struve believes with Trotsky that the Soviet Government has been unable to create a special proletarian literature. He also sees in the new Socialist Realist

literary movement a levelling of the differences in the work of Communist and non-communist, proletarian and non-proletarian writers

Why, then, are there no great Soviet poets and prose writers? Where are the Soviet masterpieces? Gleb Struve's answer is a summary of the conditions governing the production of literature, of the hampering restrictions placed on free thought in the zeal to force literature to serve as a handmaid of a new State. His account of the official policy of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party in literary matters will be illuminating to some readers.

In a country where all values have undergone a drastic revision, it is only to be expected that literary values should be scrutinised and put to the test. Yet, on the other hand, it might be emphasised that though the ideological content of the books has necessarily been controlled, the literary values remain the same. The literary results of the upheaval must be considered in the nature of literary experiments. The masterpieces are yet to come. How much young Soviet authors are learning from distinguished predecessors, how much Gorky as their patron is encouraging them to improve the quality of Soviet literature, and, above all, how much has been achieved in spite of the difficulties of producing a literature at a time of a revaluation of values, has been amply shown in Gleb Struve's book.

English readers will say that they expected a richer Soviet literature, but they should be reminded that the literary giants of the 19th-century Imperial Russia are the culmination of two hundred years of literary apprenticeship, whereas the Soviet literary period does not yet stretch to two decades.

The first reaction to reading this book is a disappointment that the high lights are so few and the negative aspects so many; on second thoughts we warmly congratulate the author for not falling into the easy error of mistaking geese for swans, or even painting geese as swans to attract the English reader out of a false patriotism. Moreover, in the sobering perspective of time, when many of the books acclaimed by unwary enthusiasts as first-rate today will be relegated to the third-rate, Gleb Struve's cautious and persistent sanity will endure as a just criticism of a literature unavoidably in the melting pot.

ELIZABETH HILL.

*Histoire de la Littérature Tchèque—de 1890 à nos jours.* By H. Jelinek. Paris (Editions de la Sagittaire).

DR. H. JELINEK has been acting as a literary interpreter between the French and the Czechs for close upon a quarter of a century. As far back as 1912 his book, *La littérature tchèque contemporaine*, containing a reprint of lectures which he delivered at the Sorbonne, was published by the *Mercure de France*, and since then he has produced, both in French and Czech, a regular library of critical studies, translations and other works

serving to bring the two peoples closer together in the domain of literature. The crowning item in this long activity, which bears witness to Dr. Jelinek's unrivalled skill and taste, is his survey of Czech literature, the first volume of which appeared a few years ago. With this third and final volume, which was recently issued, Dr. Jelinek completes the thousand pages of his task as admirably as he began it. Here is a store of close and first-hand knowledge which could have been acquired only by one who, like Dr. Jelinek, has been devoted to Czech literature since his early youth, and himself has made notable contributions to it both in prose and verse. Of the three volumes, the latest is perhaps the most important, as it will enable the western European reader to discover what has been achieved by the Czech writers of yesterday and today. Those who approach the subject for the first time will probably be surprised both at the extent and quality of that achievement, and what Dr. Jelinek reveals in these pages should help to obtain for Czech literature the position which it has long merited, but which, for reasons scarcely literary in character, has been withheld from it.

The period with which Dr. Jelinek deals in his final volume is the one during which Czech literature amply fulfilled the promise of the mid-century years of creative development. This applies in particular to lyric poetry, the advance of which had been hastened beyond expectation by the remarkable output of Jaroslav Vrchlický. His vast pioneer work continued unceasingly for more than thirty years, and without it, the notable group of poets whose beginnings date back to the nineties, could hardly have shown such mastery in the handling of the Czech language. These poets, the chief of whom are Brežina, Sova and Machar, find in Dr. Jelinek an appreciative but well-balanced critic. The task of conveying to foreign readers the qualities of a lyric poet is difficult. So much has to be taken on trust, and translations can, at their best, serve but imperfectly to clinch the critic's argument. Nevertheless, Dr. Jelinek contrives to show beyond question that all these men wrote poetry which deserves to echo beyond the frontiers of their native country. His accounts of these and other authors who have deeply influenced Czech literature and, often enough, the Czech nation also, consist of what are virtually small monographs, which though concise, do not omit any essentials. Thus, to take one typical instance, he has managed to summarise in less than twenty pages the literary life and work of President Masaryk, supplying many details which hitherto were not accessible to the western European reader.

Another important feature of this book is its wide scope, which brings it down to the present day. Moreover, contemporary authors are discussed as fully as those whose literary position has been definitely established. Here again Dr. Jelinek acquaints the reader with material which has not yet appeared in any western European language, and which has not been presented with such completeness even in any of the existing

Czech publications on the subject. It should be added that, comprehensive as it is, the book remains readable throughout. Dr. Jelinek's treatment of his subject is illuminated by that clarity and precision which he owes to his long contact with French culture. It should also be mentioned that Slovak literature, though not indicated in the title of the book, is included in its pages.

PAUL SELVER.

*Russian Diplomacy and the Opening of the Eastern Question in 1838 and 1839.* By P. E. Mosely. Harvard University Press, 1934. Pp. 178.

MR. MOSELY is to be congratulated on his enterprise. His book is the first survey in English of any aspect of the Eastern Question during the twenty years preceding the Crimean War based on detailed research in the Russian archives in Moscow. Goryainov's *Le Bosphore et les Dardanelles*, Martens' *Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances Etrangères*, and Zayonchkovsky's *Vostochnaya Voina* have already indicated what a wealth of material the Russian archives contain, and Mr. Mosely's essay amply confirms this impression, even though its scope is limited to the year 1838. It seems clear that there can be no really authoritative work on the Eastern Question until historians are ready to co-ordinate the material in the British, French, Austrian, and Russian archives, and from this point of view a welcome addition to Mr. Mosely's appendices would have been a short description of those parts of the Russian archives to which he was allowed access. Perhaps we may yet hope for an article from him on this topic.

Mr. Mosely's essay is illuminating and suggestive and naturally contains much new information. But it suffers from all the defects of diplomatic history based on research in one set of archives only, and parts of it should be used with caution. For example, it is hardly correct to say, on p. 98, that the Anglo-Turkish commercial treaty was negotiated in great haste, and to suggest, on pp. 99-100, that the increased import and export duties were a "monstrous handicap for Turkish agriculture and industry" and "very nearly dealt a final blow to the prosperity of the Empire." Actually, the negotiations for a commercial treaty had been in progress since the end of 1834; the Turks themselves sought the additional 2 per cent. import duty, perhaps as a measure of protection; and the increased export duty of 9 per cent. was intended to replace interior duties which often raised the existing 3 per cent. export duty to as much as 15 per cent. on some kinds of produce. On the whole, the new fixed duties must have lightened the burdens under which Turkish agriculture and industry suffered by introducing order and legality where before there was only chaos and extortion.

When Mr. Mosely discusses the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, he rightly emphasises that its public clauses made Turkey politically dependent upon Russia, an important aspect which tends to be neglected in view of



the controversy as to the precise meaning of the separate article. But Mr. Mosely goes astray when he accepts Count Nesselrode's assurances that the separate article imposed no new obligation on Turkey (pp. 11, 17, 21). These assurances were intended for foreign consumption only, and Nesselrode's real views can best be gathered from a memorandum to the Tsar (App. A. pp. 141-7) in which he insisted that "there was no *direct engagement* by which the Porte was bound *towards us* . . . to maintain the closure of the Dardanelles *in case of war* between Russia and the other Powers. It is this gap which our treaty of alliance of 26 June/8 July has served to fill." Previous to July, 1833, the Porte was bound by the Anglo-Turkish Treaty of 1809 to close the Straits to foreign vessels of war in time of peace. After July, 1833, she was bound by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi to keep the Dardanelles closed to foreign vessels of war "au besoin," which, as Ponsonby discovered, really meant when Russia was attacked by the Maritime Powers. Before July, 1833, Turkey could have remained neutral in such a war by keeping the Straits impartially closed under the Anglo-Turkish Treaty of 1809. She could also have joined the Maritime Powers against Russia and opened the Straits to the British and French fleets. But by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi the Sultan seriously restricted his freedom of action. After July, 1833, Turkey could theoretically have remained neutral if the Maritime Powers attacked Russia, provided she kept the Straits impartially closed under both the Anglo-Turkish Treaty of 1809 and the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. But she had now forfeited her previous right to join the Maritime Powers against Russia. In other words, by signing the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, Turkey had contracted an obligation to be either neutral or Russia's ally, but never Russia's enemy, and this obligation satisfied Nesselrode because it meant that as long as the treaty existed, Russia's Black Sea provinces would be practically invulnerable from the fleets of the Maritime Powers. Mr. Mosely does well to emphasise how strongly Nesselrode opposed the view that by the separate article Russia had acquired a free passage through the Straits for her warships, a view which Palmerston feared Russian statesmen held and one which some historians have held to the present day. But Mr. Mosely condemns these historians perhaps too hastily in view of the Tsar's liking for this interpretation which, as the essay shows, Nesselrode was able to overcome only with difficulty. In fact, the wording of the separate article was so vague that it would have supported several interpretations, and the one which Russia finally chose was dictated more by circumstances than by conviction. Fortunately, Mr. Mosely's occasional errors of judgment can easily be corrected against a wider background, and they scarcely detract from the value of his book, which forms a substantial contribution to the history of the Eastern Question in 1838.

G. H. BOLSOVER.

*Sprawy Kaukaskie w Polityce Europejskiej w Latach 1831-1864.* By Ludwik Widerszal. Warszawa, 1934. Pp. 268.

M. WIDERSZAL'S book, *The Caucasian Question in European Politics, 1831-1864*, will amply repay close study by all students of the Eastern Question. It is based on a thorough survey of the available printed sources and on extensive research in the chief archives of Warsaw, London, and Paris. Though the book is written in Polish, its main conclusions are usefully summarised in a short English supplement. M. Widerszal deals illuminatingly with the internal situation in the Caucasus, with Russia's attempts to subdue the Circassian tribes who lived between the Kuban and the Black Sea, with the intimate connection between the Circassian question and the Polish question, and with Great Britain's growing interest in the Caucasus which inspired such men as Urquhart, Longworth, and James Bell, and led to such incidents as the *Vixen* episode in 1837. To check Russia's advance in the Near East, Palmerston tried to bring about peace between the Circassians and the Russian Government. When he failed, the British Government pursued a policy of non-intervention in Circassian affairs until the outbreak of the Crimean War in 1854. During the forties emigrant Poles helped the Circassian tribes, and the Porte itself toyed with the idea of supporting them against Russia. Contrary to expectations, the Circassians gave little real assistance to the Allies between 1854 and 1856, and French apathy prevented the British Government from using the negotiations for the Treaty of Paris to take the Western Caucasus out of Russian control. Polish interest in the Caucasian question continued after the Crimean War and quickened as the insurrection of 1863 approached. It was hoped that Louis Napoleon would assist the Poles and that the Porte would support the Circassians. But Napoleon made it clear in November, 1863, that there would be no war with Russia, and this put an end to Turkish support of the anti-Russian operations in the Caucasus. As M. Widerszal says, "that was an indirect, but the main, cause of their failure." There is one slip, on p. 242, where M. Widerszal says that Urquhart's connection with the Foreign Office was already official when he visited Circassia in 1834. On the contrary, it was quite unofficial and was made known only to Lord Ponsonby, the British Ambassador in Constantinople, who warmly defended Urquhart against his detractors and stoutly denied that he had incited the Circassians against Russia.

G. H. BOLSOVER.

THE "Deutsche Akademie" in Munich has issued, last March, the first number of a new publication entitled *Mitteilungen*, which deserves the attention of all interested in the minority question in South-East Europe, and especially in the German minorities. It is edited by Herren Arnoto Oskar Meyer (well known for his study of Elizabethan Catholicism, a history of modern Egypt and other works) and Franz Thierfelder,

This number opens with the most interesting article on "Ranke und der Südosten," by Herr Fritz Valjavec, throwing fresh light upon Ranke's relations with Vuk Karadžić, Kopitar, and other Jugoslav savants of a century ago. Herr Thierfelder contributes an address on the theme "Germans and Slavs," which he delivered last winter to the Slav-German Society in Belgrade. Professor Loewe writes on Bavaria's contribution to the development of modern Greece, Dr. Kloos on German art in Transylvania; and there are interesting contributions on Bulgarian popular poetry and psychology. Herr Valjavec analyses in some detail recent Hungarian publications on the history of the "language of State" in Hungary and on the relations of Magyars, Serbs and Croats. There is a German translation of Andrič's "The Žepa Bridge," which we published in this *Review* in No. 14. We give a warm welcome to the *Mitteilungen*, which should perform a valuable cultural service.

R. W. S.-W.

# THE PROSPECTS OF AMERICAN TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION

## I

### PRE-WAR TRADE

THE direct trade of the United States with pre-war Russia was very limited. According to the United States statistics for 1913, exports to Russia were hardly more than 1 per cent. of the total exports, and imports from Russia not much more than 1 per cent. of the total imports. In the same year the United Kingdom took 26 per cent. of the American exports and supplied 16 per cent. of the imports. For all Europe the figures were 60 per cent. and 50 per cent., respectively. Viewing the trade from the Russian side, Russian exports to the United States in 1913 were less than 1 per cent. of the total exports of the Empire, imports from the United States about 6 per cent. of its total imports. The United States was eleventh among buyers of Russian goods and ranked fourth among the sellers to Russia. It was quite natural that the trade between America and Russia should be limited in amount. Both were immature debtor countries; they were geographically separated, and their trade was not complementary as was Russia's trade with the industrialised nations of Western Europe.

## II

### TRADE DURING THE DECADE BEFORE THE FIVE YEAR PLAN

#### 1. *Civil War Period.*

For three years after its seizure of power, the Soviet Government was engaged in civil war with various factions which terminated in November, 1920, with the defeat of General Wrangel by the Red Army. The Allied blockade was not lifted until January, 1920, and it was not until the following July that the United States Government announced the removal of the restrictions which had stood in the way of trade with Soviet Russia, excepting those pertaining to war materials.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In taking this action the Government "emphasised that individuals or corporations availing themselves of the present opportunity to trade with Russia will do so on their own responsibility and at their own risk."—Department of State, Press release, 7 July, 1920.

2. *The New Economic Policy and the Period of Restoration.*

In March, 1921, the system of War Communism was replaced by the New Economic Policy or N. E. P., which had a most beneficial effect on production. At the same time, steps were taken toward normal foreign relations. Great Britain accorded the Soviet Government *de facto* recognition in the Trade Agreement signed 16 March, 1921, and other European nations quickly followed this example. The United States, however, maintained its policy of non-intercourse with the Soviet Government, as expressed in the Annual Message of President Coolidge to Congress, on 6 December, 1923 :—

“ Our Government offers no objection to the carrying on of commerce by our citizens with the people of Russia. Our Government does not propose, however, to enter into relations with another régime which refuses to recognise the sanctity of international obligations. I do not propose to barter away for the privilege of trade any of the cherished rights of humanity.”

Notwithstanding this attitude on the part of the government, American exports to Soviet Russia grew rapidly over the entire period 1923–1928, of which the first five years are called by Soviet economists the “ period of restoration ” and the last year, 1928, the preliminary year of “ reconstruction.” Imports from Russia remained about constant after the first gains, and the same heavy balance of trade in favour of the United States prevailed, which has always been characteristic of American-Russian trade.

Not only did the volume of American exports to Russia increase to a figure in roubles more than three times the average of the direct exports during the five years preceding the war, but the share of the United States in Russia's imports reached percentages hitherto unknown. According to Soviet official statistics, in 1913 the United States supplied 5·8 per cent. of Russia's imports; in 1924–25, after a crop shortage necessitating heavy imports of wheat and flour, the proportion rose to 27·9 per cent.; in the next three years it varied between 16 and 20 per cent. This gain was at the expense of Europe, which, in 1913, furnished 76·8 per cent., and in 1926–27 only 55 per cent. of the imports. In 1924–25 the United States occupied first place in Soviet imports, in 1926–27 second, Germany having gained the lead. In Soviet exports, the rôle of the United States was much less important, although in the years 1922 to 1924 it ranked third, and, in the following years, much higher than before the war.

(a) *Direct Trade.*

The American and the Soviet statistics do not, of course, entirely coincide, but, since 1923, the agreement is fairly close and the trend almost parallel. The reason for this is that, in the post-war period, Soviet purchases and sales have been made under the régime of the Foreign Trade Monopoly and have been largely in the hands of government organisations, so that a much smaller proportion passed through European middlemen than before the war. Moreover, in the case of imports, the systems of government guarantees for aiding the financing of sales to the Soviet Union, which are in operation in several European countries, are designed to cover only merchandise of national origin. Nevertheless, some indirect trade still exists for American commodities which can be profitably processed or finished in Europe.

In the same way considerable quantities of Soviet exports continue to reach the United States *via* Great Britain, Germany, and the border countries. For example, Russian undressed furs are, to a large extent, dressed, dyed and finished in the Leipzig and London fur markets before being shipped to America. The same is true of some precious stones which pass through several European countries before reaching the United States, the country of ultimate consumption. Large quantities of Russian bristles are prepared in France, Germany, and Great Britain before shipment to American brush-making centres.

(b) *Trade Organisation.*

All but an unimportant portion of the direct American exports to Soviet Russia in the decade under review originated in orders placed in the United States by four agencies of the Soviet Foreign Trade Monopoly established there. Since there was no official intercourse between the American and Soviet governments, it was not possible to send a Trade Delegation to the United States, as was done in Great Britain, but, instead, corporations were formed under the laws of the State of New York, in whose hands were concentrated the buying and selling.

Of these corporations, the Amtorg Trading Corporation was the largest and most highly-organised, and it ultimately absorbed all the others. Incorporated in 1924 as a result of the consolidation of two previously existing companies (Products Exchange Corporation and Arcos-America), its paid-up capital stock was originally \$1,000,000. This capital was twice increased, and is now \$3,000,000. All the

stock stands on record in the name of the chairman of the board of directors as trustee for the Bank of Foreign Trade of the USSR, which is described as a branch of the State Bank of the USSR and the majority of whose stock is said to be owned by the Soviet State economic organs participating in foreign trade. Under instructions from Moscow the Amtorg made extensive purchases in the United States of industrial equipment, agricultural machinery, and raw materials. It also imported from Russia and sold in the United States a variety of commodities.

(c) *American Exports to the Soviet Union.*

The character of the American exports to Russia in the period 1924-1928 was substantially the same as before the war, for while the general structure of Soviet imports altered in the sense that the proportion of production goods was much increased over the pre-war period, it was just these goods that the United States had always chiefly supplied. The chief groups were now, as formerly, raw cotton, copper, agricultural machinery and implements, and industrial machinery. Tractors had risen from a minor item to one of the most important categories, due to the mechanical perfection achieved in the interval, and to the enthusiasm of the Soviet authorities for their use in agriculture.

(d) *American Imports from the Soviet Union.*

Upon resumption of trade with Russia after the war, the United States began importing the same kind of goods as before, namely, raw materials not obtainable or of which the supply was inadequate in America. There was, however, a shift in emphasis among the leading items. Hides and skins and wool, which had formerly been the largest items, disappeared almost completely, while flax was much reduced. The place of these commodities was taken by enlarged imports of manganese ore, undressed furs, sausage casings and bristles. Imports in the period under review did not reach pre-war official figures, which, because of the large proportion of indirect trade, were probably considerably understated.

(e) *Financing of Exports to the Soviet Union.*

When the Soviet organisations began purchasing in America in 1923, they generally paid cash. Gradually credits were extended for short terms of from three months to one year, bearing interest at 6 per cent. However, it was customary in nearly all cases to

demand a cash payment of 25 per cent. to 50 per cent. In the beginning these payments were made with order, later upon delivery at the dock. A striking transaction, differing in size and liberality of terms from the normal run, was the contract signed on 9 October, 1928, between the International General Electric Company and the Amtorg, providing for the purchase of a maximum of \$26,000,000 worth of electrical equipment over a total period of six years. Although three-quarters of the purchase price of each shipment was to be paid by trade acceptances to run five years from date of shipment, it is of interest that one-quarter was to be paid in cash before the materials were shipped. Furthermore, it was reported that the interest on the trade acceptances was set at a figure high enough, so that, at the termination of the contract, the International General Electric Company should have been compensated for its claim against the Soviet Government for damages arising out of the confiscation of its property. The contract and all acceptances bore the unconditional guarantee of the Russian State Bank.<sup>2</sup>

(f) *Attitude of the United States Government.*

There was no change in the attitude of the American Government in the decade under review. In a statement entitled "Foreign Relations,"<sup>3</sup> the Secretary of State, Mr. Kellogg, declared :—

"As concerns commercial relations between the United States and Russia, it is the policy of the Government of the United States to place no obstacles in the way of the development of trade and commerce between the two countries, it being understood that individuals and corporations availing themselves of the opportunity to engage in such trade, do so upon their own responsibility and at their own risk. . . . Visas are readily granted by American consular officers to Russian nationals . . . provided that the real purpose of their visit to the United States is in the interest of trade and commerce. . . . The American Government has interposed no objection to the financing incidental to ordinary commercial intercourse . . . provided the financing does not involve the sale of securities to the public."

On 6 March, 1928, the Secretary of the Treasury forbade the New York Assay Office to accept a shipment of Soviet gold, because, "since 1920 the Treasury Department has refused to accept at the United States Mints and assay offices gold coming from Soviet Russia, the State Department having declined to give assurances

<sup>2</sup> Press release of the Company, 16 October, 1928.

<sup>3</sup> Bulletin No. 5, Republican National Committee, 1928.



that the title to Soviet gold will not be subject to attack internationally or otherwise."<sup>4</sup>

### III

#### TRADE UNDER THE FIVE YEAR PLAN

##### *I. Five Year Plan.*

According to official Soviet figures, such had been the economic restoration under the N. E. P., that in 1928 Soviet industry nearly reached the pre-war level of production. This was, of course, not the case in all branches. The output of pig iron was, for example, noticeably lower than in 1913, while the manufacture of agricultural machinery exceeded that before the war.

At the XVth Congress of the All Union Communist Party in December, 1927, the N. E. P. was abandoned and a "socialist offensive" decided upon. This took form in the Five Year Plan of industrialisation, which began 1 October, 1928, and was to terminate 1 October, 1933. Actually the period was compressed into four and a-quarter years, and ended 31 December, 1932. The announced goal of the Plan was such an increase in industrial production as would not only meet the needs of the population but provide a considerable surplus for export. The Soviet Union was to be transformed from a backward agrarian into a modern industrial country.

To achieve this goal the construction of new factories, industrial plants and power stations on a tremendous scale was necessary. This was impossible without the importation of unprecedented quantities of machinery and equipment from the advanced industrial countries. Soviet imports, which had been large since 1925, and especially so in 1928, called by Soviet economists "the preliminary year of reconstruction," now soared to new heights, reaching a peak in 1931. In that year imports, measured in roubles at current prices, were 80 per cent. of those in 1913, in pre-war prices 86 per cent.<sup>5</sup> In 1932, the final year, because of the effect of the fall in world prices on Soviet exports and financing capacity, the imports dropped almost 40 per cent.

As the volume of Soviet imports expanded during the first years of the Five Year Plan, their structure underwent marked changes. In the five years before the World War, "articles of consumption" had accounted for 21.8 per cent., "machinery and equipment" for

<sup>4</sup> Treasury Department, Press release, 6 March, 1928.

<sup>5</sup> Foreign Trade of the USSR at XVIIth Congress of All Union Communist Party, page 74.

19·8 per cent.; in 1925-26, midway in the restoration period, "articles of consumption" constituted 9·8 per cent., "machinery and equipment," 24 per cent.; finally, in the peak year of 1931, "articles of consumption" fell to but 4·5 per cent. of the total, while "machinery and equipment" had grown until they comprised 60·1 per cent. of all imports.<sup>6</sup>

2. *Effect of Plan on American Exports to the Soviet Union.*

The United States played a large part in the import programme of the Five Year Plan. The kind of goods chiefly required—machinery and factory equipment for mass production—were those it was especially qualified to furnish. Because of the similarity between the Soviet Union and the United States in size and geographical features, and attracted by the American example of the rapid industrial development of a new country, Soviet authorities have been favourably inclined toward American machinery and methods as being peculiarly adapted to Russian conditions. Nor was the eager desire of the Soviet Union for recognition by the United States without influence upon the decision of the Soviet Foreign Trade Monopoly to place large orders in America.

American exports to Soviet Russia increased from 1928 to 1929 at the same rapid rate as for several years past, but, from 1929 to 1930, there was a sudden expansion of 35 per cent. Indeed, 1930 proved the peak year for Soviet imports from the United States, which supplied 25 per cent. of the total imports and temporarily wrested first place from Germany. In the following year, 1931, when Soviet imports as a whole attained their maximum, both the volume of imports from the United States and its share of the total fell off considerably, although they were still large. However, in 1932, when Soviet imports dropped over one-third, the American share fell from 20 per cent. down to 5 per cent., and the volume of goods from the United States was reduced to one-eighth of that of the preceding year.

As is well known, the world economic depression had so greatly reduced the income of the Soviet Union from its exports that financing of imports was rendered most difficult, so that, not only were purchases diminished, but many orders were transferred from the United States to Germany, where a system of government guarantees provided more liberal credit facilities than American firms were able to grant.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> *Soviet Union Review*, June, 1933.

*Character of Trade.*

The salient feature of American exports to Russia in the years of the First Five Year Plan (1928-32) was the predominance of industrial and agricultural machinery. Cotton, which had always been the leading commodity among Russian imports from the United States, both before and since the war, reached its peak in 1928, fell off in 1929, and then dropped to nothing in 1931. The reason was that Soviet domestic production had been raised to a point where the needs of the population on the prevailing low standard of living could be met without a foreign supply. It is true that some cotton was imported in 1931 and 1932, much of it of long-staple variety, but the imports were offset by exports of like amounts of the domestic varieties.<sup>8</sup>

Another important constituent of American exports to Russia was non-ferrous metals, chiefly copper, which reached a maximum in 1927 and fell steadily thereafter, ceasing in 1932. Nevertheless, Soviet copper imports as a whole were well maintained, and even in 1932 fell little more than imports generally, which showed that orders for copper had been transferred from the United States elsewhere.

Machinery more than took the place of these raw and semi-manufactured materials. As cotton began to sink, tractors, called for by the Soviet programme for the mechanisation of agriculture, began to rise to unprecedented heights. Motor trucks and automobiles increased so rapidly that exports in 1931 were twelve times what they had been in 1928. Industrial machinery—machine tools, mining machinery, electric generators and apparatus, oil well and refining machinery, excavators—expanded at the same rate as tractors.

Nor was this all. The economic crisis which began at the end of 1929 caused a severe contraction in the foreign trade of the United States. American exports generally declined rapidly after 1929, but exports to the Soviet Union not only did not follow suit, but actually increased in 1930 and 1931, as the following table shows:—

Year.	Total U.S. Exports.	Exports to USSR (in dollars).	Exports to USSR (in % of total).
	\$	\$	%
1929 ...	5,240,995,000	85,011,000	1·6
1930 ...	3,843,181,000	114,399,000	3·0
1931 ...	2,424,289,000	103,717,000	4·3
1932 ...	1,611,016,000	12,641,000	0·8

<sup>8</sup> Foreign Trade of the USSR at XVIIth Party Congress, page 113.

Exports to the Soviet Union, which normally formed a little over 1 per cent. of all American exports, rose in the peak year 1931 to more than 4 per cent.

Under these circumstances, the Soviet market for American goods had a special significance, and this was particularly true in certain lines of production—most of all for those in which only a few firms participated in the trade. The following table shows the proportion of the exports to the USSR to the total American exports of certain selected groups of merchandise :—<sup>9</sup>

Group.	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932
	%	%	%	%	%
Tractors and parts ... ..	10.1	23.7	50.0	77.3	1.9
Metal-working lathes ... ..	4.6	7.3	37.3	57.3	26.6
Other metal-working machinery ...	1.3	2.5	16.9	46.3	14.6
Mining machinery ... ..	9.2	7.1	14.9	24.8	4.9
Ploughs, horse and mechanical ...	5.8	5.9	22.8	30.9	0.3
Oil well and refining machinery ...	6.9	10.5	35.0	17.9	11.0
Excavators ... ..	8.9	10.1	8.5	27.6	2.2

In most of these branches of industry American exports to Soviet Russia in the depression years of 1930 and 1931 not only constituted a large percentage of the entire exports, but also of the total production itself.

In 1932 American exports to the USSR sank to a small fraction of the average for the three preceding years; indeed, they became less than at any time since 1923. Some commodities disappeared from the export list altogether. Soviet writers on foreign trade have pointed out that the great advances in industrialisation achieved during the Five Year Plan enabled them to curtail significantly or dispense with imports in several lines. Such, they said, was the case with agricultural machinery and with tractors, production of which, according to official data, grew from 1,449 machines in 1928 to 49,786 machines in 1932, thanks to the new "giant" factories.<sup>10</sup> Almost the same situation is claimed for automobiles, and, in the case of lathes, pumps, compressors, cranes, excavators, textile and chemical machinery, it has been possible, according to reports, to reduce imports to a minimum.

<sup>9</sup> Foreign Trade of the USSR at XVIIth Party Congress, page 128. From U.S. Statistics.

<sup>10</sup> Foreign Trade of the USSR at XVIIth Party Congress, page 110ff.

At the beginning of 1930 public opinion in the United States was aroused by reports of Soviet "dumping" and of forced labour in Soviet Russia. As a result the Treasury Department levied special anti-dumping duties on Soviet matches,<sup>11</sup> and required a bond for each entry of Soviet asbestos, pending completion of an investigation by the United States Tariff Commission.<sup>12</sup> Importers of wood products from four zones of European Russia were required by the Treasury Department to "establish by preponderance of evidence" in the case of each shipment "that the merchandise was not produced wholly or in part by convict labour."<sup>13</sup> These measures naturally excited the resentment of the Soviet Government and caused it, according to official statements, to shift orders from the United States to other countries.<sup>14</sup>

Allowing due credit to the effect of the new manufacturing capacity in the USSR and to the consequences of the retaliation of the Soviet Foreign Trade Monopoly, the principal cause of the decline of imports from the United States<sup>15</sup> was undoubtedly the destructive effect of the world economic crisis on Soviet exports, beginning with 1931. Not only did the prices of the chief commodities of Soviet export fall precipitately, but the crisis brought about a far-reaching restriction of markets in many countries through governmental import policies of quotas and contingents. Soviet exports were slower than those of the so-called capitalist countries to show the effect of the crisis because the Foreign Trade Monopoly was not primarily interested in the profitableness of its sales, but in the acquisition of foreign exchange. The Foreign Trade Monopoly, which unites in its person buyer and seller, or, more accurately, all buyers and sellers, was only concerned when the price of the goods it had to export fell more rapidly than the price of the goods it needed to import. Soviet imports lagged one year behind exports in showing the effect of the crisis, but this was because purchases were made on an average of at least one year's credit.

### 3. *Effect on American Imports from the Soviet Union.*

Imports into the United States from the USSR, which had been fairly constant for several years before the Five Year Plan, increased

<sup>11</sup> Treasury Order No. 44,037, 19 May, 1930.

<sup>12</sup> Treasury Order No. 45,092, March, 1931.

<sup>13</sup> Treasury Order No. 44,620, 10 February, 1931. No shipment of wood products was, however, barred on these grounds.

<sup>14</sup> Foreign Trade of the USSR at XVIIth Party Congress, page 50.

<sup>15</sup> It should be noted that owing to the fall in the prices of Soviet imports, the physical volume was greater than at first appears.

strongly in 1929 and 1930. Measured in dollars, the 1913 level of direct trade was reached in 1930, but thereafter imports fell off rapidly. The share of the USSR in American imports was as always extremely small, and in the best year, 1930, only amounted to 8/10 of 1 per cent. Viewed from the opposite side, the United States always ranked low among the purchasers of Russian exports, of which, in 1930, it took only 4.4 per cent., thus occupying seventh place.

Recognising fully the importance of imports from the Soviet Union as a means of paying for American exports to that market, great efforts were made to develop imports by the Amtorg Trading Corporation and by Americans interested in the trade. As a result, the range of commodities was broadened by the addition of a number of new items not previously imported either before or since the war, or only imported in small quantities. The most important of these were anthracite coal, iron ore, chrome ore, raw silk, sawn lumber and pulpwood, matches, manganese, carpets and rugs, and fish. Soviet anthracite appeared for the first time in New England markets; Soviet iron ore found a new outlet among American steel plants on the Atlantic Coast; paper mills in Maine began to use spruce pulpwood from the USSR. Nevertheless, in spite of these gains, the balance of trade was heavier than ever in favour of the United States.

#### 4. *Credit Terms.*

Generally speaking, credit terms grew more lenient throughout this period. Although there was considerable variation as between different lines of business and from one deal to another, credits up to eighteen months were reported to have been granted, sometimes without any down payment. Large orders of tractors and combines were reported to have been sold in 1930 on a basis of 50 per cent. down and the balance within two years. In some cases down-payments were reported even larger.<sup>16</sup> Credits bore interest generally at 6 per cent. When discounted by brokers, the rates on these Soviet acceptances appear to have followed pretty closely rates for similar transactions in London. At one time they ran as high as 36 per cent. in New York, but have since greatly declined.

#### 5. *Attitude of the United States Government.*

There was no change in the official attitude of the United States during the four-year period 1929-1932. At the height of American

<sup>16</sup> *Wall Street Journal*, 30 January, 1935.

exports to the Soviet Union, on 6 December, 1930, the Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson, in reply to questions by Press representatives : " simply reiterated the attitude of the United States which was first defined by Secretary of State Hughes."<sup>17</sup>

#### IV

#### RESUMPTION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA

##### 1. *Trade.*

In 1933, the first year of the Second Five Year Plan, American exports to Soviet Russia fell still further after the catastrophic fall of 1932. The total was only \$8,971,465 (1932—\$12,640,891), and would have been much less, had it not been for the shipment of 64,200 bales of cotton, financed by a credit of \$4,000,000 extended on 2 July, by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to American cotton exporters. Without this item, Soviet imports of American goods for the entire year would scarcely have exceeded the amount imported every fortnight in 1930. Soviet imports from the United States fell off at a more rapid rate than total imports, the decline being 93 per cent. from the 1931 level for the United States and 69 per cent. for all countries.

On the other hand, American imports from the Soviet Union increased from \$9,704,000 in 1932 to \$12,120,000 in 1933, and, for the first time, the balance of trade was in Soviet Russia's favour. The important items which caused the marked improvement in these imports were furs, flax and manganese.

Toward the close of 1933 the end so long sought by the Soviet Government was achieved when, on 16 November, diplomatic relations were established between the United States and the USSR. It had long been insisted by Soviet spokesmen and American advocates of recognition that the absence of normal diplomatic relations was one of the principal obstacles to the development of American-Soviet trade, and many American business men now anticipated a rapid growth in Soviet orders. It is noteworthy, however, that the Soviet Press, in announcing the establishment of diplomatic relations, stressed chiefly not its effect on trade, but upon world peace. The same emphasis was made by President Roosevelt in his speech at Savannah on 18 November. The ten notes exchanged between President Roosevelt and the Soviet negotiator, Mr. Litvinov, dealt chiefly with questions of propaganda and the rights of American citizens in the Soviet Union. There was no official agreement

<sup>17</sup> *New York Times*, 7 December, 1930.

regarding the settlement of debts and claims or the extension of credits. However, in a joint statement issued on 16 November, President Roosevelt and Mr. Litvinov expressed the hope that a satisfactory solution of all these questions would promptly be reached, and it was confidently expected that a detailed agreement would be signed without delay. But, when Mr. Litvinov left the United States nine days later, no agreement had been concluded beyond an understanding that conversations would be continued.

Trade in the following year made a little progress. Purchases as announced by the Amtorg Trading Corporation amounted to \$12,423,389, as compared with \$8,086,645 in 1933, a gain of over 50 per cent. The largest group of orders comprised automotive, aviation and marine equipment, which constituted 44 per cent. of the total. Industrial equipment was second in importance, amounting to only 31 per cent. of the total. Machine tools were the chief item in this group.<sup>18</sup> The preliminary figures of the United States Department of Commerce give exports to the USSR in 1934 as \$14,997,308, imports as \$12,337,647.

Owing to the need of factories for orders, the abundance of funds available, and the satisfactory record of the Soviet Government in meeting its acceptances, interest rates on such acceptances in New York have, in the last two years, fallen from 6 to 5 per cent., and the discount rate charged by brokers is reported to have gone as low as 12 per cent. The tendency in orders for machinery at present is commonly said to be no cash down and eighteen months' time on the average.

On 24 January, 1934, the United States Government removed some long-standing obstacles to American-Soviet trade by the action of the Secretary of the Treasury in revoking three orders affecting Soviet imports into the United States. The Director of the Mint was advised that gold of Soviet origin might be received upon the same basis as gold from other nations. Collectors of customs were instructed that the order requiring, for imports of Soviet lumber and pulpwood, documentary proof that convict labour had not been employed in their production, was vacated because "not supported by evidence sufficient to warrant it." The anti-dumping duties which had been levied on safety matches were removed, likewise because of lack of sufficient evidence to warrant them.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> *Economic Review of the Soviet Union*, February, 1935.

<sup>19</sup> *New York Times*, 25 January, 1934, with text of orders.



## 2. *Debts and Credits.*

Alluring prospects of tremendous sales of American products had been held out by various enthusiastic advocates of American-Soviet trade. Mr. Litvinov himself, at the London Economic Conference, stated that his country represented a potential market for one billion dollars' worth of goods. But, as Soviet officials were careful to point out, these colossal orders were contingent upon credit large in amount and generous as to term. No longer would there be buying on unfavourable terms. The Soviet Union felt itself sufficiently equipped, as a result of the First Five Year Plan, to do without heavy foreign purchases unless credit conditions were made advantageous.<sup>20</sup>

American banks, however, did not feel able, in the face of world-wide defaults, to extend such credits, particularly to a debtor whose avowed social and economic principles still caused a certain feeling of apprehension despite his excellent reputation for meeting his financial engagements. As was the case some years earlier in Great Britain, Germany and elsewhere, it became evident that the United States Government would have to intervene as guarantor or lender if any considerable trade were to develop. A first step in this direction had been the loan in July, 1933, of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to American exporters of cotton to Soviet Russia. On 12 February, 1934, the Chairman of the R.F.C. announced the establishment of a new governmental institution, known as the Export-Import Bank of Washington, incorporated in the District of Columbia. The bank's charter stated that it had been organised "to aid in financing and to facilitate exports and imports and the exchange of commodities between the United States and other nations or nationals thereof,"<sup>21</sup> but by resolution of the board of trustees, its activities were restricted to transactions with Soviet Russia.<sup>22</sup> The capital of the bank was set at \$11,000,000, of which \$1,000,000 was in common stock, provided from emergency funds made available by the National Industrial Recovery Act, and \$10,000,000 was in preferred stock subscribed for by the R.F.C. This seems a modest initial capital, but the certificate of incorporation provided for an unlimited increase in the capitalisation through further purchases of preferred stock by the R.F.C. or by borrowing from the R.F.C. or from other banks.

<sup>20</sup> Rosengoltz, *Commissary for Foreign Trade: Fifteen Years of the Foreign Trade Monopoly of the USSR*, Moscow, 1933.

<sup>21</sup> *New York Times*, 17 February, 1934, with full text of charter.

<sup>22</sup> George N. Peek: "Our Foreign Trade Objectives," *Banking*, January, 1935.

The Executive Order authorising the formation of the Export-Import Bank provided for a governing body of five trustees, which was later enlarged to nine. The Secretary of Commerce, an Assistant Secretary of State, and the Foreign Trade Advisor to the President became trustees, while the other members were government officials from the Departments of State, Commerce, Agriculture, and the Treasury, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and the Federal Trade Commission. Although no official statement of policy was ever issued, it was commonly understood that the method of operation of the bank would be to make loans to American exporters in connection with credits granted by them to the Amtorg, or to underwrite large portions of such credits. Terms of three to four years were mentioned.<sup>23</sup>

It is sometimes overlooked that the Export-Import Bank was established in connection with the settlement of debts and claims, contemplated in the discussions which took place during Mr. Litvinov's visit to Washington. The bank was set up at a time when it was thought that a satisfactory agreement was about to be concluded, in order to have it ready for operation as soon as the agreement was signed. The trustees have since emphasised that it was never contemplated that the bank would function independently of a settlement of debts and claims. Since no settlement has yet been reached, the bank has not functioned up to this time.

Two months after the incorporation of the Export-Import Bank, Congress passed the Johnson Act which made it—

“ . . . unlawful within the United States . . . for any person to purchase or sell the bonds, securities or other obligations of any foreign government . . . or to make any loan to such foreign government . . . while such government . . . is in default in the payment of its obligations . . . to the government of the United States.”

This would have made it impossible for the new bank to function until a debt settlement with Soviet Russia had been ratified by the Senate. If a settlement were reached after Congress adjourned for the summer, important export operations would be held up until it reconvened, causing a delay of several months at a time when American industry was in great need of orders. Therefore para-

<sup>23</sup> The Second Export-Import Bank, formed after the first to finance transactions with countries other than the Soviet Union, offers long-term credit up to five years and, in “transactions of unusual character,” underwritings “not to exceed 75 per cent. of the credit.”—General Policy Statement of the Second Export-Import Bank, 30 July, 1934.

graph 2 was inserted in the Act which defined the term "person" as an—

" . . . individual, partnership or corporation . . . *other* than a public corporation created . . . pursuant to special authorisation of Congress, or a corporation in which the Government of the United States has . . . a controlling interest through stock ownership."

In order to make certain, in the face of some opposition, that the Act as passed would carry this, to them, vital paragraph, the trustees of the bank passed a resolution declaring that—

"no actual credit transaction with the Soviet Government shall be undertaken unless and until that government shall submit to the President of the United States an acceptable agreement respecting the payment of the Russian indebtedness to the Government of the United States and its nationals."<sup>24</sup>

This resolution did not represent a new policy, but reiterated one which had been adopted when the bank was founded.

Negotiations between the Department of State and the Soviet Ambassador were pursued during 1934 until October, when he left for Moscow to discuss conditions with his government. At that time the Soviet Government was generally believed to have offered a lump sum of \$100,000,000 in settlement of debts and claims, payment to be spread over twenty years in the form of a rate of interest beyond the ordinary rate on (1) a cash loan of \$100,000,000, and (2) commercial credits of \$100,000,000. The United States was reported to have accepted the lump sum offered and the method of payment by the application of a supplementary rate of interest "on credits extended to the Soviet Government with the assistance of the Government of the United States."<sup>25</sup> It refused the demand for an inter-governmental cash loan, but, in the words of the Secretary of State, in his statement to the Press after the failure of negotiations:—

"To facilitate the placing of orders in the United States by the Soviet Government on a long-term credit basis, the Government of the United States was prepared to make, through the Export-Import Bank, to American manufacturers requiring financial assistance in connection with the granting of credits on such orders, loans to a very large per cent. of the credit granted."

<sup>24</sup> Congressional Record, 4 April, 1934, LXXIIIrd Congress, Second Session, page 6,192.

<sup>25</sup> Department of State, Press release, 1 February, 1935.

As to term the Secretary added that :—

“ It was contemplated that the length of the credit extended would vary according to the different categories of goods, and the Soviet Government was advised that the Government of the United States was not averse to making special terms in exceptional cases . . . .”

and that :—

“ it was intended that the loans . . . should constitute a revolving fund for the continuous maintenance of Soviet purchases in the United States.”<sup>25</sup>

The Soviet argument for a loan was that if they agreed to pay the Russian indebtedness to the United States, receiving in return for this concession only short-term credits, this would re-open British and French debt claims against them, which are far in excess of the modest sum owed in America. From the American point of view, such an inter-governmental loan as the Soviet Government demanded was not a commercial, but a political transaction, unacceptable to public sentiment and fraught with dangerous complications.

After the return of the Soviet Ambassador to the United States, negotiations were resumed on 31 January, 1935, but were almost immediately broken off when it was learned that the Soviet Government had rejected the American Government's offer and had no further proposals to make. Therefore, until some agreement is reached, trade will have to proceed as formerly, without any special financial aid from government sources.

## V

### PROSPECTS

It is to be hoped that the present deadlock in American-Soviet negotiations over debts and credits will be resolved and that a normal, healthy trade between the two countries may ensue. Of this trade, however, such exaggerated notions have often prevailed that it is necessary to examine the subject critically in the light of past history and the facts.

#### 1. *Limitations of Credit.*

To begin with, it is clear that, no matter how much the Soviet Union could or would buy from the United States, the amount the

United States can sell it is limited by the credits it is willing to grant. These credits are again limited : first, as to *term* by intangible considerations, such as the stability of the Soviet Government and its continuing will to make payments when due. The same problem arises with all foreign loans, but is here rendered more complex by the novel character of the Soviet Government, the gigantic administrative tasks it has assumed, and the peculiar social and economic principles upon which it is based. It is very true that the Soviet Government has thus far maintained a blameless record for meeting its financial engagements, but these have never been for long terms. Moreover, distinguished Communists in the past have so often declared that Soviet business conduct was based on expediency, that bankers of capitalist nations may be pardoned for retaining some vestiges of misgivings as to how long the Soviet policy of payment will last and under what conditions it might cease.

Secondly, the credits are limited as to *amount* by the sum of the annual interest plus amortisation which the USSR can pay by means of *direct* exports of merchandise and gold. Invisible items of trade, such as tourist expenditures, emigrant remittances, ocean freights, and the like, tend to balance each other. And, in the present state of world trade, triangular operations cannot be depended upon. For example, the Trade Agreement of 16 February, 1934, between Great Britain and the Soviet Union provides that the trade between them shall be progressively so adjusted that within five years it shall be almost perfectly balanced. (In 1938 the ratio of the payments of the USSR in the United Kingdom to the proceeds of the USSR in the United Kingdom shall be as 1 : 1 · 1.) Up to recent years the chronic unfavourable balance against Russia in its trade with America was settled largely through its favourable balance in London. In other words, Great Britain was selling approximately this amount of goods to the United States instead of to the Soviet Union. Although it may be devoutly hoped that normal international exchanges and free-flowing triangular trading operations may ultimately be restored, it will be granted that we have no right to count on this at present.

## 2. *Limitations of Direct Exports of the USSR to the United States.*

The direct exports of the Soviet Union to the United States are limited by :—

(a) The ability of the Soviet Union to furnish the kinds of goods needed in America.

(b) The quantity of such goods that America can consume.

(c) The competition of other nations producing the same commodities

The fact must be faced that the United States and the USSR are both non-tropical, raw material countries and that most of the food-stuffs and raw materials produced in the Soviet Union are also produced in the United States in quantities sufficient to meet all needs. The exceptions consist, as we have already seen, of a few outstanding commodities, such as sausage casings, undressed furs, manganese ore, bristles, pulpwood, platinum, and liquorice root, and of a series of minor products whose consumption is very limited.

While there is no doubt that, by intelligent effort on the part of those interested, imports of these commodities into the United States may be somewhat increased, the limits are after all rather narrow. Even if we assume world economic conditions and price levels restored comparable to those of 1926, a high level of production in the United States, equal tariff treatment for Soviet products and a favourable attitude on the part of importers, it is difficult to reach a maximum theoretical estimate of \$100,000,000 a year. The likelihood is that the best attainable figure would be much below this.

Any attempt to force imports from the Soviet Union beyond the practical maximum would, in the case of several leading commodities, necessitate a substitution in sources of supply, cutting down the share now imported from other countries and disturbing the existing network of commercial relationships, some of them long established. Thus manganese imports beyond a certain point would be at the expense of Brazil, Cuba and Canada, where American capital is invested in the mines, as well as of the Gold Coast, British India and Chile. Soviet pulpwood is said to be of high quality, but many owners of American paper mills are heavily interested in the pulpwood stands of Canada, neighbour and largest customer of the United States. The same is true of lumber. In the case of furs and flax, direct imports could be increased, but at the expense of British and German middlemen. Soviet anthracite competes in New England with native Pennsylvania anthracite. Augmented imports of Soviet matches would be at the expense of Sweden, Finland and Japan. It is obvious that strong reasons would have to be adduced to justify any considerable shifting from these sources of supply to the USSR.

There remains gold as a means of payment. Soviet gold production has been increasing with the growing application of modern

dredging machinery, and is now stated to be at the rate of \$150,000,000 a year.<sup>26</sup> How much gold would be available for paying America after building up depleted domestic reserves (assuming that the Soviet authorities wish to do this) and making payments to other countries, is a matter of conjecture. It is perhaps not an academic question, over a long period of time, how much gold America could afford to receive, having in mind the tremendous gold reserves now held here.

3. *Factors Affecting the Soviet Demand for American Goods: (a) Continuation of the Policy of Industrialisation.*

Soviet imports from America are principally machinery and industrial equipment. The policy of rapid industrialisation embodied in the First Five Year Plan has been officially continued in the Second, which calls for an even greater increase in producing capacity, although in practice it has been impossible to recapture the *élan* of the first years. Recent emphasis on military preparedness gives additional stimulus to the programme. The structure of the imports from America will, of course, change as it has already changed. For example, Soviet tractor production is now on such a scale that imports are unlikely. In the future, as Soviet industry masters the manufacture of the simpler types of machinery, only the more complex types will be imported. A new outlet for American products seems to present itself in locomotives, cars, signals and other railway equipment. Soviet transportation has lagged notably behind manufacturing, and conditions have become so serious that the railways must receive a great deal of new equipment from now on if industrial production is not to be strangled. This is a field in which the United States is peculiarly qualified to serve because of the similarity in natural conditions. In sum, there would appear to be no abatement in the Soviet policy of industrialisation.

(b) *Industrial Self-sufficiency.*

While Soviet leaders insist that, as a result of the First Five Year Plan, the country is already so well industrialised that "practically all equipment required by the Soviet Union can be produced within the country"<sup>27</sup>; that they are "undoubtedly able to realise the Plan (second) with very few imports," and that now their hands are free to import or not, according as the conditions of credit and price are satisfactory, it is evident that they hope for a great expan-

<sup>26</sup> *Za Industrializatsiu*, 11 September, 1934.

<sup>27</sup> Rosenholtz: *Econ. Rev. of the Soviet Union*, Aug.-Sept., 1934, p. 175.

sion of imports in general, and from America in particular. Thus, Rosenholtz, Commissary for Foreign Trade, declared that "it is hardly possible to find another country possessing as great potential possibilities for the development of its exports to the USSR as the United States,"<sup>28</sup> and Bogdanov, late chairman of Amtorg, wrote last year: "Our imports from Germany have exceeded \$200,000,000 in one year. Considering the high regard for American equipment and technique which exists in our country, and the scope of our economic development, I see no good reason why these figures might not be reached or even exceeded."<sup>29</sup> The Moscow daily, *For Industrialisation*, said in an editorial of 17 April, 1934: "After the establishment of diplomatic relations between the USSR and the United States our foreign trade organs as well as the enterprises in heavy industry . . . started to work on the formulation of concrete schedules for the expansion of trade with the United States and the placing of orders."

As a matter of fact, in spite of all the factories and works which have been built, chiefly with foreign engineering direction, the Soviet Union is as yet far from being industrially self-sufficient. There is not nearly enough production to maintain even a simple standard of life, and, in the newly acquired industries, there is rapid depreciation of equipment, a high percentage of spoilage and a serious lack of quality in the product. Of the tractor, which is regarded as the principal manufacturing achievement, it was recently reported:—

"The Soviet tractor is about on a par with American machines of many years ago. The design is adequate since the makers have copied American specifications very carefully, but the materials are inferior to those used in the American product."<sup>30</sup>

The Soviet Press is full of frank exposures of these conditions, the inevitable consequences of the precipitate and forced industrialisation of a backward agricultural country. Furthermore, Soviet leaders have repeatedly stated publicly that they do not seek economic autarchy. There will be no lack of potential demand for foreign machinery and technology for many years to come for new installations, for replacements and for spare parts.

### (c) *Interference of Foreign Trade Monopoly.*

In dealing with the Soviet Union, as is well known, American exporters sell to only one buyer, American importers buy from only

<sup>28</sup> *Econ. Rev. of the Soviet Union*, Jan., 1934.

<sup>29</sup> *Sphere*, Washington, 1934.

<sup>30</sup> "Soviet Farm Tools," *Wall Street Journal*, 30 January, 1935.



one seller, the Soviet Foreign Trade Monopoly. This potent Government organ is regarded by Soviet authorities as "one of the commanding heights in the hands of the Soviet State." Into its dealings other elements than business and profit considerations enter. It is an instrument of international policy and, in order to serve paramount political ends, may divert trade from one nation to another, or terminate a business relationship which has been eminently satisfactory to both sides. After the break in diplomatic relations with Great Britain in 1927, the share of Great Britain in Soviet imports fell from about 20 per cent. to 5 per cent. After the passage of the ill-conceived Johnson Bill, an editorial in *For Industrialisation*,<sup>31</sup> the organ of Soviet heavy industry, gave a warning that the plans of Soviet industrialists for the import programme in connection with the Second Five Year Plan would have to drop the "definite American slant" which they had shown. This political factor introduces a new and difficult element into foreign trade which must be taken into account.

#### 4. *Conclusions.*

What has been said can be summed up in a few propositions :—

The potential American exports to the Soviet Union are limited by the credits the United States is willing to grant.

These credits are in turn limited :—

(a) As to *term*, by intangible considerations of the stability and constant willingness to pay of the Soviet Government.

(b) As to *amount*, by the sum of the annual interest plus amortisation which the Soviet Union is able to pay by direct exports of merchandise and gold.

The direct exports of the Soviet Union to the United States are limited by —<sup>32</sup>

(a) The ability of the Soviet Union to furnish commodities needed in America, which is restricted.

(b) The competition of other nations producing these same commodities, with whom strong economic bonds exist.

(c) The amount of gold available for payment in America, which is unknown and depends on the need for domestic reserves and the pressure for payment in other countries.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>31</sup> 17 April, 1934

<sup>32</sup> It must also be borne in mind that Soviet payments on account of old debts reduce by so much Soviet purchasing power for new goods.

<sup>33</sup> Limited also by the continuance of the American Government's policy of receiving gold in payment, although there is at present no indication of any change in this policy.

It is true that, because of compulsorily restricted imports during the last few years, Soviet floating indebtedness abroad has been greatly reduced and according to a recent newspaper dispatch<sup>34</sup> is now only \$125,000,000. Most foreign financial experts believe the figure to be nearer \$200,000,000. But no matter which sum is correct, it is certain that, if imports are resumed on the former scale, the foreign indebtedness will soon mount again, as the balance of payments will be against the USSR.<sup>35</sup> The Soviet Government is making every effort to convert this indebtedness into the funded form in order to avoid the menacing pressure of short-term debt. A cash loan in America would have served as a lever to obtain similar concessions elsewhere.

The Five Year industrialisation programme of the Soviet Union with its dramatic appeal and its abnormally heavy buying of American machinery and equipment, made a deep impression upon American business circles and aroused old hopes of a vast new foreign market for American goods. There is unquestionably a tremendous potential demand in the USSR for American products; the difficulty is in finding means of payment. Here nature has placed definite obstacles: Soviet Russia has little that America wants; the two countries are not complementary in resources and industries. Credit is proposed as a means to bridge the gap, but credit is only payment deferred. It would be unwise to saddle the Soviet Union with an indebtedness which it would have no prospect of being able to repay. The Soviet financial authorities themselves do not desire this, and the recent example of American overlending in Europe to pay for the voluminous exports of the boom years which ended in 1929, is still painfully before American investors.

The most we are warranted in expecting when, eventually, the debt question has been settled between the United States and the USSR, is an outlet for American exports which, for some time to come, will hardly exceed the average for the five years preceding the first Five Year Plan. Individual years may exceed this figure, but the average will remain the same. This is a small market compared

<sup>34</sup> Duranty: *New York Times*, 21 February, 1935.

<sup>35</sup> Even before the war, Russia was exporting more than her internal economic situation warranted, in accord with the famous dictum of Vishnegradsky, Count Witte's predecessor as Minister of Finance: "We shall export, even though we have insufficient food for ourselves." (Cited by Pasvolovsky and Moulton: *Russian Debts and Russian Reconstruction*, page 102.) A generation later, under the Five Year Plan, the same situation prevailed. The compulsion to export strained the producing mechanism to the uttermost and imposed sacrifices on the population which reached the limit of endurance.

to many others, being about equal to that of Sweden or Switzerland. However, it is an important outlet for a group of manufactures significant in the national industrial life—those producing machinery and equipment. The restoration of a normal, free flow of world trade and of triangular trading operations would, of course, increase the possibilities materially.

W. CHAPIN HUNTINGDON.

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## EVGENY ONEGIN

### CANTO ONE

*Translated from the Russian of ALEXANDER PUSHKIN by OLIVER  
ELTON*

*"Precipitate to live, and all too swift to feel."*—K. VYAZEMSKY.

"WHEN Uncle, in good earnest, sickened  
(His principles were always high),  
My own respect for him was quickened;  
This was his happiest thought, said I.  
He was a pattern edifying;  
—Yet, heavens! how boring, and how trying,  
To tend a patient night and day  
And never move a step away!  
And then—how low the craft and gross is!—  
I must amuse a man half-dead,  
Arrange the pillows for his head,  
And bring, with a long face, the doses  
And sigh, and wonder inwardly:  
When *will* the Devil come for thee?"

Such were a young scamp's meditations,  
Posting through dusty roads; for he  
Was left sole heir to his relations  
By Jupiter's supreme decree.  
Without more words—my tale this minute  
Begins, and has a hero in it.  
Friends of Lyudmila and Ruslan,  
Let me acquaint you with the man:—  
Now, my good friend Onegin started  
His life on Neva's shores, where you,  
Perchance, my reader, were born too,

A shining light. In days departed  
 I also there would ramble free ;  
 But baneful is the North to me . . .<sup>1</sup>

His sire had done good service, living,  
 Like any gentleman, on debt ;  
 And so, three balls per annum giving,  
 By ruin was at last beset.  
 By fate Evgeny was befriended  
 First by a *Madame* he was tended ;  
 Next came a *Monsieur*. But the child,  
 Though nice, was gay and rather wild ;  
 And therefore, not to overwork him,  
*Monsieur l'abbé*, a needy Gaul,  
 With pleasant jesting, taught him all,  
 Nor would with moral strictures irk him,  
 But to the Summer Garden took  
 The tricky lad, with mild rebuke.

But when Evgeny was attaining  
 The age of youth and turbulence,  
 The age of hope and soft complaining,  
 They packed the *Monsieur* off ; and hence  
 Onegin was no more imprisoned,  
 But like a London *dandy* dizened,  
 And cropt most fashionably, too ;  
 And so, at last the world he knew.  
 He could express himself completely  
 In French, and write it, and could prance  
 So light in the mazurka-dance ;  
 Could bow so easily and neatly.  
 Enough ; the world decides at once  
 He is a dear, and not a dunce.

We Russians get our information  
 On something—somehow—and so-so ;  
 And thus a brilliant education  
 Is not so hard, thank heaven ! to show.  
 Onegin (so thought each emphatic  
 Censor, so rigid and dogmatic),  
 Though something of a prig, knew much

<sup>1</sup> " Written in Bessarabia " (*Pushkin's note*).



On all things talk'd of he could touch  
 Lightly—not stiffly—, imitating  
 The visage of the connoisseur  
 (He had that happy gift, be sure),  
 And hold his tongue, through high debating;  
 Or fiery epigram, meanwhile,  
 Let fly, and make the ladies smile.

'Tis out of fashion now, is Latin;  
 And yet, in truth, it was no doubt  
 A language he was rather pat in:  
 A motto he could puzzle out;  
 Could prate of Juvenal; none better  
 Could with a *Vale* end a letter;  
 Yes, could two lines of Virgil say  
 With several blunders on the way.  
 Onegin had no sort of longing  
 To rummage in the dust of dates  
 Or chronicles of ancient states;  
 But to his memory came thronging  
 Full many a hoary anecdote  
 From Romulus till now, to quote.

It gave him no exalted pleasure  
 To waste his days in scanning sound;  
 Iambic with trochaic measure  
 For all our pains, he *would* confound.  
 Homer, Theocritus abusing,  
 But often Adam Smith perusing,  
 He was a deep economist:—  
 That is, was able to insist  
 On how a realm succeeds in thriving;  
 On what it lives by; and wherefore  
 Gold is not needful to its store  
 If the raw product it is hiving.  
 —His father could not understand,  
 And mortgaged every inch of land.

All the attainments of Evgeny  
 Time fails me to enumerate.  
 But for one science, more than any,  
 He had a genius past debate.

What gave him—still a child—vexation,  
Trouble, and also consolation ;  
—What all day long engrossed, no less,  
His sick and weary idleness ;—  
Was just the science Ovid chanted,  
The tender passion. Ovid's life  
Of riot, brilliancy, and strife  
Closed in dull, flat Moldavia ; planted  
There, as a sufferer ended he,  
Afar from home and Italy.

How soon he learned dissimulation  
And jealousy, and how to hide  
His hopes, and to instil persuasion,  
Dissuade, or pine ; exhibit pride,  
Or humbleness, or sullen bearing,  
Or seem attentive—or uncaring !  
How taciturn the moody lad !  
What flaming eloquence he had !  
How careless, in his letters loving !  
How self-oblivious he could be,  
Breathing of love and constancy !  
How quick, how shy, how soft and moving  
His gaze—or bold ! Or, in his eye  
Twinkled a tear, submissively !

How various he seemed—dumbfounding  
The innocent with jest and chaff ;  
His swift despair they thought astounding,  
His pleasing flattery made them laugh ;  
The tender moment he could capture,  
Or overcome, by wit and rapture,  
The qualms of youthful innocence ;  
Watch for a heedless kindness—thence  
Claim an avowal, by entreating ;  
Hear the first heart-throb, and pursue  
The lover's quest ; and quickly, too,  
He would secure a secret meeting  
And, in some quiet place apart,  
Instruct the lady of his heart !

Soon he was skilled in agitating  
Coquettes, experienced of old ;

But when he tried annihilating  
 His rivals, with what venom cold  
 He ran them down ! and would prepare them  
 How many a stratagem, to snare them !  
 Ye husbands, though, in wedlock blest,  
 Ye stayed his friends ; he was caressed  
 By spouses veteran and wily  
 Of Faublas' school, well trained ; or by  
 Some ancient, with suspicious eye,  
 —Or by some lordly cuckold, highly  
 Contented with himself, and life,  
 And with his dinner, and his wife.

Sometimes, while still abed, they've brought him  
 A sheaf of notes.—What's here ?—By chance  
 Three houses, really, have besought him  
 To pass the evening at a dance  
 Or birthday party. Now, who is it  
 Our merry man skips off to visit ?  
 And who shall first receive his call ?  
 —No hurry ; there is time for all.  
 Meanwhile, in morning garb, and wearing  
 A wide-rimmed *bolivar*,<sup>2</sup> he flees  
 To stroll at large and at his ease,  
 Unto the boulevard repairing,  
 Till his *Breguet's*<sup>3</sup> unsleeping chime  
 Inform him, it is dinner-time.

Dusk falls, and in his sleigh he's posted.  
 They clamour, " Clear the way, begone ! "  
 His beaver collar is all frosted  
 With silvery dust. He hurries on  
 Straight to *Café Talon* ;<sup>4</sup> and therein  
 Surely awaits him friend Kaverin ;  
 He enters—vintage juices pop  
 And corks upon the ceiling plop.  
*Roast-beef*, all sanguinary, greets him ;  
 Truffles (youth's luxury) are seen,  
 The blossoms of the French cuisine ;

" *Hat à la Bolivar* " (*Pushkin's note*).

A well-known watchmaker ; a " repeater " is meant.

" A noted restaurant-keeper " (*Pushkin's note*).

And Strasburg pie, unwasting, meets him,  
With live and swarming Limburg cheese  
And golden pines, to follow these.

One beaker more ! his thirst compels him  
To wash the hot, rich cutlet down ;  
But now *Breguet* has struck, and tells him  
Of a new ballet for the town.  
Stage-arbiter is he—and spiteful ;  
Adores each actress, so delightful,  
—Not long ! and makes the wings his haunt,  
A much esteemed inhabitant.  
So, to the playhouse see him sally,  
Where all breathe freely ;—you may hiss  
Cleopatra, Phèdre—and after this  
Applaud the capers of the ballet ;<sup>5</sup>  
Or *call* Moina ; in a word,  
You're only eager—to be heard.

Fonvizin,<sup>6</sup> satire's lord undaunted,  
The friend of freedom, in old time  
Shone brightly there, O land enchanted !  
Knyazhnin was there, that witty mime.  
There Ozerov was once applauded  
With young Semyonova, and lauded  
By all the folk, and wrung their tears.  
Katenin there amongst his peers

<sup>5</sup> In the original, " ready to clap an *entrechat* "—a certain dancing step

<sup>6</sup> Fonvizin, Denis Ivanovich, 1745–1792 : the notable writer of social and satiric comedies (*The Brigadier-General*, *The Minor*) in the age of Catherine II ; also a translator, and a bold-spirited ' progressive ' for his time. Knyazhnin, Yakob Borisovich, 1742–1791, writer of comedies, also of tragedies (*Rosslov*, *Vadim*). Ozerov, Vladislav Alexandrovich, 1769–1816, known for his ' classical ' but sentimentalised tragedies (*Edipus at Athens*, *Fingal*, and the patriotic *Dmitri of the Don*). Semyonova, Ekaterina Semyonovna, 1786–1849, a beautiful gifted actress, who played in Ozerov's and other classical tragedies, also in Shakespeare. Katenin, Pavel Alexandrovich, 1792–1853, a friend and appreciator of Pushkin, and a critic ; he translated Racine and Marivaux as well as Corneille, made poems on ' old Russian life,' in a national spirit ; and had fought at Borodino and Leipzig. Didlo, Charles-Louis, 1767–1837, a founder of the Russian ballet and choreographer, who taught, e.g. Evdokiya Il'inichna Istomina (*see* next stanza but one), 1799–1848, whose beauty is said to have provoked more than one duel. Shakhovskoy, Alex. Alexandrovich, 1792–1853, a profuse maker of comedies and vaudevilles.

(These details are from *Entsyklopedichesky Slovar'*, 1890 ff., with some points from Mirsky's *History*.)

Restored Corneille—high, gifted, glorious.  
There won Didlo his wreath of fame,  
And Shakhovskoy, the mordant, came  
With swarms of comedies uproarious.  
There, there behind the scenes, did I  
Take shelter, as my youth fled by.

And ye, my goddesses and graces,  
Hear my lament ! where are ye, where ?  
Do these new girls, who fill your places,  
Displace you ?—Nay, are ye not there ?  
And shall I hear again your chorus ?  
Gaze, as she flies, inspired, before us,  
On Russia's own Terpsichore ?  
—Or will my moody eyes but see  
Strange visages, a stage all dreary ?  
Behold, through disenchanted glass,  
An alien world before me pass ?  
And watch the fun, indifferent, weary,  
And say no word, and only yawn,  
And brood on matters past and gone ?

The house has filled ; the boxes glisten ;  
Pit, stalls, are like a seething cup ;  
The restless galleries clap ;—and listen !  
The rustling curtain has gone up !  
And there, resplendent, in the middle,  
Sways, to the magic of the fiddle,  
Istomina ; her bevy there  
Surround that creature, half of air.  
First with one foot the floor she brushes,  
And on the other slowly twirls,  
Then swiftly leaps, and swiftly whirls  
Like down by Eolus puff'd, and rushes,  
And coils—uncoils again ;—how quick  
Her little feet together click !

All clap:—Onegin enters, steering  
Amid the legs, along the stalls.  
His double eyeglass, sidelong peering,  
On boxes, full of ladies, falls ;  
He knows them not. His glance embraces

Each tier in turn ; with dresses, faces,  
 He's shockingly dissatisfied.  
 With gentlemen on every side  
 He next exchanges salutations ;  
 Then scans the stage ; all absently,  
 And turns, and yawns. " High time," saith he,  
 " Time for all sorts of alterations ;  
 I stood the ballet long ; but oh !  
 It bores me—even with Didlo."<sup>7</sup>

Loves, serpents, demons still are leaping  
 Upon the stage, with wild uproar ;  
 Still are the weary lackeys sleeping,  
 Wrapt in their mantles, at the door.  
 Claps, coughs, and hisses still are sounding,  
 Noses are blown, and feet are pounding ;  
 And still, within doors and without,  
 The lanterns glitter all about.  
 The horses, jaded with the leather,  
 Are kicking still, and frozen through ;  
 The coachmen round the fires beshrew  
 Their lords, and beat their palms together.  
 —But exit now Onegin ! yes ;  
 For he is driving home—to dress.

How paint to your imagination  
 That room retired in colours true,  
 Where the prize pupil of the Fashion  
 Is drest—undrest—then drest anew ?  
 —What dainty London is retailing  
 For our caprices never-failing,  
 And, for our tallow and our wood,  
 Brings us across the Baltic flood ;  
 —What hungry, tasteful Paris (choosing  
 A paying traffic) may invent  
 And for our luxury has sent  
 As modish, sumptuous, or amusing :  
 —All garnishing the room is seen  
 Of our young thinker, age eighteen.

<sup>7</sup> " A trait of refrigerated feeling, worthy of Childe Harold. The ballets of G. Didlot are filled with lively imagination and extraordinary charm. One of our romantic writers found more poetry in them than in the whole of French literature " (*Pushkin's note*).

Bronze, china, here bestrew the table ;  
 And pipes, with amber, from Tsargrad ;  
 Scents in cut crystal vials, able  
 To make the languid senses glad ;  
 Combs—little files of steel for scraping—  
 And scissors, straight or bent ; for shaping  
 The nails, or tending teeth, there were  
 Quite thirty sorts of brushes there.  
 (Rousseau—I ramble, and admit it—  
 Could not conceive how pompous Grimm<sup>8</sup>  
 Durst cleanse the nails in front of *him*,  
 The golden-tongued, the feather-witted :  
 But wholly wrong, this once, was he  
 Who stood for Rights and Liberty.)

A man of sense may give attention  
 Even to the beauty of his nails.  
 Why fight against the age ? Convention  
 Is the world's tyrant ; nought avails.  
 Evgeny, jealous censures fearing,  
 Dressed like [Chadayev]<sup>9</sup>, now appearing  
 As what we called a *fop*—was nice  
 In his apparel,—too precise.  
 And, facing all his looking-glasses,  
 Three hours at least he spent, before  
 He issued from his closet door,  
 Resembling Venus, when she passes  
 To join the masquers and assume,  
 (That giddy goddess) male costume.

Your curious gaze I might be turning  
 On dress—the latest style admired ;  
 Portray, to all the world of learning,  
 Just how Onegin was attired.  
 But that were rash, there's no gainsaying ;  
 —'Tis true, my business is portraying ;  
 Yet still the Russian words we lack  
 For *gilet*, *pantalons*, and *frac*.

<sup>8</sup> Pushkin gives an extract from Rousseau's *Confessions* relating this incident, and adds : " Grimm was before his age ; today, throughout enlightened Europe, nails are cleaned with a special brush "

<sup>9</sup> Lit., "A second \* \* \*" ; for the stars, Tomashevsky's text conjectures [Chadayev].

I see—and make you my excuses—  
That my poor style would scintillate  
Even less, were I to imitate  
Such foreign terms, outlandish uses ;  
—Though once I used to glance upon  
Our Academic Lexicon.

But that is not our theme—I quit it ;  
Better to hurry to the ball !  
Onegin thither now has flitted  
Full tilt, postilion, coach and all.  
And now, before the darkened houses  
And all along the street that drowns  
The pair of carriage lanterns throw  
Their rainbow patterns on the snow  
And shed a cheery radiance yonder.  
That splendid house is spotted bright,  
All round, with little cups of light.  
Behind the spacious windows wander  
Shadows and glancing silhouettes  
Of freakish dandies, and coquettes.

Our hero to the doors is driven  
And darting up the marble stair  
Straight past the porter, having given  
The final smoothing to his hair,  
Enters the hall. The crowd has thickened,  
The band of its own din is sickened.  
On the mazurka now intent  
In circling buzz the mob is pent,  
And the horse-guardsmen's spurs are clashing.  
Swift scurry the dear ladies' feet ;  
After those charming footsteps fleet  
How many a fiery glance is flashing !  
The fiddle's squeal the murmuring drowns  
Of jealous dames in modish gowns.

In days of joyous aspirations,  
A ball would leave me reft of wit.  
No safer spot for declarations,  
For passing letters, none so fit !  
Hear, honoured husbands, my proposal :



My service lies at your disposal ;  
I pray you, mark what I have said ;  
I like to warn you, well ahead.  
And look, ye matrons, to your flighty  
Daughters, more sharply ; keep your glass  
Full-focussed on them ; else, alas !  
“ All’s wrong—now save us, God Almighty ! ”  
I write you this because, you know,  
I have not sinned—since long ago.

Much life, ah me, I squandered sadly  
Upon diversions manifold ;  
Had not my morals suffered badly,  
Balls yet could please me, as of old.  
I love the youth, I love the madness,  
The crush—the glitter—and the gladness—  
The ladies’ studious finery ;  
And their small feet. You scarce shall see  
Through Russia, shapen to perfection,  
Three pairs of feet, in womankind.  
But oh, *one* pair, long kept in mind,  
Haunts me ; in spite of cold dejection,  
I still recall them ; still, it seems,  
They agitate my heart,—in dreams.

When—where—or what lone desert threading,  
Canst thou forget them, senseless thing ?  
Where are ye, little feet, now treading ?  
Where crush ye now the flowers of spring ?  
Ah ye have never left your traces  
Upon our snowy Northern spaces !  
Fostered in Eastern languor, ye  
Adored the touch, the luxury  
Of carpets soft, and their allurements.  
How long, since I for you forgot  
My thirst for fame and praise, once hot,  
My native country, my immurement ?  
The joys of youth have fled indeed  
Like those light footsteps on the mead.

Lovely is Dian’s bosom, charming  
Are Flora’s cheeks ; and yet for me,

Good friends, one thing is more disarming,  
—The foot of our Terpsichore.  
A presage, to the rash eye gazing,  
Of other favours past appraising,  
Its beauty, like a symbol, fires  
A wayward throng of new desires.  
Elvina dear, I love to see it  
Beneath the cloth that strews the board;  
In spring, upon the meadow-sward;  
In winter, on the hearth; or be it  
Upon the glassy ballroom floor,  
Or rocks of granite, by the shore.

Once, by the sea, when storm was nearing,  
I envied, I remember well,  
Each blustering wave on wave careering,  
When, amorous, at her feet it fell!  
And those dear feet aroused my longing  
To kiss them, like the billows thronging!  
Nay, even in youth, when heart flamed high  
And surged within me, ne'er could I  
For young Armidas feel such yearning,  
Nor ever was I rapt like this  
With hope their languid breasts to kiss,  
Or lips, or cheeks like roses burning:  
No, never did such passion fierce  
And gusty rise, my soul to pierce.

And one more memory :—I am holding  
Sometimes, and in my private dreams,  
Her happy stirrup, and enfolding  
The little foot; and then, it seems,  
Again my fancy seethes, excited;  
Again her touch the blood has lighted  
Within this withered heart of mine;  
Once more I love, once more I pine. . . .  
Enough! my garrulous harp is praising  
These haughty creatures far too long;  
They are not worthy of my song  
Or of the passions they are raising;  
And, like those sorceresses' feet,  
Their looks, their words, are all deceit.

—But what of my Onegin?—Drowsing,  
Now bedward from the ball he comes,  
While restless Petersburg is rousing  
Already, to the roll of drums  
Merchants and hawkers rise from slumber;  
Now to their stands the cabmen lumber;  
With jugs the Okhta women go,  
Their footfalls crunch the morning snow;  
The pleasant sounds of day are waking:  
The shutters open; smoke ascends  
In columns blue, from chimney-ends;  
And Germans, punctual at their baking,  
In paper caps, have now flung wide  
Their casements upon every side.

But, with the din of ballrooms jaded,  
The child of luxury and whim  
Now sleeps, in blessed quiet shaded;  
For morning is as night to him.  
He wakes past noon:—till morn awaited  
By the same life, reiterated,  
Motley, monotonously gay,  
Each morrow just like yesterday.  
—For all his daily round of pleasure  
And brilliant conquests, though so free  
And in his flowering years,—was he,  
Evgeny, happy in full measure?  
Or did he, heedless, healthy, spend  
His days in feasting—to no end?

Yes—for his heart too soon was frozen;  
The noisy world became a bore;  
Fair ladies were not long the chosen  
Themes that he hourly pondered o'er.  
Of playing false, he soon fell weary;  
Friends too, and friendship, all were dreary.  
He could not be for ever fain  
To drench in flagons of champagne  
*Beefsteaks* and *Strassburg* pies; or scatter  
Sharp sayings, witticisms make,—  
Not when his head should chance to ache.  
The rogue was fiery; but no matter,

Dead sick, at last, he was of all,  
Of wrangling, sword, and pistol-ball.

There is an ailment—and what brought it  
Should have been fathomed long ago;  
Much like the English *spleen*, we thought it.  
Briefly, 'tis Russian *hyp*; and so  
It overcame Onegin, slowly.  
Though loth to shoot himself, and wholly  
Averse, thank Heaven! to trying, he  
Regarded life quite frigidly.  
In salons he would come, appearing  
A new Childe Harold, sullen, slack;  
Not boston, scandal with its clack,  
Or sighs too bold, or glance endearing  
Could ever move the man; indeed  
He would see nothing—nothing heed.

You, first and foremost, he deserted,  
Quaint dames, who move in circles high;  
For in these days, I must assert it,  
Of *ton* there comes satiety.  
Bentham or Say may be expounded  
By one of them; I've mostly found it  
—Their talk—intolerable stuff,  
Albeit innocent enough.  
Besides, the creatures are so clever,  
So past reproach, magnificent,  
So packed with pious sentiment,  
So circumspect,—and strict as ever;  
So proof against the men, they quite  
Produce in you the spleen, at sight.<sup>10</sup>

You too, ye ladies young and pretty,  
Whom dashing droshkies drive in state  
Through the paved streets of our great city  
St. Petersburg, at hours so late,  
Evgeny dropt you. For employment,

<sup>10</sup> "The whole of this ironical stanza is nothing but a subtle eulogy of the lovely ladies, our contemporaries. It is thus that Boileau, under the veil of reproach, praises Louis XIV. Our ladies combine enlightenment with amiability, and strict purity of morals with that Oriental charm that so attracted Mme. de Stael" (*Pushkin's note*).

Forsaking riotous enjoyment,  
He shut himself indoors, and then  
With a great yawn, took up his pen.  
He tried to write—was nauseated  
By stiff hard work, no word could he  
Bring from that pen—could never be  
One of that quickly irritated  
Guild, upon whom I must not pass  
Judgment—I'm one of them, alas !

So he, unoccupied as ever,  
And weary of an empty head,  
Sat down in laudable endeavour  
To make his own what others said.  
He shelved his books in serviceable  
Order ; read, read them,—all mere babble !  
Imposture, wearisome, or mad ;  
Not one both sense and conscience had.  
For all were cramp't in various fetters ;  
Old things were stale ; old madness, too,  
Was all repeated in the new.  
Women he'd dropt—he now dropt letters ;  
Swathed shelves, their dusty brood, and all,  
In taffeta funereal.

I, too, had shunned the bustle lately  
And tossed aside convention's load ;  
Now he and I made friends ; and greatly  
I liked his looks, uncopied mode  
Of oddity, and inclination  
Perforce to dreamy meditation,  
And cool, sharp intellect. You see,  
I was chagrined, and sullen he.  
Both knew the passions and their working,  
And both of life had come to tire ;  
In both our hearts was quenched the fire ;  
And still, for both, there lay a-lurking  
Our fellows' and blind Fortune's spite,  
Just when our days had dawned so bright.

He who has lived and thought, despises  
Infallibly his fellow-men.

For him who feels, the phantom rises  
 Of days that come not back again,  
 And troubles him. Illusions vanish  
 And serpent-memories unbansht  
 And old remorse, corrode his heart.  
 —All this to converse must impart  
 Much relish : I was disconcerted  
 At first by my Onegin's tongue ;  
 But to his arguments that stung  
 Became accustomed and converted,  
 By jests and sallies half malign  
 And rancorous phrases saturnine.

How oft in summer-time—when nightly  
 The sky above the Neva's shore<sup>11</sup>  
 Shines so transparently, so brightly,  
 And Dian's countenance no more  
 Upon that joyous mirror dances—  
 We called to memory old romances,  
 Old loves, of the dead years that were !  
 Once more, we felt ; and free of care  
 Once more all silently we waited  
 And blessed wafts of night inhaled ;  
 And like a prisoner unjailed  
 And drowsy, to green woods translated,  
 So we in dreams away were borne  
 To youth, and to life's earliest morn.

Here, leaning on the granite, waited<sup>12</sup>  
 Evgeny, and regretful stood  
 (Just as the Poet has related  
 About himself) in pensive mood.  
 —All quiet ! but for sentries ranging,  
 Their nightly challenge interchanging,  
 From far Milyonnaya the sound  
 Of rattling droshkies echoed round.  
 Upon the slumbering stream before us  
 The oars of boatmen dipped and swung,

<sup>11</sup> Pushkin here quotes at length " a charming description of a Petersburg night from an idyll by Gnedich."

<sup>12</sup> " The enraptured poet—having hearkened to the kindly goddess—sees that he will pass a sleepless night—leaning on the granite (Muravyev, *To the Neva Goddess*) " (*Pushkin's note*).

And in our charmed ears there rung  
A distant horn, or gallant chorus.  
But sweeter, to beguile the night,  
The tune of Tasso's octaves light !<sup>13</sup>

O, Adriatic waters surging,  
And Brenta ! I shall see you plain ;  
With inspiration fresh-emerging  
Shall listen to your witching strain.  
Apollo's progeny revere it ;  
On Albion's proud harp I hear it,  
Familiar, like the sound of home ;  
And, steeped in languor, I will roam  
On gold Italian evenings, lying  
In gondola, upon the tide,  
A young Venetian by my side  
Silent ;—or, when her tongue is flying,  
The lady to my lips can teach  
Petrarchan love, Petrarchan speech.

High time, high time for me to reckon  
On freedom ; comes she at my cry ?  
I wait for weather, and I beckon  
The sails, and haunt the sea.<sup>14</sup>—Shall I  
Never with storm-fringed waves be warring,  
Or travel swift and freely, sharing  
The trackless freedom of the sea ?  
This element displeases me,  
This dry dull shore ; I must be flying ;  
For my own skies are African ;<sup>15</sup>  
And there, mid Southern surge, I can  
Bide, over sombre Russia sighing,  
—Russia, where once I suffered, where  
I loved : my heart is buried there.

Onegin would have been delighted  
To see with me a foreign clime ;

<sup>13</sup> *Ottava rima*, metre of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*.

<sup>14</sup> " Written at Odessa " (*Pushkin's note*) [1823-4].

<sup>15</sup> " The author, on his mother's side, is of African descent. His great-grandfather, Abram Petrovich Annibal, in his eighth year was kidnapped from the shores of Africa and carried to Constantinople. The Russian Ambassador rescued him and sent him as a present to Peter the Great, who stood his godfather in baptism at Vilna . . ." (*Part of Pushkin's note*).

But we were quickly disunited  
By fortune, for some length of time.  
Just then, his father died. Approaching  
Were greedy regiments encroaching  
Of creditors, to face.—How shift?  
There are diversities of gift;  
He hated litigation dearly.  
And now, contented with his fate,  
He made them over his estate.  
Perhaps he would not lose severely;  
Perhaps he scented, well ahead,  
That his old uncle would be dead.

And so it was. The steward told him  
Quite suddenly, by letter, how  
His bedrid uncle would behold him  
Gladly, to take farewell. So now,  
The sad communication reading,  
Our friend, who travelled post, was speeding  
Hard to the interview. On chance  
Of money—yawning in advance—  
He made that careful preparation  
(With which my tale began) to lie,  
To suffer boredom, and to sigh;  
Flew to his village-destination;  
But uncle there *laid out* he found,  
Ripe for bestowal underground.

The servants thronged the court; up started  
From every side, to make their call,  
Friends, or unfriends, of the departed,  
All in full cry for funeral.  
So the deceased was buried duly;  
The job seemed finished well and truly  
By pope and guest who drank and fed,  
When off, all solemnly, they sped.  
Onegin, once of wasters sorest,  
Loather of order, now must fill  
His place as village lord of mill  
And soil, of waters and of forest.  
His former course of life he had  
Exchanged—for something, and was glad.



And yet the open country lonely,  
 The dusky oakwoods, cool and dim,  
 And quiet talking streamlet, only  
 For two whole days seemed new to him ;  
 And, by the third, lay all unheeded  
 Copse, field, and hill, they next succeeded  
 In sending him to sleep ; and next,  
 He was too plainly bored and vexed.  
 And yet in spite of rustication  
 Away from palace, street, and ball,  
 And cards, and poetry, and all.  
 —Just like a sentry keeping station,  
 The shadow, *hyp*, pursued his life ;  
 Or, like a too devoted wife.

To me, the quiet life is native,  
 The silent country ; buried here,  
 Far sooner flowers the dream creative,  
 The harp speaks louder and more clear.  
 My rule is *far niente*—note it ;  
 To harmless leisure all devoted  
 I range the solitary lake ;  
 On every morrow I awake  
 To freedom and sweet ease. Not reading  
 Greatly, I sleep my fill and rest.  
 Ephemeral fame is not my quest.  
 When I, in years gone by, was leading  
 This idle, tranquil life I praise,  
 Now, were not those my happiest days ?

Yes, flowers, and love, and country places,  
 And indolence, ye have my heart !  
 I like to notice that the cases,  
 Mine and Onegin's, are apart ;  
 So that no readers who are scoffers,  
 And no stray publisher, who proffers  
 His laboured web of calumny,  
 Spying herein some traits of *me*,  
 May next be ruthlessly reciting  
 How I, like Byron, bard of pride,  
 Daub my own portrait glorified ;  
 As though we never could be writing,

In poetry, of other men,  
But always paint ourselves again.

All poets (apropos) by nature  
Incline to amorous reverie ;  
I dreamed of many a charming creature  
Long since ; my soul in secrecy  
Preserved her image safe ; and, later,  
Arrived the Muse, to animate her.  
So I, light-hearted, of my young  
Ideal mountain-maiden sung,  
And of the captive ladies lying  
Beside the beaches of Salgir.  
Your question, friends, I often hear,  
“ Tell us, for whom thy harp is sighing ?  
Of all these jealous maids who throng,  
To which dost consecrate thy song ?

“ Whose gaze hath stirred thy inspiration ?  
Whose loving-kindness doth repay  
The music of thy meditation ?  
What goddess is thy theme today ? ”  
—No woman, none, my friends, I swear it ;  
Love’s wild distress—I had to bear it ;  
No consolation has been mine.  
Blest he, who can with love combine  
The rhymer’s fever, and redouble  
The poet’s sacred frenzy ;—so  
In Petrarch’s footsteps he may go  
And pacify his pangs and trouble.  
And snatch, in passing, some repute ;  
Whilst I, in love, was dulled and mute.

Love fled ; then dawned the Muse, to carry  
Light to my spirit’s gloom profound.  
Now freed, I seek once more to marry  
Feeling and thought to witching sound  
I write, with soul no longer pining,  
Nor is my heedless pen designing  
By marge of stanzas incomplete  
The heads of women, or their feet.  
No spark flares now, the ash is dying ;

No more I weep, though still I smart;  
 Soon, soon to silence will be flying,  
 Traceless, the tempest in my heart;  
 And then will I commence a song  
 Full five-and-twenty cantos long.

Long on my hero's name I brooded,  
 On how to shape my plot and style;  
 And now behold, I have concluded  
 The story's Chapter One, meanwhile.  
 Severely have I scanned my fictions;  
 Abound they may in contradictions,  
 —I care not to correct them; nay,  
 To censorship my dues will pay,  
 Give fruits of toil and preparation  
 For journalists to browse upon.  
 To Neva's shore now get thee gone,  
 My youngest, latest-born creation,  
 And earn for me the wage of fame,  
 —Clamour, and crooked words, and blame!

## RUSSIAN POLITICAL VERSE (ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION)

*Translated from the Russian by* BERNARD PARES

In September, 1915, when a movement, both Ministerial and Parliamentary, was well on the way to turn Russia into a constitutional country, the Empress intervened and obtained a reassertion, for the time successful, of the principle of autocracy. The Ministers addressed a joint letter to the sovereign asking for the supercession of the entirely obsolete Prime Minister, a man of seventy-five and a reactionary, Goremykin (Mr. Woebegone). He remained, and they were, one after the other, dismissed. It was this action of the Empress that converted a very promising reform movement into a movement of revolution, and the intervening period before March, 1917, was one of ever deepening gloom, dominated by the shadow of Rasputin, the "black cardinal" behind the throne, during which every effort to bring the monarchy into touch with the people failed successively. This period was peculiarly productive of clever political verses circulated in manuscript, of which the best known

are here published in English translation. *The Stormers* was written by V. M. Purishkevich, and the others are attributed to a delightfully witty cavalry officer, V. P. Myatlev.

### THE WOEBEGONE CABINET.<sup>1</sup>

(Autumn, 1915)

This skit is a series of puns, to which the Russian language particularly lends itself, on the names of the Russian Ministers of the moment.

In lack of system there's a system,  
And I'm prepared to show you how :  
Though even with verses to assist 'em,  
In such ideas there's danger now.

The very thought of progress<sup>2</sup> banish ;  
Those forward steps you'll never see.  
So if our woes are not to vanish,  
Then Woebegone should Premier be.

Drag by the tail, as serves occasion,  
Your citizens, your judges too.  
And that your Tails in combination  
(The uncle and the nephew) do.<sup>3</sup>

The sweep of spiritual endeavour  
No longer must the flesh besmirk ;  
Then surely the idea was clever  
To run our Volga<sup>4</sup> through the church.

To disengage a railway junction,  
You only need to give a shake ;

<sup>1</sup> The name of the Prime Minister, Goremykin, means Woebegone.

<sup>2</sup> The name of the Russian parliament, Duma, means thought or thinking place. At this time the great majority of its members, conservatives and liberals, were banded together in what was called the Progressive Bloc.

<sup>3</sup> The Minister of the Interior with control of the police (your citizens) and the Minister of Justice (your judges) were respectively nephew and uncle. Their name was Hvostov, which means "tail," and this was the Empress's name for the nephew in her letters in English to her husband. The nephew was the most unprincipled adventurer. The uncle was, as a matter of fact, not only entirely honest, but a most competent minister, and very much disapproved of the appointment of his nephew.

<sup>4</sup> The Minister of Religion, Volzhin ("man of the Volga") was more or less harmless, and was soon replaced at the behest of Rasputin.

And so for such a simple function,  
 Why, Shaker<sup>5</sup> is the man to take.

Suppose your stock of money's failing,  
 Then postage stamps will help you out ;  
 And on a Bark<sup>6</sup> you'll still go sailing  
 Suppose there's not a ship about.

Then Agriculture : well, what of it ?  
 We known that corn won't grow on Clay :<sup>7</sup>  
 Of course with Clay we should not profit,  
 But say, will Nahum humbug ? Nay.

And so a choice symbolic ranges  
 Each time a Minister is made,  
 And now the point of all these changes  
 I'll whisper, if you aren't afraid.

We see no end to dissolution,  
 The future's grey with clouds, you'll own ;  
 So by our curious constitution  
 The Dissolute must rule alone.<sup>8</sup>

### OUR MOODS

(Early 1916)

These verses I have included not because of their merits, but because they are a perfectly true picture of Petrograd higher society during the war ; it was rotten to the core.—B.P.

We do not take defeat amiss,  
 And victory gives us no delight ;  
 The source of all our cares is this :  
 Can we get vodka for tonight.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Shaker, in Russian Trepov, was a member of a well-known family. He was a thorough patriot and a strong conservative. He took a courageous line against Rasputin, who ultimately secured his dismissal.

<sup>6</sup> Peter (now Sir Peter) Bark, who introduced stamp money, had charge of the Ministry of Finance, and was a very able administrator. There was an intrigue of Rasputin's to secure his dismissal, which was not successful.

<sup>7</sup> The choice for Minister of Agriculture had lain between Glnka, which means clay, and Naumov. Nahum is a Russian Christian name derived from the Hebrew Prophet.

<sup>8</sup> The word for dissolution is *rasputie*, and the name Rasputin means " the Dissolute."

<sup>9</sup> An allusion to the prohibition edict of the Tsar.

The victories we can do without.  
 No ! Peace and quiet is our line,  
 Intrigues and scandal, evenings out  
 Trimmed up with women and with wine.

We only want to know, next day  
 What Ministers will be on view,  
 Or who takes who to see the play,  
 Or who at Cuba's sat next who :

Has Vyrubova had to go ?  
 Or can Kuvaka<sup>10</sup> give you joy  
 Or how the Germans knead their dough,  
 Or why on earth there's Shakhovskoy.<sup>11</sup>

And does Rasputin still prevail,  
 Or do we need another saint,  
 And is Kshesinskaya<sup>12</sup> quite well,  
 And how that feast at Shubin's went :

If the Grand Duke took Dina home,  
 What kind of luck MacDiddie's had :—  
 Oh, if a Zeppelin would come,  
 And smash the whole of Petrograd.

#### ON THE APPOINTMENT OF STÜRMER AS FOREIGN MINISTER (July, 1916)

This skit was written in July, 1916, when Sazonov was dismissed from the Foreign Office and replaced by Stürmer, who was already Prime Minister. Stürmer had a peculiarly bad record, as is testified by those who have given their opinion of him, for instance, his fellow ministers, or the French Ambassador, M. Paléologue, who spoke of him with nothing but contempt, a feeling which the translator, who also knew him, fully shared. He was entirely a puppet of Rasputin, and was almost uniformly ambiguous and untruthful.

<sup>10</sup> Natural waters which their owner, Voeykov, the Commandant of the Palace, tried to make the most of, profiting by the prohibition edict.

<sup>11</sup> An entirely unexpected and inappropriate appointment to the Ministry of Trade, supported by Rasputin.

<sup>12</sup> Mistress of the Grand Duke Sergius, Inspector-General of the Artillery, who took an active part in the work of his department.

His German name gave the public the impression that he was about to make a separate peace with Germany. That supposition had no basis in fact, but the Empress, who was quite wrongly believed to be pro-German, and Rasputin, who was certainly dead against the war, discussed at one time whether the name should not be changed. The translation presented great difficulties, and a few liberties have been taken, but the sense has in no case been altered; some verses have been omitted.

Fresh comes Stürmer from the Palace  
In his diplomatic role,  
Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles !  
Russland, Russland, lebe wohl !

Friend of Russia's bold freemasons,  
Cursing Petrograd and all,  
See how Lord Sazonov hastens  
To his Finnish waterfall.<sup>13</sup>

" Stürmer, Stürmer, very shocking ! "  
Mutters Grey in far Hyde Park.  
" He may say he is Nashchokin,<sup>14</sup>  
I suspect he'll be Bismarck."

Not for nought he looks a villain,  
Fur as red as fox—the pup !  
And exactly like friend William,  
His moustachios twisted up.

<sup>13</sup> Sazonov, a close personal friend of the British Ambassador, Sir George Buchanan, was the most Liberal member in the Cabinet. His dismissal, a result of the insistence of the Empress, was communicated to him after he had just returned from a particularly satisfactory audience with the Emperor, in which the latter had approved of his solution of the grant of autonomy to Poland. Sazonov was at the time taking a rest in Finland. Both the British and French Ambassadors jointly laid a respectful plea before the Emperor to recall Sazonov, which had no effect. Sir George Buchanan then asked the Emperor to approve of the granting of an English G.C.B. in view of Sazonov's great services to the friendship and alliance of Great Britain and Russia during his long tenure of office. This was approved by Nicholas II, but a notice of it to the press, communicated by the Ambassador, was stopped by the censorship, and there appeared at the same time a scurrilous article on the King of England, written in apparent collusion with Stürmer, which the censorship let pass. Sir George Buchanan visited Stürmer and insisted on the writer coming to the British Embassy to apologise, which was done. There is a slight reference to this incident in the title " Lord " Sazonov.

<sup>14</sup> Stürmer, wishing to lull the Liberals, tried to trace a resemblance between himself and Ordyn-Naschokin, the greatest Liberal Minister of Russian history under the " gentlest of Tsars," Alexis, father of Peter the Great (1645-1676).

As he dines with dames of fashion :

“ Ah, the future’s full of fog,”

Ruminates in deep depression

Our poor Monsieur Paléologue.<sup>15</sup>

“ Seems as if our work is undone :

New appointments—very strange.”

So Buchanan writes to London

On the Ministerial change.

“ Shall we run upon the shallows ?

Does it sound our friendship’s knell ?

Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles !

England, England, fare thee well ! ”

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And when ends our warfare Punic,<sup>16</sup>

Nesselrode, Kotzebue,

Biren, Ostermann and Munich,<sup>17</sup>

Just as if they lived anew,

In their graves will shake with malice,

And above the bells will toll :

Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles !

Russland, Russland, lebe wohl !

### THE STORMERS<sup>18</sup>

On the appointment of the respected A. D. Protopopov

This skit was written by Purishkevich, and copied down by a friend in the Duma. In one of his speeches there he gave a biting description of the “ Ministerial leapfrog.” It was Purishkevich who later fired the shots which actually killed Rasputin.

The “ Stormer ” period still goes on,

The pace it goes is simply mad ;

Whatever else we lack, there’s none

Could count the Ministers we’ve had.

<sup>15</sup> M. Paléologue, French Ambassador to the Tsar during the War, who later published a striking “ diary ” of his term of office. There are frequent references in it to his social contacts with higher Russian society.

<sup>16</sup> In the Russian : “ And when he (Stürmer) signs a (separate) peace.”

<sup>17</sup> Names of German Ministers or favourites who ruled Russia under unpopular or reactionary Russian sovereigns.

<sup>18</sup> A pun on Sturmer, the worst Prime Minister of this period, whose appointment in February, 1916, was a complete surprise. He was still Prime Minister when Protopopov was appointed Minister of the Interior in September, 1916.



The order of our State is sage ;  
 It's founded on a solid plan :  
 Portfolios<sup>19</sup> are now the rage,  
 And they who want to get them can.  
 They've just to make their bow, you see ;  
 No programme needed—that's all right :  
 Some talkative, like Bobrinsky,<sup>20</sup>  
 And some that keep the mouth shut tight.  
 They come, they sniff the dainty spread,  
 But never reach the feast, alack !  
 Then, cursing all in terms illbred,<sup>21</sup>  
 They turn and leave the beaten track.  
 There's scarce a day but " one in grey " <sup>22</sup>  
 Drives up to the Fontanka's<sup>23</sup> side ;  
 Again you hear the couriers say :  
 " Here, take these things away to hide."  
 With flashing folds of uniforms,  
 With stars and crosses in a shower,  
 Demure officials come in swarms  
 To hail the idols of the hour.  
 But, well received, they grow more bold,  
 And scratch their heads and whisper low ;  
 " I don't suppose that *he* will hold ;  
 About a month—and off he'll go."  
 A bird of passage ! Look around—  
 The gossip of the town is new ;  
 You'll see your Minister uncrowned  
 Within a month—or rarely two.  
 By minutes now we count their term ;  
 They go, and leave a sulphurous smell ;  
 Only Rasputin still holds firm—  
 And long-maned Pitirim<sup>24</sup> as well.

<sup>19</sup> i.e. Ministerial posts.

<sup>20</sup> A very incapable Minister of Agriculture.

<sup>21</sup> Original : " in Russian " which here has the same meaning.

<sup>22</sup> A vague and unknown figure in Leonid Andreyev's play *The Life of a Man*.

<sup>23</sup> A canal in St. Petersburg close to several Ministries.

<sup>24</sup> An entirely subservient puppet of Rasputin, whom he was able to make Metropolitan of St. Petersburg and head of the Russian Church.

PRETTY POLLY SEES TO IT  
(PROTO POPKA VEDAYET)

Protopopov, the last of the Imperial Ministers of the Interior, was actually responsible for bringing the revolution to a head. He was earlier vice-president of the Duma and an Octobrist (or moderate reformer). He owed his appointment solely to a complete change of front and the special favour of Rasputin, who had "doctored" him some years before against the beginnings of creeping paralysis. He was a soapy-mannered man, anxious before all things to please everybody, and his appointment was regarded in the Duma and in the public as an extremely bad joke.

This skit is much the best of the series. It is as word-perfect as C. L. Graves' pæan in *Punch* dedicated to Sir Percy Bunting and Sir Jesse Boot. But it almost defies translation. The original in Russian is: Pro to popka vedayet, "Polly knows about that"—quite untranslatable. But I have done the best I can with it. The last two lines simply dictated themselves in English; and one had to face the finding of five trisyllable and five dissyllable rhymes, with a choice of perhaps twenty English possibilities as compared with two hundred or more in Russian. Lastly, the rhythm is a four-syllable one and not a two-syllable; this is quite familiar in Russian. The whole manner of this skit demands that this rhythm should be retained as far as possible.

Premier Trepov<sup>25</sup> keeps a bird,  
Pretty politician,  
Listening to every word  
Of the Opposition.  
Who says he agrees to it,  
Who says he'll oppose it;  
Pretty Polly sees to it,  
Pretty Polly knows it.

Times are so inferior,  
Every one grows thinner.  
That concerns Interior<sup>26</sup>—  
What we'll get for dinner.

<sup>25</sup> Trepov was temporarily Prime Minister. An honest patriot, but without the confidence of the sovereign.

<sup>26</sup> Protopopov, under the direct orders of Rasputin, conveyed through the Empress, had the question of food supply transferred from the Ministry of Agriculture to the Ministry of the Interior, of which he was at the head. He had no plan whatsoever, and a food stoppage was the result.

Who has beef with peas to it,  
 Who goes short, and shows it.  
 Pretty Polly sees to it,  
 Pretty Polly knows it.

Too much for our puny forms,  
 Posing as dictator;  
 Profiteering uniforms  
 Pays a good deal better.<sup>27</sup>  
 Make your man say " Please " to it;  
 Make him pay : he owes it.  
 Pretty Polly sees to it,  
 Pretty Polly knows it.

You have full facilities  
 In our strange conditions,  
 Trader with abilities  
 Less than your ambitions.  
 Show the pie, he'll freeze to it;  
 That's how you'll dispose it.  
 Pretty Polly sees to it,  
 Pretty Polly knows it.

What's our state authority  
 Though there's plenty of it?  
 Much superiority—  
 Precious little profit.  
 Grisha<sup>28</sup> bends his knees to it,  
 Annie<sup>29</sup> asks : " How goes it ? "  
 Pretty Polly sees to it,  
 Pretty Polly knows it.

Sow as you know how ; and then,  
 Crops will come, and pay too.  
 Keep your secret : now and then,  
 Bow the other way too.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Protopopov was a cloth merchant.

<sup>28</sup> Grisha is short for Gregory, that is Rasputin.

<sup>29</sup> Annie is Anna Vyrubova, the regular medium of communication between Rasputin and the Empress

<sup>30</sup> i.e. to the Opposition, of which Protopopov had formerly been a member.

Then, some sharp decrees to it !<sup>31</sup>  
 That will soon disclose it.  
 Pretty Polly sees to it,  
 Pretty Polly knows it.

## DOWN AND OUT

*Translated from the Finnish of JUHANI AHO by N. B. JOPSON*

WE were staying last summer, my painter friend and I, in a farmhouse in Northern Savolax. The house, a good league away from the village, was in a lovely spot at the sharp end of a lake. My friend had come to sketch, while I for the most part lazed on the grass, lying full stretch near him, book in hand, and often enough dozing the time away.

Ours was the blissful and carefree existence of artists, content to have inspirations in plenty and conviction in our ability to reproduce them on canvas

The people of the house were kind and cheery; our host was communicative, easy-going, though a bit inclined to be boastful, and the daughters were smart and lively enough. The wife was a pleasant woman from Savolax with a gentle expression and delicate features; she unobtrusively looked after everything and gave the impression of running the household on her own. After bath and supper we often sat in the big living room or on the stairs, chatting cheerily with the entire family till midnight.

But there was one other person in the house who never took any share in the general conversation and did not seem to fit in properly with the household. He was a tall, thin man, middle-aged and dark complexioned, with eyes deep set in his head and with a shock of long, untidy hair. Although he sat at the common table and cut from the same loaf as the others, yet he had a butter dish and a milk jug for his own special use. If we sat in the living room he would sit on the lobby stairs, and when any one else went into the lobby he would retreat up the ladder, and from there, with his pipe between his teeth, he would gaze out on to the lake, practically motionless. He was nearly always puffing away, and no sooner had he smoked one pipe to the dottle, than he scraped it out and thrust a fresh fill in. He hardly did anything else. We never saw him ordered off to any work, either to the fields or into the forest.

<sup>31</sup> Protopopov was in favour of dissolving the Duma and governing by decrees, and the Emperor had already had a decree of dissolution drafted for him.

He would sit for hours at a stretch with his rod, and now and again he seemed to busy himself with the nets. In addition, he fetched the newspapers twice a week from the village shopkeeper, an expedition which regularly occupied him the whole day. On such occasions he always came back with a chewed cigar stump between his teeth, which he would stuff into his pipe and smoke. He read the papers on the way back, sitting at the edge of the road, and on our walks it was there we sometimes met him immersed in his reading.

At first he avoided us and turned his head away when we met. But later, when he began to bring us our papers (in return for which we always offered him a cigar), he became tamer. Cigars seemed to be his weakness, for even if he had only just filled his pipe he would at once thrust it into his pocket and instead light up the cigar.

Later on, if we settled down near the edge of a field or a meadow or a handy wood, he would follow us, at first holding aloof, but gradually edging nearer until from his seat on some rock or stub he could get a glimpse of our painting. He seemed to be so enthralled in the progress of the picture that he forgot to notice his pipe was out. I secretly had a good look at him, and I could see the tense animation in his usually apathetic features, as he interestedly compared the painting with the natural scene it depicted.

"Are you one of the people in the house?" I once asked him, when he was right behind us.

"No," he answered abstractedly.

"You are not a farm hand either, are you?"

"Farm hand? No, I am not."

As I could not ask: "What are you then?" and as he did not in the least disturb us, we let him be, and allowed him to go along with us, especially as, without being asked to do so, he carried our painting gear for us.

We concluded from his curtness that he might be some relation of the people in the house, and was perhaps somehow a little weak in the head.

Once when there was a favourable opportunity we enquired about him from our host.

"There is certainly nothing wrong with his headpiece, and he is no relation of ours. He was once a gentleman, but he has not been able to keep his head above water. His brother, who is an official in the town, came and asked us to put him up, and he has been living with us for some five years now. His old mother comes down with ten shillings a month for his keep, and the money comes direct to me through the post office. They give the fellow himself a bit of

pocket money for tobacco and clothes. But he swigs it all down right away, and so he has to be content with smoking home-raised stuff and going about in clodhopper's clothes. We have had the most rigid instructions not to give him any strong drink or, indeed, let him have anything but coffee."

"Do you know what he used to be?"

"No, and it won't be in his birth certificate either. Once, when he was tipsy, he is supposed to have boasted to the womenfolk that he didn't always look as he does now, but that he had done a deal of travelling about in the world and had visited the capitals of many big countries, and could have been a distinguished man if he had not met with difficulties. If he comes home with a head he gives us a lot of bother, but when he is himself again he is quiet and as chary of his words as ever; and so we keep him on with us readily enough."

"Does he do anything?"

"No real work, except for a bit of fishing in summer and snaring hares in winter. Sometimes, when there is a snowstorm on, he claps a fur coat on him and goes out to the stack there to chop up wood for the stove or to cut up some fir sprigs behind the stables. It must be work he likes, because nobody puts any compulsion on him to do it."

We asked how else he passed his time.

"In the winter months he gets books out of the lending library and reads them. And when they are finished as likely as not he will sit day in, day out, with his head on one side and suck at his pipe, just as you have seen him. He doesn't utter a word and never lets on what he is brooding over."

"The first year he was here, he brought some paper over from the shopkeeper and made some pictures of houses and trees and people with a soot quill," said the housewife, who had come up in the meantime.

"Oh, that would be some idle occupation, when he was feeling slack," our host replied in an off-hand way.

But my friend had grown curious and asked if he might see them.

"Why, we haven't stored them up, but I suppose they may be lying about somewhere in the girls' hiding-places. In one of his jovial moods he made them a present of the pictures and boasted that he had given them things worth several pounds. But, of course, that was the booze talking."

The housewife, however, got the girls to rummage through the drawers, and they found in them various sheets of paper on which a trained hand had drawn in charcoal the interior of a room with a

person spinning at a loom by the window. The woman bending over the spinning was very like a back view of the eldest daughter of the house. On the second sheet he had begun to draw a horse drinking water out of a bucket, which a groom was pressing with his foot against the well kerb. The third sheet was not even half finished, but one could make out that the draughtsman had tried to portray a cattle enclosure with some cows near a smoke fire.

"Why, the fellow is an artist!" my friend exclaimed. "Just look how characteristically the girl is drawn, and how well done the horse is. It is a very mature sketch. Now I begin to understand him."

So the strange man and his interest in painting began to be clearer to us. I could not understand the air with which he had followed my friend's work and compared his painting with the natural scene. I felt a desire to know him better and to learn more particulars of his life.

But next morning we vainly waited for him to join us, although my friend had just begun a large new picture right at the edge of the farm. He was coming back from his angling, but when he caught sight of us he did not slip into the usual landing place, but made fast further up the headland, and turned into the farmyard a field's distance off.

He did not come down the whole of that day, and when he ran into us later on the stairs, he avoided our gaze, and hardly acknowledged our greeting. We heard afterwards that the girls had told him we had seen his sketches and he had at once demanded them back and had probably burnt them.

We should very likely have gone away with no further knowledge of this mysterious character, who continued, however, to arouse our curiosity, had it not been for a pure chance which gave the key to the secret.

On Midsummer Eve a bonfire had been made ready on a moor behind the farm with the help of a tar boat that we had bought and an old tar barrel our host had given us. As it also happened to be my friend's birthday, we decided to treat the older men to some toddy and to entertain the younger ones with beer and the women-folk with lemonade and sweetmeats. While we were getting things ready our queer friend was in the farmyard, less shy and aloof than usual, so we thought. As we were moving off in a body after the communal bath, he turned up, and so I asked him if he would like to join us and drink a glass of toddy along with the rest of us.

He accepted, obviously delighted in spite of a certain reluctance

and doubtfulness, and he offered to help the boy to carry up the baskets of beer. When we reached our destination and were setting out the different drinks on the side of a large stone by the hill slope, he and the young men set about putting the finishing touches to the bonfire. With a big load of dead branches on his shoulders he passed us now and again, flung his burden with a crash to the ground, and was off once more into the forest by the way he had come to fetch more fuel. But as soon as we invited him to help himself to some toddy, he joined our party smartly enough and sat down in the little circle made by ourselves, the master of the house and a few other gentlemen farmers of the district.

His hand trembled visibly as he poured water into his glass, and his fingers were twisted as though with cramp when he felt in the basin for the sugar, and it was only with great difficulty that he managed at length to drop a few lumps into his glass.

It was obviously a long time since he had had the chance of a toddy. We touched glasses with him as a matter of course, and continued our talk about the weather and the crops without any embarrassment. In the meantime he sipped busily at his glass and pulled ardently at his cigarette, which he smoked down to the cotton mouthpiece, and at once lit up another, self-invited.

Suddenly he asked: "How about setting the bonfire alight?" By now he was looking us straight in the eyes, and the heavy inflexible expression of his features was somewhat more animated. They had a gleam almost of joy in them, and the usual timidity had disappeared from his face. After we had called the lads up to light the bonfire, he grasped his glass and with uncalled-for solemnity said: "Permit me to drink to your health, gentlemen . . . . though we have not yet been introduced . . . my name is Forsberg."

We replied to the toast, and in one long draught he drained his glass half-way.

We all got up to see the bonfire lighted. Forsberg advised the boys to set it on fire from all sides at once. "It will blaze up properly, then," he said. We made a circle round the flames crackling and leaping up from various directions towards the top of a pine tree, which had been set on end to give the fire some backbone. When they reached the top they met with a great roar and a crackling, and with long tongues licked the still air.

The youngsters yelled hurray, and fed the flames with brushwood as soon as the first burst of flame was over.

Meanwhile, I was looking closely at Forsberg, who had stayed



behind to gaze at the fire and was now close to me. There he stood with his legs wide apart and his hands in his trouser pockets. His hat was over one ear and he had a dead cigarette in the corner of his mouth. In his eyes there was a rapt look which was reminiscent of that often seen on the faces of painters when they are considering the suitability of a subject. Suddenly he threw his hand out, pointed to the line of the sky and the fire, and said to me :—

“ That’s a magnificent effect.”

“ It is, indeed,” I replied, rather taken aback.

“ That sky there—look how dark it is now, and the transition to the brighter bit a little further on—and the red cheeks of the girl there and the blue apron, how they sparkle—why, it is magnificent—and, look, the light in the sky is winning again away over there.”

“ Yes,” I said, having nothing better to reply, and I could not any longer keep from asking :

“ Are you a painter? ”

‘ I have done some painting.’

“ Don’t you do any now? ”

He did not reply to that, but remained standing in the same position. Now and then his face twitched for no apparent reason, and I had a feeling that he was trembling. The toddy was obviously beginning to go to his head.

“ And now for a toast all together—drink up, you boys and girls, there is beer and lemonade—and then for the dancing,” my friend was calling out further away.

The crowd split up into different groups, some for the swings and others for the dancing. Drinks in hand, the local farmers moved off, nearer to the bonfire, while we three gathered closer round our glasses. And when we invited him, Forsberg joined our party with alacrity.

“ I have heard that you have done some painting,” said my friend, when we had all filled up our glasses. Our guest did his duty with heart and soul by his own glass, filling it more than half full with brandy and then taking a great gulp without waiting for the sugar to melt.

“ I haven’t done any painting for many years now.”

“ But you sketch, don’t you? ”

He did not answer, but took another drink from his glass and inhaled his cigarette deeply.

“ Aren’t you the Forsberg who had two pictures in the Athenæum? ”

"Yes, there will be two of my things there. But they're no good." . . . "May I ask if you studied at Düsseldorf?"

"No, I have only been in Paris."

"Yes, I could see that from your way of sketching. They all go there nowadays, but there used to be some painting done in Düsseldorf. That was where Holmberg painted."

"Did you know him?"

"I should think so, sitting as we did in the same pub every evening. He was a genius," Forsberg said with a shout, as though he felt a need to give vent to his emotions. "You young Paris painters have not discovered the knack of understanding Nature in the same way Holmberg could. You haven't any idealism, no idealism, and that is what is wanted in art, idealism. Just look at that summer night!"

"Then why didn't you go on with it?" asked my friend with a tinge of satire in his voice.

"I am not speaking of myself or of you, I am speaking of those great masters—but what do individuals matter? They die, but art goes on living—long live art—art is something sacred and noble. I drink to Finland's art."

He clutched hold of his glass with a great sweep of his arm. The blood was beginning to rise more and more to his head, his eyes were burning and his forehead was getting as clouded as his mind and his words. We looked at him with curiosity.

"Have you any more tobacco? Thanks. I beg your pardon, but I am so devilishly glad to meet art friends. Why ever didn't you study in Düsseldorf? Never mind though! I feel as if we were old friends. Auch ich bin in Arkadien geboren! Yes, yes, but me, I'm only a down-and-out."

"How can you be so sure of that? You are too much of a pessimist."

"I can't be sure, and others can't either, but you hear it said and repeated and believed that so-and-so is a down-and-out . . . though it all depends on circumstances and on whether a man has luck. You are all so practical nowadays, but—I tell you that I'll show you all something yet. Just give me some paints and canvas to-morrow, and I . . ."

"With the greatest of pleasure."

"Yes, yes, I know, you all say that. You've got a good technique, and that is my weak point, but technique isn't everything. Holmberg used to say that I had a good sense of colour. Excuse me for boasting about myself. Those pictures of mine in the Athenæum

are no good—tripe—but I have long had a good idea or even two simmering—a bright summer night like this, with a bonfire blazing and people round it. A fight between the fire and the brightness of the summer night, do you understand—or don't you? No, you don't, and I can't talk. To the devil with everything! Your health, gentlemen!"

There was a bitter look about him, but he softened when my friend agreed that his views were thoroughly sound. His eyes began to water, and he started off again, this time partly to himself.

"Such a night, a wonderful Northern midsummer night! What a season, what a season! Why hasn't it been painted? And the rushes over there—and that hut on the far side of the lake—and the haze creeping up along the banks—and the fisherman at the edge of the reeds—and the tinkle of the bells on the cattle—but that doesn't go with it—yet why shouldn't it? The picture ought to be painted so well that you could fancy you heard the cowbells, and every other sound—yes, every other sound—what does Topelius say about the brightness of midsummer in the North—'They have painted the sun and the moon in all portions of the sky'—yes, in the sky—but the brightness of the summer night when there are no shadows, but only light comes—I don't remember—I haven't got the guts—or the technique."

He tried to collect his straying thoughts with a gulp of the brandy, but clearly he could not get out what he meant to say.

"Well, never mind, your health, I can't . . ."

"There's no knowing, perhaps things might be all right if you were to try, eh?"

"What do you say? It's no good—you know that all right. I can see in your eyes you're only saying that for something to say, but I don't need any pity from you, even though I haven't made good. I loathe it all, do you hear? If you have any brandy left, pass it over."

Our host came up just then to help himself to another glass, and said half in joke:

"He oughtn't to be given any more."

It had been queer to see how the painter's face had changed as his emotions and moods varied. With the first gulps he had taken, or rather with the certainty that he could have a skinful, his mind had been released from its usual inhibitions. He had gradually become bolder in his language, and he had seemed to be trying to get out what he had long kept down. Who knows after how long the artistic instinct was again reviving in him, thawing out his

hopes and making his eyes water as he spoke of his inmost thoughts. For a moment he had control of himself, but he immediately became muddled again, and his confidence broke and changed into bitterness. And at the very worst moment the master of the house had come to remind him of actuality. Rancour flashed out like lightning from his eyes, and his mouth puckered malevolently.

"What are you doing here? Clear out," he shouted.

"Well, well now. I'm invited too, you know, that is, if these gentlemen wish for my company."

"Of course, of course. Sit down now, there's plenty of room for us all."

"I tell you," said Forsberg, "that you are behaving loutishly in intruding on our conversation. What has it got to do with you whether I drink or not?"

"Nothing at all, but why take offence at a joke, Forsberg?"

"It was no joke. An underhand fellow, that's what you are. You've been spying on me like a detective, asking in every village round about whether I've been drunk there again, and babbling to the shopkeepers and in the parish. Are you my guardian?"

"Who ever said that? I ask you, gentlemen, have you ever heard that I . . ."

"I know you and your swagger, stupid, sordid hound that you are."

"This is always his way of picking a quarrel, as you can see for yourselves, as soon as he gets a drop of drink inside him. He is supposed to have been a gentleman, but it must have been one of the down-and-out sort."

"You are a lout. I utterly despise you and turn my back on you."

"I am surprised, then, that your pride allows you to eat at the same table."

"I pay for my food, don't I?"

"*You* pay! Others pay for your keep—every penny that you get is swilled in drink."

"You're too stingy to drink."

And in this unedifying fashion their squabbling went on as the people gathered round them. Forsberg had filled his glass in the meantime with neat brandy, and he drank it down in one gulp. And the more he swilled and squabbled, the faster he dropped down to the level of his daily companions. Every trace of gentlemanliness deserted him, and in his language and gestures he behaved just like a common degenerate potman.

We were pained and bored with the quarrel and we tried to persuade him to come away, but that only made him turn on us. With all the bitterness of frustrated talent he began to abuse my friend.

"It is all very well for you with your connections and your friends and your money grants, but who in hell would pay for poor devils like me?" And then he forgot what he was saying and began to damn heaven and earth, including himself in the count.

"But, man . . . ."

"Let me be, out of my sight, damn you all. I'm a down-and-out, a real down-and-out, but I'll get my own back on the world, damned if I won't." And he dashed his empty glass into fragments against a stone. But when he began to send the other glasses along the same road, the servants laid hold of him, and then it came to a scuffle. He was out of breath and utterly exhausted with the rage he felt inside him, and as soon as he got a bit of a drubbing he tottered and fell full length on the moss.

He could not get up again, and after a little ineffectual struggling he dropped off to sleep.

We were distressed and felt sorry for him, and we were also disgusted at the behaviour of the local farm hands, who began to pick holes in him and tried to be clever at his expense.

With his clothes, or rather his rags, in disorder, and his scraggy chest all bare, he lay there, bald-pated and the corners of his mouth contracted like those of a corpse, sprawling on his back and breathing heavily, and his hat far away in a clump of juniper trees.

Meantime the sun was rising, and the first rays of Midsummer Day came to throw their unwanted light upon this pitiful scene.

He, too, had had ideals and yearnings, and we had just seen their star-like traces.

"Whenever I see a colleague who has come to grief as he has," said my friend dispiritedly, "I feel a prick of conscience, thinking that he might have pulled it off if only life had been good to him, and I wonder if he might not perhaps have gone much further under other circumstances than I and many others like me. His pictures, those, you remember, I once showed you, had originality of treatment, though, of course, they had their faults, as he himself allowed in his confused rigmarole. And besides, I always recall what Kivi thought. . . ."

We drove the youngsters away from him, and the rest of the party broke up and went off to the village. Then my friend took

off his overcoat and spread it over Forsberg as a protection against the morning chill.

"Let him sleep it off; to-morrow we must try to take him in hand, and perhaps we'll get him on his feet again."

But we did not see him next day, nor the day after. It was not till two days later that he returned to the farm, and then he sneaked round the back straight into the bathroom and went to bed there. He was wearing nothing but a shirt and trousers. He had pawned his cap and my friend's coat—so we learnt later—to a bootlegging innkeeper of the parish in exchange for gin.

## JUGOSLAV GYPSY FOLK TALES <sup>1</sup>

*Translated from the Serbo-Croat by FANNY FOSTER*

### A DEAD MAN PAYS BACK

A CERTAIN gypsy owed another gypsy 500 piastres, and while the creditor was away on a journey the debtor died, and so did not pay his debt.

When the creditor came home and learned that the debtor had died without paying his debt, he asked where his grave was, took a rod with him, and began to beat it.

A gypsy trader passed and asked why he was beating the grave, and he said:—

"I am beating this man in the grave because he owed me 500 piastres."

"Don't beat him," said the trader, "here are 500 piastres," and he drew out the money and gave it to him.

The creditor went home, but the dead gypsy rose from his grave, met the trader who had paid his debt, and—without explaining who he was—said to him:—

"You are a good fellow; let's go into the town and work together, and we shall make a great deal of money."

The trader agreed, and they went into the town and opened a butcher's shop. The vampire gypsy always sold the meat, and kept only the liver to eat for himself, because vampires are always particularly fond of liver.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Tihomir Djordjević is Professor of Ethnology in the University of Belgrade, and a leading authority on folklore and gypsy lore. The following stories have been translated from his collection *Ciganske Narodne Pričove* (Gypsy Folk Stories).

In that town lived a Pasha who had a daughter. She had often been married; but whoever married her invariably died the first night.

"Go and woo the Pasha's daughter to be your wife," said the vampire to his partner; but he—knowing what had always happened to the other husbands—answered that he did not dare, because he was afraid that what had befallen the other suitors would befall him.

"Don't be afraid," said the vampire, "I will get her for you, and nothing will happen to you," and he went on and wooed her.

When he had won her, he gave these instructions to his partner:—

"The first evening, do not on any account lie down with her; but stand at the door and tell her that you have forgotten the keys of the shop and that you must go back for them. Go away, and shut the girl in to spend the night alone."

The wedding was celebrated, and in the evening the gypsy did exactly as the vampire had told him, and remained alive.

The next day the husband and his partner took the girl and led her to the town from which the husband had come.

When they were half-way there, they sat down under an elm tree to rest, to wind up their partnership, and to divide the money they had made out of the business.

When they had divided it, the vampire said:—

"We also earned this maiden between us, so we must divide her, too," and he tied her to the elm tree to cut her in half.

He went back twenty paces, drew out his knife and rushed at the girl to cut her up, shouting, "Cast out what you have in your heart!"

She was so terrified that she vomited a serpent.

The vampire cut the serpent into bits and said to his partner:—

"I have taken my share—now the maiden is yours," and they went on.

When the vampire came to his grave, he said:—

"This is my home, I go in here. A pleasant journey to you!"

They begun to weep, but he said to them:—

"I belong to the other world—I only had leave from it for three years to repay the kindness of a man who paid a debt for me."

Then he gave his partner his own share of the money they had made, explained who he was, and vanished.

*(From a gypsy nail-maker in Aleksinac.)*

## HOW THE GYPSIES BECAME PLAYERS

ONCE upon a time God made a fiddle on St. Peter's shoulders

Not knowing that there was a fiddle on his shoulders, St. Peter went into an inn where there were many jolly people.

When they saw St. Peter with the fiddle, they called out "Play! play!" but he was frightened at their shouting and began to run away.

At the door the fiddle fell from his shoulders; he picked it up and went straight to God and asked him:—

"What does this mean, God?"

"I made it for you," answered God, "so that you might play to people when they were lively and put them in a good humour and prevent them from picking quarrels."

"If that is so, let there be more players."

"But who could there be?" asked God.

"Let there be the gypsies," answered St. Peter, "Let them amuse people, so that they may not shed blood when they drink and make merry."

"Let it be so," said God.

And so it was.

*(From a Vlach gypsy in Ripanj.)*

## GYPSY BEGGING

ONCE upon a time the gypsies built a church of stone and the Serbs built a church of cheese.

When the churches were ready they arranged to exchange them—the gypsies were to give the Serbs the stone church and the Serbs to give the gypsies the cheese church and five pence as a makeweight. The Serbs had no money, so they owed the gypsies the five pennies.

The gypsies immediately began to eat their church, until little by little they had eaten it all up; and that is why they have no church now.

The Serbs still owe the five pennies, and the gypsies are still asking for them, and that is why the Serbs have to give them alms.

*(From a gypsy nailmaker in Aleksinac)*



## THE FINGERS

ONCE upon a time the fingers of a hand held a conversation.

"Let us have dinner!" said the thumb.

"But what shall we eat?" said the first finger.

"We will eat what God has given us—bread and salt," said the middle finger.

But the fourth finger said:—

"Let's steal!"

"And I will tell of you!" said the little finger.

And at that they all fell on him and cut him in half, and so he remained the little one.

*(From a gypsy nailmaker in Aleksinac)*

## THE FROG MAIDEN

THERE was once a Pasha who had three sons. When they grew old enough to marry, he ordered that each of them should throw his staff into the air, and that each son should marry a daughter of the house on which his staff had fallen.

The eldest brother threw his staff; it landed on the house of a Pasha, and he married the Pasha's daughter.

The middle brother threw his, and it, too, landed on the house of a Pasha, and he married the Pasha's daughter.

When the youngest son threw his, it fell into the mud of a marsh. He waded into the marsh, drew out his staff, and started for home.

When he looked back, he saw a frog jumping along after him. He went on; but the frog still followed, so he dismounted from his horse, wrapped the frog in a towel, put in on his saddle and carried it home.

In the evening he put the frog into his room, and after supper he lay down to sleep.

When he woke up next day, he saw that not a single scrap of what had been left of the supper remained on the table; but instead of it stood freshly-made coffee ready to drink—and yet there was no one in the room.

He was astonished at this, and asked his mother to prepare him something else for supper. His mother did so; but again—when he woke up—he saw that none of the food was left; but that coffee was ready for him.

The third night he decided to keep watch, so after supper he lay down and pretended to be asleep.

In the night a *vila* came out of the frog's skin, and around her were forty maids who began to comb her hair.

Then the young man rose from the bed and took up the skin to throw into the fire; but the *vila* said :—

“Don't burn my skin—it will be bad for you.” However, he did not attend to her, and burnt it.

The next day he showed his father and mother what a wife he had won, and they invited him to bring her to supper.

To the father it was an indignity that his youngest son should have gained the most beautiful wife, so next day he summoned him and said :—

“Unless you can find me a water melon that will feed the whole army and yet remain whole, I shall kill you.”

The young man was downcast and went home. His wife asked him what was the matter, and he told her what his father had ordered.

“Go to the marsh where you found me,” she said, “and call my sister Pembeana—she will give you the water melon you need.”

He went to the marsh, and Pembeana gave him the water melon. He took it to his father, and his father fed the whole army with it; and yet the water melon remained whole, because a new slice grew as soon as one was cut out of it.

His father then told him to bring him a bunch of grapes that would feed his whole army and yet remain whole.

The young man again went home sorrowing; his wife asked what was the matter and he told her.

She told him to go to the marsh and call her middle sister, Fatmiana, and she would give him the bunch of grapes he needed.

The young man went to the marsh, called Fatmiana, and she gave him the right bunch to take to his father. The father fed the whole army with it, and still the bunch remained whole.

Then his father told him to fetch a new-born child that could talk directly it was born.

The young man was in despair, and told his wife what his father had ordered.

His wife told him to go to the marsh and ask Pembeana for the child which had just been born. He went, and Pembeana gave him her child to take to his father. The Pasha was amazed when he saw that the child could really talk, gave it back to his son,

and told him to bring him a man a span tall with a beard two spans long.

The young man told his wife, and she sent him to Pembeana to get the man he needed, for such was the father's order. Only, she told him, he must not look into the bearded man's eyes, because they were as heavy as a mill stone and, if ever he looked at anyone, that man would die at once. He must turn his back towards him to enable him to mount.

The young man went off and brought back the little man, and the moment the little man looked at the Pasha, the Pasha died.

When they had buried the Pasha the young man took his place, and then he prepared a wedding feast that lasted forty days and forty nights.

*(From a gypsy nail-maker in Aleksinac)*

## THE BULL

*Translated from the Russian by DORIS MUDIE and ELIZABETH HILL*

A PEASANT wanted to sell his bull, so he took it to the fair. A buyer comes up to him, strikes a bargain, pays a sum of money in advance and tells him to take the bull to a house over there. The peasant is leading the bull along the road when he meets a merchant.

"Hi, peasant," says the merchant, "Sell me your bull."

"Certainly, merchant." They strike a bargain and the merchant also pays some money in advance and tells him where he is to take the bull.

"Certainly," says the peasant, "I will take it there at once."

The peasant walked on further, leading the bull. A third man came along and again the peasant struck a bargain, took some money from him in advance and went down the road with him.

There he is, leading the bull along, when the two other buyers come up to him. One tries to lay hold of the bull he had bought and the other does the same. They could not settle the matter between them, so they took the matter to court.

While the merchants were pleading and laying their complaint before the judge, the peasant waited in the hall. A clerk ran out and said to him:

"If you will give me some money, I will show you how to win the case . . ."

"Please be so kind," said the peasant, "Be a father to me, I will pay you . . ."

"Very good," said the clerk, "Now listen. Whatever they ask you, first answer 'Well, what about it?' and after that, say 'What next!'"

The peasant was called before the judge :

"Peasant," he says, "did you sell a bull to this merchant?"

"Well, what about it?" says the peasant.

"And did you receive money for it?"

"What next!"

"And did you also sell it to this merchant?"

"Well, what about it?"

"And did you receive money for it?"

"What next!"

"Now did you sell it a third time and to this merchant?"

"Well, what about it?"

"And did you receive money for it?"

"What next!"

"Are you mad?" said the judge, "Clear out of the court! I'll have you locked up!"

"What next!" said the peasant.

No sooner was the peasant out of the court than the clerk came running behind him :

"Here, peasant, what about the money you promised me?"

"Well, what about it?"

"Come on, hand it over!"

"What next!"

And that is how the peasant had his own way.

## THE GERMAN MINORITY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA

[At the Czechoslovak elections of May, 1935, the Sudetian German People's Party (S.d.P.) won a great majority of the German votes. This article was written by one of its leading members in response to our request for a statement of its policy. It is followed by an article of Dr. Emil Sobota, containing a representative Czech view on the same problem. Neither writer saw the other's article before writing.—ED.]

SIXTEEN years have passed since the representatives of the Allied and Associate Powers assured the independence of the Czechoslovak Republic, and subjected the numerous nationalities of the new state to the Constitution, to the conditions of the Peace Treaties and to the Minority Treaty of St. Germain. The Czechoslovak Republic is, by the composition of its population, not a national state, but rather a "nationalities state"; of its 15,000,000 inhabitants almost three and a half millions are Germans. These latter live in 3,363 communes possessing a German minority and covering an area roughly equal to a quarter of the whole state. A quarter of the total population (23 per cent.) are Sudetian Germans, 5·6 per cent. Magyars, 3·5 per cent. Ruthenes, 1·3 per cent. Jews: and to these minorities Article 2 of the Minority Treaty, countersigned by the Allied and Associate Powers, solemnly guaranteed "full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Czechoslovakia without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion"

In "Memoire 3" to the Treaty of St. Germain it is further stated:—"The language of the minorities will be everywhere conceded. The right of any minority to have its own schools, judges and law courts will never be contested. The Czechs have no idea of oppressing the German population in schools, universities and technical schools. *The régime will be similar to that in Switzerland.*"

This complete equality was promised to the minorities of Czechoslovakia, and, moreover, it was declared at the foundation of the new state that they were indispensable to its existence. The Problem of Minorities in Czechoslovakia consists in the discrepancy between the rights solemnly guaranteed to the minorities by the Peace Treaty, the Minority Treaty and the Constitution, and the actual practice, under which deep inroads have been made into the political, cultural and economic rights of the minorities by way of

decree and administrative action. Despite all assertions to the contrary, the original share of the minorities in schools, in land and in official posts under the state, has steadily declined—a fact which not merely runs counter to the idea of Equal Rights and the promise to create a superior edition of Switzerland, but unhappily falls far short of existing conditions in Switzerland.

As the largest racial group, the Sudetian Germans<sup>1</sup> have lost most. According to the census of 1930 their number amounted to 3,318,445, living in a compact territory where they form 86 per cent. of the population. This predominantly German territory forms about one-third of the total area of the state. From 1918 till October, 1933, the Germans were split up among numerous parties, who fell into two main groups following an "activist" and a negative policy. Since 1926 the Activists collaborated in the Government and hoped by petty advantages to maintain the position of Germanism in the state. Their failures between 1926 and 1934 are proved by the vote of non-confidence passed upon them by the Sudetian Germans at the general election of 19 May, 1935. The influence of the Activist members of the Cabinet counts for so little, that the German population is hardly likely to be again satisfied with such representation. No less ineffective has been the attitude of the negative group, which was content to *criticise* the one-sided policy of the Czechs, without taking practical action. The unsuccessful attempts of both groups—each of them weakened by dissension within its own ranks—was leading to the political decay of the Sudetian Germans. At the same time, the Germans of the Republic found themselves more and more at a disadvantage as against the State, alike in the political, cultural and social sphere, so that in many respects conditions arose such as conflict not only with the spirit of the Treaties, but also with humane and democratic principles. In contrast with "Memoire 3" of the Peace Treaty the Czechoslovak Constitutional Law of 29 February, 1920, laid down that German shall only be allowed as the official language (Amtsprache) in districts where 20 per cent. of the population are Germans. The right to use the German language on an equal footing was thus made impossible in 194 judicial districts.

In cultural matters the Germans have also suffered serious loss, in violation of the Minority Treaty. The German University, by the law of 19 February, 1920, lost its historic name, its Observatory, its joint possession of the University archives, the insignia and other property. In respect of the filling of Chairs, money grants and accommodation, the position is positively humiliating for the oldest

German University. The disadvantageous position of the German students is specially marked. Of all state scholarships, only 5 per cent. are assigned to Germans, although their economic situation is much worse, in view of the acute distress in the German districts, than that of the Czechoslovak students. For instance, the state assigns a sum of 4,920,000 Kč. for social welfare among the students, and of this the due proportion for the Germans would be 1,250,000 : but in reality they receive 438,600 Kč., or only one-third of their just share. For sporting purposes 600,000 Kč. are given to Czechoslovak high school students, but the Germans only receive 25,000 Kč., or 125,000 less than is their due.

Today it is only possible to pass as mining engineer, veterinary surgeon or commercial student at Czech institutions, since corresponding German institutions do not exist or have been given up. Moreover, according to data published by the State Statistical Office from 1921 to 1934, the Sudetian Germans have lost 285 elementary and higher elementary schools (or a total of 1,053 classes in such schools) and 34 secondary schools and numerous specialised schools. Moreover, the support given by the state to other cultural institutions does not follow the proportion of population : for instance, the German theatres only received one-fifth of the subvention to which they are entitled.

In the German schools not only are the teachers subjected to pressure by the inspectors, but in their books and primers all national tendencies are eradicated. Schiller and the German classics are in bad odour with the censor, apart from the fact that many hundreds of books published in Germany are forbidden, and that the Germans of Bohemia are in danger of being cut off from the motherland. The state administration has gradually withdrawn a number of bureaucratic posts from German hands and filled them with Czechs although it is a matter of common knowledge that the German official is reliable, correct and incorruptible.

In the Ministries only 2 per cent. are Germans, and only  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. subordinate staff ; in the political administration only 10.4 per cent., on the railways 10 per cent., in the financial service only 1.5 per cent., although on a strict basis of population the Germans would be entitled to 23 per cent. of all state posts.

The military career is also closed to the Germans, though of every 100 soldiers 22 are German, and though, according to the admission of a Czech staff officer, these are of high quality and scrupulously fulfil all their duties towards the state. Of 9,517

officers only 1,930, or 5 per cent., are German. Yet a test as to the reliability of the German troops is provided by the fact that it was Germans who secured the failure of a "Putsch" of Czech Fascists in Brünn (Brno) and defended the state with their lives.

Today the Germans have about 44,000 state posts too few. Almost in every German town a Czech has been appointed Postmaster, Stationmaster, President of the Court or Customs or Finance Director: and many other German officials have been replaced by Czechs. This systematic reduction of the Germans to a lower political and cultural level, on the part of the state, is the one expression of the prevailing Czechoslovak state policy: the other is the deplorable spread of social and economic misery. In 1933 there were 602,000 unemployed in the Republic, but of these over 300,000, or roughly half, were to be found among the Sudetian Germans, who thus had as many unemployed as the whole of France. In 1934 and 1935 the position grew even worse and in certain districts it was not far off from famine. On an equitable division of labour, only about 150,000 Germans should be without work. The terrible figure of 300,000 is to be explained on the one hand by the industrial crisis, since whole branches of industry were transferred from German to Czech territory, but also by the permanent preference shown to the Czechs in state contracts and public works. Most public works in the German districts are given to Czech firms, and very often contractors come from remote Czech districts, with a consequent increase of costs. The local German firms are on y too often passed over, yet the burden of taxation is oppressive. Yet it is estimated that the Germans contribute more than one-third of the state revenue.

The economic and social distress is accentuated by the commercial policy of Czechoslovakia, which is often determined by political rather than business considerations. This applies especially to Germany, with whom economic relations are unsatisfactory, though trade with it is of the first importance. The difficulties of Czechoslovakia's economic policy are fully confirmed by the recent speeches of the Ministers most directly concerned, and especially of the Minister of Finance. The sad plight of the German industrial districts is commented upon as follows by a group of Czech intellectuals who had recently conducted an enquiry there:—"The economic conditions in these districts are positively catastrophic. Speedy help is essential, unless whole sections of the population are to be overcome by despair." (See *Prager Tagblatt*, 23 October, 1935.) Small wonder if in 1933 the German districts of Bohemia



showed the highest percentage of suicides in all Europe : between 1920 and 1930 no fewer than 20,000 Germans took their own lives.

In this dangerous social situation the Germans are especially liable to Bolshevik propaganda. Parallel with the political bolshevisation the Communists are conducting a revolutionary action under the cover of a struggle against Henlein. These tendencies are to some extent rendered easier by the friendly foreign policy now pursued by Czechoslovakia towards the Soviet Union. The rejection of all Bolshevik ideas by the Sudetian Germans is due to their clear perception that Bolshevism is not only an internal menace to the state, but that it seeks to make use of the Czechoslovak Republic as an outlet from the south-east towards middle and western Europe. This will probably soon be realised by a large section of the Czech people. The tendency was strengthened by the elections of 19 May, 1935, in which the parties friendly to Soviet Russia suffered losses, while the Conservative parties increased their strength.

Many outside observers may be surprised at the large number of votes obtained by the Sudetian German People's Party of Konrad Henlein at the parliamentary elections : for in the short space of 18 months it not only won the confidence of the Germans and obtained over 70 per cent. of all the German votes cast, but emerged from the elections as the strongest party in the state. This victory of Henlein, won by honest democratic methods, has its main significance in the fact that the old schism of the German parties into " active " and " negative " has been replaced by a new programme, which demands that all Germans should loyally recognise the state and as a solid unit should set themselves to win by legal methods that equality of rights which is solemnly guaranteed by the Constitution and the Treaties to all citizens.

Henlein desires the establishment of equal rights between civilised peoples, a peaceful settlement between all the nationalities of the state, and the full enforcement of equal rights for all citizens. At the same time he has pointed out to the state those sources of error in its home and foreign policy which are responsible for the question of nationalities being still unsolved. Today the Sudetian Germans are not represented by the two German Ministers in the Cabinet, against whose parties a majority of the German people voted, but by the party of Konrad Henlein, which upholds the view that national loyalty (*Volkstreue*) in no way conflicts with state loyalty (*Staatstreue*), and that the principles laid down in the Constitution, in the Peace Treaties and in the Minority Treaties

are capable of practical fulfilment for all citizens without distinction. The consolidation of the Republic can only be achieved through a settlement of the question of nationalities.

Henlein declared in his great speech at Leipa on 21 October, 1934: "It is for us a question of the union of the Germans in the state, and of their establishment as a necessary loyal and constructive element (*staatserhaltendes und aufbauendes Element*), and at the same time of the vindication of our national rights." In his speech at Teplitz on 20 October, 1935, he defined his attitude to foreign policy in the sense, that the aim of Central European policy could be neither revision nor anti-revision, neither the effort to set up frontiers nor to alter frontiers, but exclusively the endeavour to put an end to a situation in which frontiers are a dividing wall between the nations. In this sense Henlein desires a loyal understanding with the Czech and Slovak people and with other minorities of the state, and a good relation with all neighbouring states in the interests of peace.

Only if the principles of full equality for all nationalities can be practically enforced and if the present political, legal, cultural and social neglect of the Sudetian Germans, and of the other minorities of the Czechoslovak Republic can be remedied, will the Czechoslovak State really become consolidated. Unless this should be done, all attempts to conclude a Danubian Pact are vain, because the vital problem underlying any Danubian Pact is a just solution of the minority problems in that area. It is not possible permanently to stand at Geneva for the equal rights of all European nations and states on the basis of the League of Nations, and to plead for true democracy, and at the same time at home to prevent the equal rights of the nationalities by various measures. It is to be hoped that in the long run the statesmen of Czechoslovakia will recognise that a genuine appeasement among the nationalities of the Republic offers the best means towards a permanent consolidation of the states and therefore towards peace in Central Europe.

A GERMAN BOHEMIAN DEPUTY.

## CZECHS AND GERMANS: A CZECH VIEW

It is not without interest to observe that new efforts are being made to rehabilitate the policy adopted by the former Habsburg Monarchy towards its nationalities and the manner in which it adjusted its relations with them. Last year, under the editorship of K. G. Hugelmann, formerly Professor of Political Science at the University of Vienna, but now in a similar capacity at Münster, and of Professor M. H. Boehm of Jena, who is also President of the Berlin "Institut für Grenz- und Auslandsstudien," there appeared under the title *Das Nationalitätenrecht des alten Oesterreich* (Vienna, Braumüller) a compendious apologia for the system adopted towards the nationalities, at least in Cis-Leithania. The authors of this book express particular approval of the fact that a consciousness of nationality rights in Austria had begun to reveal itself; that the problem involves not merely the protection of individual nationality as one of the fundamental rights of citizenship, but that it was here possible from the very beginning to detect the rights of national groups; and that the nationalities as units of society had begun to develop into collective personalities of public right. They add, however, that just as the Monarchy was making a start along this line, fate shattered it into fragments, and that not one of these fragments has become as much of a reality as it was in its earlier stages of evolution under Austria.

Was this really so, and, above all, was the former Monarchy swept into the grave by a harsh destiny? Did it not perish rather through its own fault, and did not this fault lie precisely in its treatment of the problem of nationality? In the first place, we must not forget that the former Monarchy comprised not only Cis-Leithania, with its Parliament elected by the people and certain elements of national autonomy in the Sudetan districts. There was also Hungary, where the non-Magyars (forming nearly one-half of the population, even apart from the Croats) were represented in Parliament in a proportion of under 6 per cent., and where millions of non-Magyars had no State schools of their own and were not represented on the administrative bodies. The connection between the fatal Dualist system and the fall of the Monarchy here follows obvious lines of cause and effect.

The chief point, however, to note is that the tendency towards the formation of national units was not interrupted by the collapse

of the Monarchy, but merely entered upon a new phase. What happened was nothing more and nothing less than that these "collective personalities of public right," which at the close of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries had begun to take shape within the framework of the Monarchy, grew beyond its control and became State units of international standing. It is true that as soon as their existence had to be dealt with on an international basis and no longer merely as a matter of domestic politics, external adjustment was rendered necessary. On the supposition of their survival as a federation of Danubian States with common defence, representation and economic relations, it would be possible to establish racial frontiers, modified solely by geographical considerations. As soon, however, as the idea of a higher federal framework became impracticable, and the various national units had to be organised as independent States, they had to be provided with frontiers which would satisfy both administrative and economic needs, and also provide adequate security. They had to be provided with a territory within which the State authority could perform those functions which in a federal State belong to the central power. This meant that a line based exclusively upon nationality became impossible, owing to considerations which would scarcely have arisen as between the units of a federal State.

At the same time it should be remembered that even if the boundaries could have been drawn on a basis of nationality within some kind of "state grouping," the resulting map would not have been entirely identical with a map illustrating its composition according to nationality. We have a living example of what would probably have happened in that event to the Danubian countries. In the Russian Empire they succeeded in solving the problem of national units, while maintaining, though not altogether intact, the main lines of the traditional framework. In the matter of nationality the Soviets of to-day form the kind of federation of national States which the Habsburg Monarchy would undoubtedly have become if it had survived its crucial test. There is a demonstrable connection between the present foundations of the existing settlement of the nationalities question in Soviet Russia and the proposals put forward by the Austrian Socialists for the settlement of the corresponding question inside the Habsburg Monarchy. Yet not even under the Soviet system was it possible for the delimitation of nationality to follow purely linguistic lines. The federal and autonomous national Soviet republics do not contain within their boundaries fundamentally smaller national minorities than the independent

Danubian Succession States which arose on the ruins of the Habsburg Monarchy.

Those who are attached to organic, non-revolutionary development may rightly lament the fact that the problem of nationality in the Danubian Basin could not be settled by evolution, by a process of autonomies and federalisation, instead of a sudden dissolution of the old State bond. There is no doubt that in this way it would have been possible to preserve many valuable traditional values which were lost through the collapse of the Monarchy—but only, of course, if revolution could have been averted. This proved impossible because the whole was a body without a spirit: the old spirit had been used up, and a new spirit had not been born. Austria-Hungary was a “Habsburg” Monarchy in the truest sense of the term: the dynastic idea was the only thing that held it together. If its supporters failed to place the Monarchy in the service of any genuinely new idea after the purpose which the original association had been created—namely, defence against the Turkish onslaught,—had ceased to operate, how could it continue to exist after this outworn notion had lost its strength? Moreover, there was no social stratum which really deserved the name of “Austrian”; this could at most be applied to the higher bureaucracy and the Army, which did not form a social stratum, but were merely constituent parts of the governing machine. Still less was there any particular nationality which was identified exclusively with the service of the Empire. The Germans and Magyars wanted either a German or a Magyar State, but not an Austrian one, detached from the promotion of any definite national interest. The other nations strove to gain their fair share in the State, which, however, was always denied them. Even if they had achieved it at a seemingly opportune moment, it does not necessarily follow that this would have had any positive effect on the future of the Empire, unless at the same time there had arisen the conception of some new common task in common, such as rendered co-operation necessary.

## II.

Thus the collapse of the Habsburg Monarchy in October and November, 1918, was not an interruption, but the culmination of a development tending towards the formation of national units. The Danubian nationalities became individual entities possessing not merely internal State rights, but the international rights accorded to sovereign States. One of these units was the Czechoslovak Republic, which came into existence as the State of the Danubian

Czechs and Slovaks. That this and no other was its "occasio originis," is not open to dispute. We have already said that not even where a large territory has been federalised, still less when it is dissolved as an international unit, is it possible to draw frontiers on purely ethnographic lines and to constitute exclusively national States. Moreover, the Czechoslovak Republic included within its frontiers a clear 30 per cent. of other racial elements. The German politicians in Czechoslovakia confronted the State with an impossible dilemma: either the Republic is the fulfilment of the national dream of the Czechs and Slovaks, and then it is, for us Germans, at best an undesirable fact, which we can at most tolerate if it complies with our definite reservations, and on the assumption that no perspective more favourable to us is in sight; or else the Republic renounces the mission which it assumed at birth, and it will then become an interracial State, a new Austria-Hungary, though without that senile dynastic idea which formed the *trait d'union* of the old State.

Is this dilemma, which the Sudetian Germans have applied to the Czechoslovak Republic, fair and justified? Is the national character of this State—as the home of the Czechs and Slovaks, who have no other home elsewhere—incompatible with that other interracial character, which it possesses as the home of various nationalities?

The German politicians from the Sudetian districts broached the question of the Germans in Czechoslovakia as soon as the Monarchy had collapsed. They understood aright the national character of the origin of the Republic, but they did not understand the extent to which its continued existence is conditioned by a symbiosis of the Czechoslovaks with the Sudetic and Carpathian Germans. They entered the German-Austrian National Assembly which was formed at Vienna on 21 October, 1918, as an indirect result of the manifesto of the Emperor Charles, and there on 12 November, a law was passed by which the German-Austrian Republic was to include not only the Sudetian districts, inhabited mainly by Germans, but also those districts which were separated from them by the Czech element, and even those *enclaves* and isolated localities which were surrounded by Czech territory. No advocate of nationalist separatism ever had in mind a mathematically exact frontier demarcation, even on the supposition of a continued joint State framework in the former Monarchy. For the organisation of sovereign States this scheme of demarcation was quite impracticable, and if we are not to ascribe to its authors an extreme degree of naïveté, we must suppose that

they assumed that German-Austria would immediately be united with the Reich, and were therefore anxious to achieve union between the Alpine Germans and the Germans of northern Bohemia and Moravia. Those who now vindicate this phase of Sudetic-German policy (e.g. Molisch: *Die sudetendeutsche Freiheitsbewegung* Vienna, 1932) endeavour to prove that this separatist policy was not fantastic, but quite practicable; that authoritative Allied circles at the Peace Conference would have been willing to allow the extension of the defeated German Empire by more than ten million Alpine and Sudetian Germans; and around the Empire thus reinforced to develop a medley of territorial fragments rooted in self-determination, rather than full-fledged States. At that fateful juncture the position of the Sudetian Germans prevented them from pursuing any aim which they could show to be genuinely in the interests of Europe. But in their egocentrism they did not set themselves to achieve a better organisation of Europe. They deserted the former framework of the Habsburg State just as readily as the other Danubian nations, but they lacked the point of view of those who were helping to establish a new order, and were therefore incapable of creating any new structure. Their attitude was that of a litigant who is concerned only with himself and does not trouble about anybody else.

It would be unfair not to point out that these shortcomings in political methods were the fault of the old Austrian system rather than of those who represented the Sudetian Germans when Austria collapsed. It was a typical aspect of the question of nationalities in the old Monarchy, that the various national parties were not imbued with the spirit of responsible creators. The authoritative dynasty was the creator and organiser, the only function of the nationalities being to make their demands, and then to accept, or reject, the compromise which was offered. It is only thanks to the democratic conditions established in the new Succession States,—in which there is no such supreme authority, and in which the principle holds good that nothing will be done unless the representatives of the citizens themselves agree to do it—that the Danubian nations have been taught to discontinue the method of a litigant. The Czechs and Slovaks learnt by hardship the democratic virtue of this creative policy sooner than the Sudetian Germans, because they had formerly been in the position of orphans who had no other hope except what they could achieve by their own efforts. The Sudetian Germans did not discover any such policy until the twenties of this century.

## III

Even after the Peace Conference had made its decision and the Sudetian German policy had ceased to have any international significance, its leaders maintained an attitude of at least passive resistance against the form assumed by the new state. The bourgeois and Socialist groups which after the collapse of Austria made common cause, split up under the effect of the social disturbances in 1919, but nevertheless identified themselves with a scheme for the national adjustment of the Sudetian territories which may be formulated somewhat as follows: that the Germans of Czechoslovakia could adopt a waiting policy until the Czechs and Slovaks came to ask the price of their cooperation, and that the price which would then be demanded, would not be a small one. Professor Spiegel, who lectured on political science at the German University of Prague, elaborated a series of demands which included the abolition of the name "Czechoslovak Republic," and the union of all German areas within the State, whether forming a continuous entity or not, and whatever their administrative and economic relations might be, so as to form a state unit known as "Grossdeutschböhmen." This unit would possess merely a sort of federal link with the rest of the State for a very narrow range of affairs recognised as Common by both nationalities, Germans and Czechoslovaks. These "common affairs" would be administered by bodies enjoying parity of rank. If we consider that this internal subdivision of state sovereignty was demanded immediately after the Sudetian Germans, under pressure from without, had ceased their opposition to the creation of the new State and its frontiers, and that even then they were openly presenting this scheme, not as a contribution to the structure of a joint dwelling which they welcomed, but as a makeshift which they resented, it is not surprising that Czechoslovak policy declined even to discuss such a proposal.

Meanwhile, however, the Czechs and Slovaks had set themselves, without loss of time, to organise their new State. The Peace Conference had sanctioned the frontiers which in actual practice they had held since the winter of 1918-19, and they had laid the essential foundations for their social policy and land reform, thus setting up a bulwark against the waves of revolution which threatened to sweep upon them from the outside. They had adjusted their currency and had set their finances in order, established their administrative mechanism and marked out the general direction of their international policy. They had made up their minds that the international situation of their State would be based, above all, upon



foundations of common European solidarity. In the spring of 1920 through their provisional National Assembly they issued their democratic constitution in accordance with which, in the following May, they elected Parliament, formed a new Government and re-appointed Thomas Masaryk as President of the Republic.

In the course of these activities several attempts were made to win over the Germans, if not to positive cooperation, at least to favourable neutrality. When in the summer of 1909 the national Coalition Government under Kramář was replaced by a government of parties of the democratic Left, Tusar, the new Premier, made a number of declarations which might reasonably be regarded as friendly offers, but he waited in vain for any reply. The nationalist groups in the Czech camp reproached the Government for what they considered undue deference to the Germans. It is true that the Constitution had been issued without the Germans being consulted, but how would it have been possible to cooperate with them, in view of the attitude on their part which we have already indicated? The spirit in which the Constitution was drawn up without their help is best shown by a recent comment made by Dr. Peters, deputy of the Sudetian German Party, in "*Volk und Führung*" (1935 No. 5), the official organ of his movement: "In the Constitution itself we vainly seek any stipulations about a Czechoslovak National State. On the contrary it would seem that such a designation was intentionally avoided." Such was then the indulgence shown by the Czechs and Slovaks to the absent Germans. And in another passage in which he deals with the preamble to the Constitution Dr. Peters says: "In it the Czechoslovak nation took upon itself more duties than it reserved privileges for itself." He goes on to regret that the German policy in 1920 adopted a negative attitude towards the Constitution as a whole, merely because of the formal circumstance that the Germans had not cooperated at it. "Probably," says Dr. Peters, "it would have been more correct if we had at once taken our stand on the basis of the Constitution which, though unsatisfactory in all points, would have provided a basis for establishing a fundamental and practical policy." Such is the opinion of a prominent Sudetian German politician in 1935 about the Sudetian German policy in 1920.

#### IV

In 1920, however, there was no one among the Germans in Czechoslovakia who would have spoken in this way. The Germans entered Parliament, having received, thanks to a strict system of

proportional representation, a percentage of 25·6 of the total seats, which is in excess of the actual percentage of Germans in the population. They entered Parliament in two groups, the bourgeois and the Socialist, and their proclamations offered no hope of cooperation within the near future. They rejected the State and the Constitution as being "national." There followed an interval of six years, during which the Sudetian Germans discovered (1): that the Czechs and Slovaks were capable of administering the Republic through the medium of a democratic majority, and (2): that they could only work through a majority compounded of parties varying in their social or cultural character. The Czechs and Slovaks were thus able to provide the State with a working majority for current necessities, but not for any programme on a big scale. The Sudetic German politicians thus found themselves subjected to an irresistible pressure: on the one hand it was obvious that their passive and negative attitude would not be strong enough to force the Czechoslovaks to capitulate, and on the other hand it was becoming increasingly clear that active intervention on their part might be very effective, since it would help Czechoslovak policy to do something more than attend merely to the daily essentials of state administration. For six years the policy of the Bohemian Germans held out against this oppressive logic of circumstances and endeavoured to conceal their embarrassment by dogmatic quibbles about a "national" or a "nationality" state, and as to whether the Germans form a "minority" or a "national group," and so on. There were a few individuals who ventured to speak out freely, but this procedure did not prove effective until six years later.

In 1924 and 1925 the controversy between activists and passivists reached its height. The league of bourgeois parties broke up, and the elections of 1925 resulted in the defeat of the passivists, although the question of new tactics did not form the main issue. More than 900,000 votes were polled by the positive *bourgeois* parties, namely the German Agrarians, Christian Socialists and Liberal Democrats, whereas the national opposition parties obtained scarcely 250,000 votes. The Social Democrats were defeated both in the German and in the Czechoslovak camp, on the right by the bourgeois parties, and on the left by the Communists. And so after a brief preparation the first Cabinet, including both Czechoslovaks and Germans, was formed in 1926. This régime left clear traces of its influence upon State policy in succeeding years. Thus, for example, the administration was decentralised by a system of provincial assemblies. The State finances were balanced, although to some extent as the

result of sacrifices on the part of the autonomous bodies, and of course also to the general wave of economic prosperity. In foreign policy also these years formed a period of high hopes for a general European settlement. In particular Czechoslovakia established a cordial relationship and set up a " *Modus Vivendi* " with the Vatican. In cultural matters the German Ministers in the Government succeeded in maintaining the situation on a somewhat higher level than was strictly in accordance with the numerical strength of the Germans. As regards land reform, this coalition took over only the later stages of it, but even so the Germans were not left empty-handed. The language regulations for the provincial and communal authorities in 1927 are distinctly more favourable to the minorities than those issued in the preceding years.

No extensive political reforms, however, were carried out during this activist period. The constitution was not revised, and the scheme for what was called " cultural-national autonomy " was only put forward, but not put into effect. It must, however, be taken into account that this first Czechoslovak-German cooperation had first of all to remove the atmosphere of mutual distrust which burdened the political relationship of the two nations. An ocular demonstration had to be given that any cooperation was possible; that the Germans were capable not only of mute loyalty, but of active patriotic service towards this State; and that the Czechs and Slovaks could regard them not as a factor complicating the national unity of the Republic, but as genuine fellow-workers in a common cause. This psychological improvement did actually take place. Not only did German activism not lose its hold upon public opinion, but the conviction as to the necessity for Czechs and Germans working in common spread beyond the actual Government camp. Thus Dr. Medinger, a prominent nationalist politician, and a spokesman of the Bohemian Germans in international circles, whose recent premature death was a serious blow, passed from the Opposition to the official Christian Socialist Party. On the other hand Dr. Lodgmann, who headed the action for detaching the German areas from the Czechoslovak Republic immediately after the collapse of Austria, has disappeared altogether from the political arena.

In 1929 new parliamentary elections were held, and resulted again in a strengthening of the Socialist wing both among the Czechoslovak and the German parties. This shifting of forces, however, did not affect the trend of the régime in matters relating to the respective interests of the two nations. The Government

was reorganised in a direction tending towards the Left, the result being that the German Agrarians and Liberals remained in it, while the German Social Democrats entered it together with their Czechoslovak colleagues. The German Christian Socialists, who had previously been in the Government, now remained somewhat against their will outside the Government coalition, since the Government left-wing was not anxious to have too strong a conservative wing. Nevertheless, they refrained from going over to the opposition, but on the whole loyally judged each question on its merits from their own point of view. Dr. Spina, the German Agrarian Minister, enunciated the principle of "symbiosis" as a traditional law of political life in the Sudetian region, and the idea of cooperation between Czechs and Germans steadily progressed. But for external influences which have obstructed its path in the last few years, it would undeniably have prospered still more and by this time would probably have produced remarkable and far-reaching results.

## V

What were the disturbing influences which intervened? The economic crisis which swept through the world from 1929 onwards, naturally affected also the Czechoslovak Republic, and affected it in two directions, as soon as the majority of foreign countries adopted economic autarchy, since Czechoslovakia is above all an export state. Then, within Czechoslovakia itself, the results of this were felt with particular severity in the mainly German areas, since it is there that the export industries have always been concentrated. This explains why the population in those areas, which was adversely affected by the decline of export trade, became more radical in its outlook. This process, however, manifested itself in a strong nationalistic trend, as represented by the idea of a Greater Germany, and it is not difficult to see that the reasons for this are to be sought in the new orientation of Germany.

In writing thus, I am far from alleging that those Sudetian German politicians who identified themselves with this movement have all been guilty of illicit activities. I am concerned chiefly with tracing the origin of the actual idea, and as regards this it is fair to assert that the events which have occurred in Germany during the last five years have ceased to be merely an internal affair of Germany itself. The principles which were enunciated by the German National Socialist Party on 25 February 1920 at Munich have developed into a system of thought, the weight of which is felt throughout Central Europe. The first demand which this

system postulates is the union of all Germans so as to form a single Greater Germany. It is true that Hitler as head of the German State proclaimed on 21 May, 1933 in the Reichstag, that the Third Realm has no desire to settle its foreign problems by means of war, and that it is anxious to live on good terms with all neighbouring states. Can we, however, assume that this statement implies a renunciation of the original solemn proclamation? We cannot help asking this question with a certain amount of alarm, when we observe that the point on the original programme immediately following it, and demanding that the Jews should be deprived of citizenship, has been faithfully carried out.

The same spirit which gave birth to this Munich programme of action also underlay the new conception of international relationships which the German theoreticians of the last few years advocate. According to this conception there is no such thing as international law; there is only what Schecher calls "Aussenstaatsrecht," in other words, certain internal legal regulations which can be revoked one-sidedly and which regulate the relations of the State towards the outer world. Consequently, not even the League of Nations is a legal institution, still less a legal authority for guaranteeing the protection of minorities. The Geneva settlement of nationality law, said M. H. Boehm recently in his *Volksteorie und Volkstumspolitik der Gegenwart*, has shown itself to be a blunder. It is a survival of the Liberal democratic stage of development which, according to Boehm is being superseded by a period of authoritative state forms based upon plebiscites. The practical policy of Germany towards the League of Nations in general and in matters relating to the international protection of minorities in particular (cf. the Bernheim case in the Minority Committee of the League of Nations in 1933) has merely been accomplishing a change for which the theorists have established the ideological foundation.

To the reader it may seem a paradox that the idea of the national protection of minorities is treated thus by Germany, a state whose co-nationals are living in very large numbers as minorities in the surrounding states. In order to understand this remarkable fact, we must realize that the doctrine which denies the existence of an international juridical order is supplemented by the theory of "Volksgemeinschaft"—the community of members of the same nation, wherever they may live, and whatever their state citizenship may be. This community is conceived not only as a moral or cultural connection, but as a bond which is juridically of equal value with, and runs parallel to, state citizenship, and to which,

should there be any conflict, the latter must give way. The supreme authority over citizens of various nationalities is thus divided between the State and the national community. Those who proclaim this theory refer back to parallels in the Middle Ages. They have in mind the former juridical dualism between individual cities and the provinces of which they formed part, and again the dualism between civil and ecclesiastical law. While any international organisation invested with an authority superior to the individual State is definitely rejected, certain definite categories of juridical relations among citizens are to be excluded from state control and subordinated to an authority independent of it. In this connection one circumstance must be borne in mind which Boehm expressly points out: this splitting-up of state power under the influence of "Volksgemeinschaft" would not affect Germany, which is regarded to all intents and purposes as a state containing only a single nation. The Wends and the Mazurians, it is argued, to say nothing of the Jews, do not form national minorities in Germany, which, at the most, are represented there by the Poles and Danes. On the other hand, Germany itself, as a strong representative of Greater German "Volksgemeinschaft," would be able to interfere with the internal life of all those states in which German minorities live, in a manner which could not be regarded as illicit, but with supreme authority and irrespective of the sovereignty of the country concerned. The action of Germany on these lines would resemble that of the Papacy, which in the Middle Ages brought its authority to bear upon domestic events in various European countries. Meanwhile the question as to the boundary between state allegiance and national allegiance remains open, and this offers a new medium for Pan-German imperialism to make itself felt not only in Central and Eastern, but also in Western Europe.

## VI

Such then is the spirit which has been aroused by the political development in Germany during the last few years, and which does not limit its workings to the domestic arena, but trespasses beyond the frontiers. It thus found its way to the Germans in Czechoslovakia and provided them with an outlet for the dissatisfaction which had been aroused in them by the prevailing economic crisis.

As early as the autumn of 1932 its deplorable effects began to manifest themselves in the form of discussions in German circles as to whether the German political parties ought to take any share in the Government. These discussions were initiated by the nationa-

listic politicians who adversely criticised the work of the German ministers. Their nationalistic opposites in the ranks of the Czechoslovak Opposition thereupon began to demand the expulsion of the Germans from the Government. This agitation came to nothing, and the point of view which prevailed was that if German policy follows lines representing a considerable section of public opinion, and if the holders of such views are willing to cooperate in the Government, they have an undoubted right to do so.

In 1932 there was a sensational trial in Czechoslovakia, resulting from the activities of a society known as "Volkssport." Several leaders of the younger branch of the German National Socialist Party in Czechoslovakia established athletic associations under this name, and though there was nothing illegal in their actual organisation, they soon began to transgress the limits of the aims indicated in their statutes by practising not only physical training, but military drill, and they did this, conjointly with the corresponding organisations in Germany itself, in a number of districts along the German frontier. As a result of this trial seven of the defendants were condemned to periods of imprisonment varying from 1 to 3 years. The National Socialist Party alleged that these sentences constituted a persecution of the whole German nation in Czechoslovakia, although the organisation against which proceedings had been taken represented scarcely 15 per cent. of the political bodies among the German minority. The Activist German parties protested energetically against the attempts of this small group to pose as representative of the Germans as a whole; and when later on further incriminating material was discovered which involved four deputies of the National Socialist Party (who in due course made their escape to Germany), the Party, finding itself in a blind alley, was already preparing its voluntary liquidation, when the official decree for its dissolution was issued on 4 October, 1933.

Such was the end of the German National Social Party in Czechoslovakia. Here it is of interest to note that this Party may be regarded to a certain extent as the herald of the Swastika. This emblem was entirely unknown when the Sudetan German politicians Knirsch and Jung first formed the National Workers' Party in Austria. As far back as 1911, at the last parliamentary elections ever held in the Austrian Empire, this Party gained three seats, and at its Congress in 1913 it passed a number of resolutions—for instance, against the Jews, and for the abolition of interest—which seven years later were included in the famous twenty-five articles, now forming the programme of the Swastika. In Czechoslovakia the party

set up its own organisation and scheme of action in 1919, but maintained close contact with its comrades in Austria and Germany. The leaders of this party during the earlier years of its existence acted as a kind of political prompter to Hitler, in whom above all they instilled their racial bias. In Czechoslovakia the party made slow but steady progress, gaining four seats in 1920, seven in 1925 and eight in 1929. Thus, in Czechoslovakia it was already a political party of moderate size before National Socialism had secured a parliamentary footing in Germany itself. The subsequent vast expansion of the National Socialist Movement in Germany caused the corresponding body in Czechoslovakia, which hitherto had set the example, to follow the lead of its former pupil. Thus, the German National Socialists in Czechoslovakia now began to wear the swastika, to dress in uniform and to train their members on strictly military lines.

The dissolution of the Party somewhat damped the enthusiasm of the Germans in Czechoslovakia, and the German Activist parties breathed more freely. At the same time large sections of the German population began to realise more clearly than before the binding character of their relationship towards the Czechoslovak State. This process was doubtless hastened by consciousness of the bad effects upon world opinion by various excesses in the ideology of German National Socialism. Never before had the Czechoslovak national holiday on 28 October been so actively celebrated in the German towns of the Republic, and when in May, 1934, T. G. Masaryk was again elected President, he received a larger number of German votes than ever before.

## VII

It would be wrong to imagine, of course, that the dissolution of the Czechoslovak Nazi Party will suffice to counteract completely the influence of the Greater German idea upon the Germans in Czechoslovakia. Nobody has ever expected this and, indeed, the attitude of authoritative circles in Czechoslovakia is that the Sudetian Germans are not to be deprived of their opportunity of experimenting in this direction, so long as by so doing they do not endanger the peace and order of the State. The Czechoslovak nation knows from its own experience that it is suppressed ideas which have the greatest explosive power. Although it could not be expected that this spirit would serve to promote more cordial cooperation between Czechs and Germans, it was felt that the only way to convince the latter that they had adopted a wrong policy, would be to let them freely test the quality of this new spirit in the light of



experience. These were the circumstances which made it possible for Konrad Henlein to organise his Sudetian German Party.

Henlein's Movement began simultaneously with the dissolution of the National Socialist Party, and he gave it the name of "Sudetendeutsche Heimatfront." In his first manifesto he proclaimed loyalty to the Republic and the legality of his aims, and he further dissociated himself from a number of persons who had played a leading part in the former National Socialist Party and refused to accept their cooperation. Soon afterwards he issued a pamphlet entitled *Vom Wesen und Werden der sudetendeutschen Heimatfront*, containing an outline of his programme, whose contents justified the reader in assuming that the new Movement consisted of an adaptation of Pan-German nationalism to the special conditions in Czechoslovakia. "The Heimatfront," he says there, "is not a party, but a movement which puts an end once and for all to all the abuses which have arisen from the nature of our party life hitherto and of our unregulated racial existence." In the conditions under which this Movement has its being it must assume the form of a political party for reasons of external organisation, but the tendencies of the Party must be "in favour of a 'Volksgemeinschaft' solid in character and standing under unified leadership." Hence: totality, leadership, "Volksgemeinschaft."

These terms recur in varying form in all the authoritative manifestos of the Movement. In the minor organising work which led to the rapid strengthening of the party, at the mass meeting in Česká Lipa on 21 October, 1934, which was attended by many thousands of Sudetian Germans, and in the statutes of the Party issued after its first year of existence, the title adopted for the Party President was "Führer der S.H.F.", who himself "elects"—that is, appoints or dismisses—members of the executive committee. This new organisation had a considerable effect upon the other German political parties in Czechoslovakia. The German Agrarians at first endeavoured to gain possession of its leadership and guide it into the traditional paths of Activist parliamentary policy, but in the end a considerable number of its members, especially the younger ones, transferred themselves to the S.H.F. The effect upon the Liberal Democratic Party was also disastrous, and their leaders, Dr. Rosche and Dr. Peters, joined the new party. Of the bourgeois parties, the one which withstood the challenge best of all, though also not without losses, was the Christian Socialist Party, whose attitude was obviously prompted by the treatment of Catholics in Germany under a régime identical in spirit with the

S.H.F. in Czechoslovakia. Henlein's Party, however, also gained recruits from the left wing, among the Socialists and Communists.

The parliamentary elections of May, 1935, in Czechoslovakia, revealed what inroads the Party had made upon the ranks of the Sudetian Germans. Whereas among the Czechoslovak parties there was comparatively little shifting of power, a complete upheaval took place among the Germans. Henlein's Party, which, meanwhile, had made concessions to democratic demands by a change of name from "Sudetendeutsche Heimatfront" to "Sudetendeutsche Partei," polled more than 1,200,000 votes, the total number for the other German parties being only 600,000, while the German Communists obtained scarcely more than 150,000.

Henlein's Party thus succeeded where the former German National Socialist Party had failed: it now represented the majority of Sudetian Germans, though it did not, of course, stand alone.

### VIII

It was now, however, that the real difficulties of the Party began. It had come into existence as a result of economic crisis and national radicalism; it had aroused exaggerated hopes among the electors: what, then, could it do for them, with its new parliamentary strength? Obviously, it could only engage in positive cooperation if it expressly renounced the very spirit in whose name it had been born. This it naturally could not do, and a merely formal declaration would not arouse confidence among its prospective Czechoslovak partners. Nor could the Party at once, on account of its size and great responsibility, choose the alternative method of active Pan-German opposition, not to speak of obstruction or even revolution.

On the day immediately following the elections Konrad Henlein sent a telegram of loyalty to President Masaryk. In it he said that his Party regarded its success as involving a task which he would endeavour to achieve only within the limits of the Czechoslovak Constitution. He also sent a telegram to the Minister of the Interior in which he expressed his thanks for the legal manner in which the elections had been held. He said: "Against all those who, while appealing to the Constitution and to democracy, would have exploited its principles solely in their own interests, the Minister of the Interior has successfully vindicated the Constitution and the rights which it imparts to citizens." To his own adherents Henlein issued a proclamation, thanking them for their confidence and urging them to responsible action and work: and he added, "In

the new Parliament democratic principles must so establish themselves that the whole of the Chamber, irrespective of which party is in the opposition or in office, may share fully the work that is accomplished and the decisions that are taken." These words clearly suggest that Henlein does not count upon the entry of his Party into the Government within the immediate future, and that he is prepared for a period of opposition.

Such was the serious note struck at the outset. As soon as the humdrum everyday tasks began, it became clear that the victory of the "Sudetendeutsche Partei" denoted, on the whole, a loss of positions for the German minority in Czechoslovakia. The new Party, with an ideology so much akin to that of Nazism and its menace to the new order in Central Europe, was unable, with a few solemn phrases, to arouse the same confidence which the German Parties in the Government had acquired by many years of work. Czechoslovak political opinion adopted a waiting attitude towards the victorious party, and that this attitude applies only to Henlein and his followers and not to the Sudetian Germans as a whole, is shown by the fact that the idea of cooperation with the Activists, even in their weakened state, was not abandoned. Although the two German ministers remained in the Government, Dr. Spina felt unable to retain the portfolio of agriculture, and, accordingly, he became a Minister without portfolio, very much like the representative of the Czech Catholics in the first revolutionary government, which, however, had met under the terms of the provisional constitution. The cool attitude adopted by Czechoslovak public opinion towards the new Party is also explained by the fact that Herr Henlein, who conducted the electoral campaign, did not himself come forward as a candidate, the result being that the leader of the Party deliberately remained outside Parliament. Such a thing had never happened before in the history of Czechoslovak politics, and the public regarded this tactical move as an ostentatious lack of regard for Parliament and democracy.

In the autumn of 1935 the Party issued a number of declarations both inside and outside Parliament, which make it clear that those at its head are slowly deciding to abandon their policy of aimless drift, not in favour of active work, but of noisy radical opposition. Whichever decision may be taken, the Party will not be able to emerge from its quandary without passing through an internal crisis. If it had proceeded along the difficult path of patient realism, it would sooner or later have been abandoned by its radical wing, which is so close to the spirit of the Swastika. If it decides to embark upon blatant radicalism, it will involve itself in conflict with its

industrial and agrarian elements, who entered it to gain the political pressure of a large active party for the benefit of Sudetian German trade and industry, which had been hard hit by the crisis. Among the indications which suggest that the Party is adopting methods of radicalism, one of the most striking is that the original intention of thoroughly reorganising the Trade Union groups within the party has recently shown signs of flagging.

## IX

This brings us to the most recent phase of politics in Czechoslovakia. They may be summed up in a general way as follows : German political opinion outside Henlein's Party, comprising nearly 40 per cent. of the Sudetian Germans, after the natural set back of the elections, is once more recovering its self-confidence and a belief in the future of its policy. This applies not only to the two Government parties—the German Social Democrats and the German Agrarians : but, as a result of the successful Catholic Congress at Prague in the summer of 1935, and the loyal co-operation of Czechoslovak foreign policy with the Vatican, the oppositional Christian Socialists have now adopted a more critical attitude towards the new party. Within the party itself it is obvious that readjustments are taking place. It cannot, of course, be asserted that this implies the existence of a crisis affecting its external unity. The recent local elections in a number of towns with a considerable percentage of German population show that since the parliamentary elections in May, while the party has not grown, it has also not declined. Nevertheless, the iron logic of circumstances will confront the Party with the need for critical decisions at an early date. As soon as economic conditions improve in the German areas of the Republic, the ground will be prepared for a development upon these lines. If and when Europe imposes definite limitations upon the Pan-German spirit, the position of the Henlein Party will have to be still further modified.

We can only hope that those responsible for its leadership will not allow themselves to be led away by the example of the former National Socialist Party, as a few individuals within its ranks have already done. Meanwhile, all that the Czechoslovak and German Activist parties can do is to maintain their present critical attitude also towards the foreign political aims of the Party. This brings us undoubtedly to the root of the matter. Henlein's Party can in this respect be identified with the demand that the Czechoslovak Republic should give up its international European orientation for a Central European orientation. This would, of course, involve its

renouncing the principle of the League of Nations and the collective defence of peace, and substituting the idea of the balance of power and the grouping of the smaller Central European states around Germany, which means nothing more nor less than a revival of the medieval Holy Roman Empire with German as its language. In the domain of culture and economics Henlein's Party has provided the Germans in Czechoslovakia with no new aims: the only difference is that, while it expresses great concern about them, the German Activists have for years been engaged in serious work in the Cabinet and other responsible posts, where they have been dealing with the needs of their fellow-countrymen. The only really new feature which Henlein's Party has introduced into the political life of Czechoslovakia is the struggle for a new orientation of the State in foreign affairs: and on this point the politicians, whether Czechoslovak or German, who have to deal with it, will not be able to meet it half-way.

If we consider how the Pan-German spirit, after the victory of the Swastika in the Third Realm, penetrated among the Germans abroad; if we recall how it triumphed in the Saar, how it imposed itself upon the Germans in Danzig, in Memel, and in Austria, and how even among the Swiss-Germans it had a certain effect, and if we compare its effects upon the Sudetian Germans in Czechoslovakia, we shall see that this branch of the German nation is not devoid of resistance to the spirit of romantic Pan-Germanism. If for the moment about 60 per cent. of the German population in Czechoslovakia succumbed to it, their powers of resistance are certainly less than among the Swiss, but decidedly greater than among the other Germans living in foreign countries. Moreover, if, as seems likely, a large part of those who let themselves be carried away by it only acted on a momentary impulse in a mood of doubt due to economic troubles, then it may fairly be assumed that in the end, after having profited by this experience, they will advance a stage further towards political realism. The strongest factor in this resistance is the consciousness of the organic connection between the German element in the Sudetic area and all the other inhabitants there. Throughout history the Sudetic area has possessed a political individuality of its own, in which the Czechs and the Germans formed a common political entity, despite the difference of nationality. This community of a common bond which transcends national considerations in the region inhabited by Czechs and Germans does not alter the fact which was emphasised at the beginning of this article: namely, that the Czechoslovak Republic, like other Succession States

of the former Monarchy, came into existence as the national state of the Czechs and Slovaks who were unable to achieve their self-determination through federalisation within the Empire. The Czechoslovak nation needs a state of its own, just like other nations. If this state is located upon territory which, besides fulfilling its national function, also possesses a supra-national mission, in which the Sudetic Germans can also freely cooperate, then its destiny will be all the more honourable. A genuine and permanent understanding between the two nations is perfectly possible if they are ready to join hands in the service of a common cause—that pursuit of humanitarian ideals to which Thomas G. Masaryk has given such eloquent expression.

EMIL SOBOTA.

## THE GERMAN PROBLEM IN MEMEL

THE Elections, which were held in the Memel Territory on 29 and 30 September last, attracted much interest throughout Europe despite Mediterranean preoccupations, and to the town of Memel itself a spate of foreign observers and newspaper correspondents. Many of these were struck by the outward calm and apparent indifference which seemed to prevail in this sleepy little Baltic seaport. How could this be an international danger spot? For the journalists there was little copy but the incredible intricacies of the voting procedure, which became daily more complicated as the day of the Election drew near. If they expected incidents, street-fighting or rebellions, they were happily disappointed. Within a week of the election, there was hardly a poster to be seen; election meetings were held only by the Lithuanian parties and were sparsely attended—sometimes nobody came at all; and in general the show of excitement with which one commonly associates continental elections was notably absent. The Memellanders seemed to be going about their business as usual, so far as they had any.

But below the surface, as one soon discovered, was anything but calm and indifference. The German is by nature a disciplined being with a natural respect for authority, which constrains him to endure what he feels to be intolerable longer than more excitable peoples are inclined to do. He does not always show as much as he feels. But there is no disguising the fact that the Memellanders are nursing a load of grievances, and, as a chance acquaintance expressed it: "If one day we do break out, it will be a case of many corpses." That is not to say that the grievances are all justified. To take account of the background of bitter resentment and mutual distrust which at present characterises Lithuanian relations with the Memeland, as any account of the situation or indeed any attempt at reconciliation must do, is not to prejudge the issue. This resentment has existed ever since the Lithuanians, following the example of the successful seizure of Vilna by the Poles, descended upon the Memeland in January, 1923, and took it for themselves. The Memellanders have never settled down under Lithuanian sovereignty; and since the arrival of Hitler in Germany their grievances have acquired an international importance.

### *General Introduction*

It must first be remarked that the Memel Territory is an artificial creation of the Treaty of Versailles. It is in itself neither a racial nor an economic nor a geographical unity. In fact, it is no more

than the overlap of East Prussia beyond the River Niemen (or "Memel")—a narrow strip of land some 70 miles long and nowhere more than 20 miles in breadth, which the peace-makers detached from Germany and placed under Allied control pending the final form of the Baltic States. Its total area is 943 square miles—about the same as that of Dorsetshire—and both in 1910 and 1925 it had a population of just over 141,000. The population is today perhaps 150,000 in round figures, of which 40,000 are in the town of Memel.

The inhabitants of this disputed territory—"Memellanders" I shall prefer to call them, so as not to beg the question whether they are more Lithuanian or German by descent—are a typical mixed frontier population such as may be found, for example, also in Upper Silesia. Just as in Upper Silesia the country folk and workmen talk among themselves a Polish dialect, so in the Memelland the peasants talk a dialect of Lithuanian; but the town population became through several centuries of German rule thoroughly Germanised, so that today the town of Memel, except for immigrants from Lithuania, of whose numbers there are varying estimates, is still almost entirely German.

Germany held the Memelland for all but 500 years—from 1422, when the frontiers of East Prussia were fixed, until 1919—and these five centuries of German rule have left their mark, not only on the face of the country, but also on the mind of the people. The countrymen, in spite of their Lithuanian speech, still have more sympathy for Germany than for Lithuania. The reasons for this are economic rather than emotional. Mixed frontier populations do not normally form attachments from motives of idealism, but tend to range themselves on that side which has most to offer them. Thus material considerations play a decisive part in determining their sympathies.

To this the Memellanders are no exception. They have inherited a high standard of life from their former masters, with all that it implies in the way of good wages, social services, systems of Health and Unemployment Insurance, etc., which were unknown in Lithuania, and they naturally resent the process of levelling down their standards to those of the Lithuanians. If the standard of life in Germany and Lithuania had been even nearly equal, the resentment of the Memellanders at an exchange of masters would quite certainly not have been so bitter. As it is, the higher standard of life that still prevails in the Memel Territory attracts a workless population from Lithuania whose normal requirements are much less than those of a German workman. Thus the market is swamped and the standard deteriorates. The following figures may serve to



illustrate the difference in standard of living between Lithuania and the Memel Territory. In 1934, the number of insured persons on the panel per thousand head of the population was in Lithuania 18, in the Memelland 170. The average level of wages in the Memelland was 40 p.c. higher at all seasons of the year than in Lithuania.

The contrast between the Memelland and Lithuania is striking even to the naked eye. The Memelland still looks as if it belonged to East Prussia, whereas Lithuania—except at Kovno, the capital, where wonders of modern development have been achieved—manifestly carries on its face the stamp of pre-war Russia. The old Russian frontier is still as plain to see today as if there were barriers and guard-houses there to mark it. For the road suddenly stops and becomes a broad, indefinite track—in autumn ankle-deep in mud—and you know at once that there was the boundary between Wilhelm II's Germany and Tsarist Russia. Again, anyone who has flown by air from Königsberg to Kovno cannot fail to have remarked how the orderly strips and tidy forests of German cultivation suddenly give way to marsh, neglected woodland, and tumble-down farm-buildings surrounded by miscellaneous live-stock. The country seems to have become all at once much poorer; and everywhere the glint of standing water shows up between the tree stumps.

There is no reproach to Lithuania intended or implied in such observations. Nobody would dream of reproving her for the misfortune of having been a neglected province in a far corner of the old Russian Empire. But the economic disparity between Lithuania and the Memelland which results from that fact is a substantial factor in the quarrel of today, and one whose importance has hardly been sufficiently recognised. The bitterness of that quarrel springs in no small measure from that disparity and from the feeling that higher standards have been exchanged for lower in all that the Germans understand by that inclusive term *Kultur*.

Another factor which serves to widen the gulf between the two parties is that of religion. The Lithuanians, like the Poles, are mainly Roman Catholic. The Memellanders are almost all Protestants. Confessional statistics of 1912 show 138,529 evangelicals out of a total population of 141,238 (1910 census). In 1920 there were, according to official statistics: *Evangelicals*, 66,650 German-speaking; 66,226 Lithuanian-speaking; *Catholics*, 2,394 German-speaking; 2,869 Lithuanian-speaking. Just as in the pre-war German Empire, the Poles made Catholicism a basis for their national aspirations, so *per contra* Lutheranism served here to bind its adherents more closely to German ideals.

*Historical Background*

Both sides attach great weight to their historical claim to the Territory, each believing that they have some kind of prescriptive right there. The Lithuanians regard, for instance, the whole of the Niemen lowland (Niederung) as theirs by natural right on the ground that the autochthonous population was racially Lithuanian—though, if this were allowed, the Poles might equally well claim the whole of Germany east of the Elbe, which in the time of Charles the Great was predominantly Slav. With the arrival of the Teutonic Knights the Germanisation of the Baltic coast began and was continued with German thoroughness up to our own day. Now whatever the aboriginal population of the Memel district may have been, little more can be said with certainty than that the whole region was extremely sparsely populated. Who the Prusi were is even today contested; and how many of them were there to greet the Teutonic Knights is also uncertain. The history of Memel begins with the date 1252, when the Teutonic Knights, who had established themselves during the 30's in the valley of the Vistula, advanced further up the coast to set up a wooden fortress at "Klaipeda" (Memel). This was to serve as a link in the strategic line Königsberg-Riga and as a basis of operations against the heathen tribes of the district. For 150 years the Teutonic order colonised and Christianised with fire and sword, until they received the first defeat in their history at the hands of Wladislaw Jagiello, by then King of both Lithuania and Poland, at the Battle of Tannenberg (1410). By a treaty signed in the year 1422, the frontier of East Prussia was fixed, and so remained undisturbed until the Treaty of Versailles.

The history of these five centuries of German rule requires no detailed description. It is sufficient to note that Lithuanian influence seems to have been strong, indeed preponderant, in that corner of German territory, where it was allowed free rein until the age of Bismarck. The Lithuanian population seems steadily to have increased after 1422, especially during the early period when they owed formal allegiance to the Lithuanian Polish Kingdom (1466-1700). With Bismarck as Chancellor, a wave of German nationalism set in all over the Empire, particularly in the East. Cultural freedom was drastically curtailed and the Lithuanians suffered no less than the Poles. There was, however, before 1900, no sign of an awakening national sentiment among the Lithuanians, and right up to 1914 there was never the slightest suspicion of Lithuanian loyalty to the German Empire. The Lithuanians had, indeed, the reputation of being some of the best soldiers in the Prussian army, and the

Lithuanian representative in the Prussian Landtag, Smalakys, lost no opportunity of affirming his loyalty to Prussia and the Prussian system. The Lithuanians were never sufficiently solid in political allegiance to send a Lithuanian representative to the Reichstag.

Then came the War, which need not detain us; but afterwards it took time to sort out the Baltic States, define their frontiers and admit them to the League of Nations. The Allies spent most of 1919 wondering how they could get the Germans out of the Baltic States without letting the Bolsheviks in. There seems to have been no very clear idea what was to be done with the Niemen or with the port of Memel. But there was evidently at first a prevailing intention to secure certain rights over both for Poland; and at all events to detach everything to the north of the Niemen from Germany. The German delegation, when they heard of this, made a strong protest (9 May, 1919), pointing out that the Memellanders "including those whose mother-tongue is Lithuanian, have never desired a separation from Germany; . . . they have always proved themselves a loyal constituent part of the German community . . . moreover, Memel is an entirely German town . . . which has never in its whole history belonged either to Lithuania or to Poland." They further urged, the absolute majority of the inhabitants of the Territory were German—there were 68,000 German-speaking, as against 54,000 Lithuanian-speaking people in the Territory taken as a whole. It is not exactly clear on what these figures were based, as the 1910 census had given out of a total population of 141,000 at least 67,000 Lithuanian-speaking subjects.

However that may be, the German protest was of no avail, for it was decided to detach everything between the Niemen and the old Russian frontier from Germany, for two reasons. First, that however German the town of Memel itself might be, the country as a whole was Lithuanian. Secondly, that the port of Memel, as the only harbour between the mouth of the Niemen and the Latvian frontier, was a vital necessity to the economic existence of Lithuania. Thus the conception of the Memel Territory was created (Art. 99 of the Treaty of Versailles). But as yet there was no Lithuania to receive it. So the German bureaucracy was maintained, and from August, 1919, until February, 1920, the Territory was actually administered by a German Commission. In February, 1920, the French General Odry arrived with three companies of infantry—in all about 200 men—and took over command, but retained the German administration. Just before General Odry's arrival an event had occurred which certainly influenced the subsequent

actions of the Lithuanians, namely a Polish army, led by General Zeligowski, disregarding the Eastern frontier of Lithuania which the Lithuanians had but just fixed by treaty with the Soviets, marched in and seized Vilna. It was a fatally successful example of the policy of the *fait accompli*. The Lithuanians were to imitate it themselves three years later. As it was, they could do nothing but protest and close the Niemen to Polish timber. And closed it still remains.

Under the international régime the Memel territory was relatively prosperous; and a balanced budget was at least a sign that economically it could stand on its own feet. As time went on, the chief anxiety of the Lithuanians was, indeed, that the Allies would see fit to perpetuate the existing arrangement. International States were at that time in fashion, and the creation of another Danzig on the other side of East Prussia would solve, it was thought, the awkward problem of how to make the Niemen and the Port of Memel available to both Lithuania and Poland, who were still technically at war with each other. But it was just this solution that the Lithuanians were determined to forestall. Choosing their moment well—when Western Europe was engaged with the occupation of the Ruhr, and just after they themselves had received official recognition as a member of the League of Nations—the Lithuanians decided to solve the problem of Memel as the Poles had solved the problem of Vilna. On 10 January, 1923, a Lithuanian mob, followed by Lithuanian soldiery, broke into the Memel territory, overpowered at once the diminutive French garrison, and made themselves masters of everything up to the German frontier. The Allies entered a vigorous protest at Kovno and sent a commission of inquiry, but nobody had any troops to send.

#### *The Régime of the Statute*

The Memel Statute, which emerged after more than a year's hard bargaining, was not an arrangement of the League of Nations, but a treaty negotiated by the Ambassadors' Conference. The signatories were Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, on the one hand, and Lithuania on the other. Thus Herr Hitler's assertion at Nürnberg (*The Times* of 16 September, 1935) that "in a time of peace, years after the war was over, Memel was stolen from Germany, and this theft was legalised by the League of Nations" is inaccurate in more than one particular. Memel was stolen, if it was stolen from anyone at all, from the signatory Powers of the Treaty of Versailles. The constitution which "legalised this theft" was drawn up not by the League of Nations, but by the Conference of Ambassadors.

The point is not merely an academic one. For the League does play a part in the Statute, but not as a signatory Power, nor exactly as an arbiter of disputes, but as an international forum before which complaints can be brought, though it may not itself be able to provide redress or remedy. Article 17 of the Memel Statute provides that "any member of the Council of the League of Nations shall be entitled to draw the attention of the Council to any infraction of the provisions of the present convention." Further, that disputes on questions of law or fact between Lithuania and the signatory Powers shall be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague. These provisions are today the ground of one of the principal grievances of the Memellanders, who complain that the Statute provides no direct means of appeal from any interpretation or infringement of the Statute to which the Lithuanians may lend themselves. They have first to interest a signatory Power or member of the League Council. Since Germany left the League they are without a spokesman, and they feel that Lithuania is in disputes with themselves at once party and judge.

The Statute itself, which was signed in Paris on 8 May, 1924, recognised the sovereignty of Lithuania over the Memel Territory. It then proceeded to impose certain limitations on this sovereignty and guarantee a wide measure of autonomy to the Memellanders. The general purpose of the Statute emerges clearly from Article I of the First Annex: "The Memel Territory shall constitute under the sovereignty of Lithuania a unit, organised on democratic principles, enjoying legislative, judicial, administrative and financial autonomy within the limits prescribed in the present Statute." The remainder of the Statute, apart from the provisions relating to the harbour, is little more than an amplification of these general principles.

Under the new constitution legislative power was to be exercised by a Chamber of Representatives (Landtag), to be elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage. So much for "democratic principles." Lithuanian "sovereignty" found expression in the appointment of the Governor of the Territory by the President of the Lithuanian Republic. Executive power was to reside in a Directory of five Memellanders, the President of which was first to be appointed by the Governor and then to choose his own colleagues. But the Directory must enjoy the confidence of the Landtag and must resign if the Chamber refuses it its confidence. It thus provided the link between the elected representatives of the people and the sovereign State of Lithuania—a link that has unhappily never proved specially solid.

The harbour claimed the special attention of the framers of the Statute, and a section of it to itself. A Harbour Board of three was set up to administer the affairs of the port, consisting of a representative of the Lithuanian Government, a Memellander, appointed by the Directory, and a neutral representative of the League of Nations. This seems to have been the best and smoothest working of all the arrangements made by the Statute (which, indeed, is no high praise). The Port of Memel has steadily grown in importance since 1923, and the graph of tonnage handled there shows, with the single exception of a slight setback in that black year of depression 1931, an upward curve that is in places even steep. The figures for 1933-34, it is interesting to note, were almost exactly double those for 1912-13. There can be no doubt that the port is of the greatest importance to Lithuania—of far greater importance than it ever could be to Germany, who already has as many harbours on the Baltic as she can usefully employ. For Lithuania, however, it is the only possible outlet to the sea, and if she were to lose that, she would have to struggle hard for economic independence if not for her life. The Lithuanian Government have always recognised this (it was indeed originally their chief claim to the Territory) and proved it by spending much money in improving the harbour. In the course of the last ten years they have spent in all not less than £1,000,000 on improvements—a considerable sum for a small and struggling country. The Memellanders ungenerously remark that this is but a fraction of what the Lithuanians have extracted from the Memel Territory in taxes.

The constitutional arrangements have worked much less happily than those of the harbour, if they can be said to have worked at all. The Directory has hardly ever enjoyed the confidence of the Landtag—it has done so indeed in the case of only two out of a total of 15 Directories since the Statute became operative, and in each case the President of the Directory was finally dismissed by the Governor. It does seem as if the constitution were in the present temper of both sides almost unworkable, for no Directory that enjoyed the confidence of the Landtag could for long be acceptable to Kovno, and neither side takes kindly to compromise. Yet it should and need not be so. There was nothing theoretically incompatible in the association of Lithuanian sovereignty with the cultural and administrative autonomy of the Memelland which was intended by the Statute. But a régime of this kind presupposes always a measure of give-and-take on both sides, and it is just this attitude of tolerance which has always been lacking. The worst feature of the present

situation is that (as so often with authoritarian régimes) both Lithuania and Germany have worked themselves into positions from which neither can retreat with dignity, and the clash of two such temperaments renders a compromise infinitely more difficult.

Election results since 1924 have always given a preponderant majority to German parties in the Landtag. The German, or more strictly the Memelland, parties have never been returned with less than 24 out of 29 mandates. The five elections which have been held under the régime of the Statute have resulted as follows :—

October, 1925	...	27	German—2	Lithuanian parties.
August, 1927	...	25	„ 4	„ „
October, 1930	...	24	„ 5	„ „
May, 1932	...	24	„ 5	„ „
September, 1935	...	24	„ 5	„ „

When account is taken of the considerable number of Lithuanians which must have immigrated into the Territory in the course of the 12 years during which the Lithuanians have *de facto* been in control, these results show a remarkable consistency and give little support to the Lithuanian thesis that their brothers in the Memel Territory are gradually rediscovering their real nationality. If half the population of the Memel Territory is Lithuanian by race, it does seem that considerably less than half is Lithuanian by sympathy.

Relations between Germany and Lithuania and between the Lithuanian Government and the Memelland have clearly become worse since the advent of National-Socialism. That is not to say that either were on the best of terms before. With the exception of a year of *détente* in 1928, which followed a *rapprochement* between M. Waldemaras and Herr Stresemann, there was a persistent struggle until 1930 between the elected Landtag and the Lithuanian-appointed Directory. From time to time the grievances of the Memelland were brought before the Council of the League at Geneva, but these interventions hardly produced much material result and did not serve to relax the tension in the Memelland itself. In 1926, after the *coup d'état* of M. Waldemaras, martial law was proclaimed throughout Lithuania, and an "authoritarian" régime established, which exists to this day. Democratic government never worked in Lithuania, and there is no suggestion that she will ever risk a return to it. But the development was not without significance for the Memel Territory. That "unit, organised on democratic principles" of which the Statute had spoken, had become enveloped in an outer casing of dictatorship, or at least authoritarian rule; and

the continuance of democratic government in the sovereign State, which was one of the presuppositions of the Memel Statute, had proved illusory. How, for instance, could elections in the Memel Territory take place "in conformity with the Lithuanian Electoral Law," when in Lithuania itself no elections were ever held? It is hardly likely that a state which finds democratic principles unworkable at home will be enlightened in its application of those principles in a dependency.

After the elections of 1930 was formed the first Directory that had ever enjoyed the confidence of the Landtag. With Herr Böttcher as President there was a lull in the constitutional struggle for a year; but in February, 1932, he was dismissed and arrested on the suspicion of intrigue with Berlin, which he had visited in December, 1931. The Hague Court upheld both the legal right of the Governor to dismiss the President of Directory and the actual dismissal of Herr Böttcher in the circumstances in which it took place. The sovereignty of Lithuania was thus confirmed in its entirety. But the constitutional issue was not much aided by Herr Böttcher's indiscretions.

The year 1933 saw the access of Herr Hitler to power in Germany, and the Memelland was no whit behind other centres of "Auslands-deutschtum" in active sympathy. Two National-Socialist parties were founded one after the other in the summer of 1933. The first—the Christlich-soziale Arbeitsgemeinschaft (C.S.A.) led by Freiherr von Sass, was rather more radical in its views than the Sozialistische Volksgemeinschaft (SOVOG) of Dr. Neumann, who aimed at a *rapprochement* with the Lithuanians. Dr. Neumann's private letters to his brother, which were cited in evidence at the Great Treason Trial held at Kovno in the spring of this year (1935), seem to show that he genuinely desired to find a *modus vivendi* on the basis of the Memel Statute. Yet his sentence was one of 12 years' imprisonment, while that of Von Sass was only eight—which suggests that the Lithuanians regarded Neumann as the more redoubtable of the two.

The climax of the German-Lithuanian dispute was reached in the Kovno trial, when 126 Memellanders were tried *en masse* on a charge of high treason and conspiracy with Germany. Forty-one were acquitted, and the remaining 85 received sentences varying from death to a few months' imprisonment. The general charge of conspiring to promote an armed rising was not proved, nor had it *prima facie* much plausibility. Apart from anything else, the stock of firearms found in the possession of the accused was absurdly small. That many of the accused were at least in sympathy with



National Socialism is less improbable—it may be taken for granted; and some were doubtless guilty of indiscretion. But the sentences were regarded as unduly harsh, and there is ground for believing that the Lithuanians themselves would be glad now to scale them down, if they could do so without appearance of surrender.

The last elections are still fresh in the memory. In Germany every possible instrument of propaganda was mobilised in the cause of the “*Volksgenossen*” on the other side of the Niemen, and in the course of September the election acquired the character of the Saar plebiscite. A vote for the “*Einheitsliste*” was represented as a vote for Germany against Lithuania. This campaign was so far successful that international attention became focussed upon Memel. And the election, thanks to the intervention of the signatory Powers of the Memel Statute, was conducted, if under an unduly complicated system, at any rate without serious irregularity.

The united list of the Memelland parties made far less propaganda for themselves than was made for them abroad. Their chief demand was simple—an honest realisation of the provisions of the Statute. The majority of Memellanders realise well enough that the port of Memel, cut off from its hinterland—as it would be if it returned to the German fold—would relapse into its pre-war state of insignificance. The peasants and landowners, on the other hand, are inclined to compare the prices they get for their produce in the Lithuanian market with those that are current in East Prussia, to the advantage of the latter. But there is still not much real irredentism, though certainly more than a year ago, and it may be growing. The past year has been a bitter one, and it has not always been easy to understand the Lithuanian mentality. On 26 September, *The Times* wrote: “What matters most now is that the Lithuanian Government should make every effort to avoid presenting Germany with a legitimate grievance.” It cannot be said that up to now this good advice has been faithfully followed. The fear of National Socialism is a general and persuasive factor in the policy of Germany’s neighbours, but there are several ways of combating the ogre, and the best way for a much smaller Power is probably not to bait him.

With good faith the régime of the Statute can be made to work; with bad faith no conceivable constitution will work, whatever the guarantees. The announcement made in the House of Commons on 5 December that a Directory had been formed gives ground for hope that the parties in Memel have made up their minds to a more conciliatory attitude.

DAVID STEPHENS.

## THE STRUGGLE FOR A GERMAN-AUSTRIAN CUSTOMS UNION (1815-1931)

WHEN the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation was carried to the grave in 1806, there perished with it the personification of the universal, supra-national Imperial idea. Neither the Austrian Empire nor the German Confederation, which took the place of the old Empire, were its legal successors, yet its spiritual legacy survived in them. But the old claim of the Imperium to universality was narrowed down to a central European basis, when Europe came to be reorganised at the Congress of Vienna. There could no longer be any question of an unified power in Central Europe, since Prussia became the youngest member of the European pentarchy and as a second German Great Power stood face to face with Austria. None the less, even in the period of growing national conflicts the Universalist idea of the old Empire still retained a living force of its own. The belief in a new and compact All-German Empire and in its mission in Central Europe and in Europe as a whole—which was closely linked with the principle of the European balance of Power—never entirely lost its hold, alike on Conservative and Catholic minds and in the camp of the German democrats—even after the second German Empire arose on narrowly “Little German” lines.

Amid the fierce struggle between the universalist and the purely national conceptions of the Imperial idea, the fight for a customs union between Germany and Austria is only one section. The idea of customs union in Central Europe has a history of over a century. Already in the discussions which led to the German Federal Act and to the German Zollverein, this idea of a mid-European union as the proclaimed aim, now within the German Federal frontiers, now beyond them, steadily assumes broader proportions during the period of transition to industrialism and modern capitalism. The attempt to give practical effect to this customs project plays an important part in the negotiations and resolutions of the German National Assembly of 1848: it reaches a first positive stage in the February Treaty of 1853, and a second, more negative, stage in the struggle for the Franco-Prussian Commercial Treaty, which was initialled in 1862. The idea of customs union drops into the background during the short period of free trade, but with the victory of protectionist and neo-mercantile ideas it again becomes active, and as the Imperialist current gains ground under Caprivi, it once

more acquires passing importance in the system of mid-European commercial treaties set up in 1891. After fresh setbacks it attains to hitherto unknown strength during the Great War, thanks to the new conception of "Middle Europe," due to common military and political action. At the end of the war, which dragged three European Empires into the abyss, this idea seemed at first fatally wounded, but in the post-war period it has again raised its head in a new form. It plays its part in the movement for the Austro-German "Anschluss," while on the other hand it is made play with by the propagandists of the "United States of Middle Europe," of a Pan-European Customs Union or League of Peoples—now in the service of pacifist ideas, now of robust power-policy and designs of hegemony. Thus the same conception of trade policy reasserts itself at every decisive economic and political turning point—now stronger, now weaker, with different economic, political and geographical perspectives, while the meaning of "Middle Europe" also varies.

The struggle for a "Zollverein" between Germany and Austria, as it was conducted with varying success from the foundation of the German "Bund" till that of the North German Confederation and of the second German Empire, was dominated by the rivalry of Prussia and Austria for the hegemony in Germany. All proposals addressed to the Bund in the pre-March period for the execution of Article XIX of the Federal Act, and hence for the creation of a unitary German customs system, failed owing to Austria's separate position and the stubborn resistance of Prussia. Prussia, which through the decisions of the Vienna Congress had become a State with open frontiers 7,000 kilometres in length, was bound—if it was to maintain its predominant position beside Austria in the German Bund, and not to sink to the level of a middle State—to secure for its ill-scattered territories a free and unified internal market, and to round off and extend its economic area by bringing in other German States. By its Customs Law of 1818, then the most "Free Trade" law in all Europe, Prussia forced the hands of the German Confederation, and took the path of self-help; then, resting on the alliance between the Prussian bureaucracy and rising capitalistic enterprise, it adopted its famous "Enclave" policy, and set itself to round off Germany economically, while excluding Austria.

This policy attained its first success in 1833, through the foundation of the Prusso-German Zollverein. Among Austrian statesmen, Metternich was alone in realising the significance of this event and its bearing upon Prussia's hegemonistic designs. These designs were not merely a menace to Austrian predominance in Germany

and to the predominance of the German element as against the Slav or Magyar peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy, which was held together mainly by dynastic bonds. They also threatened the foundation of Metternich's mid-European policy, which sought to counteract the revolutionary forces of Liberalism and democracy, of the principle of nationalities and of political self-determination, by an essentially defensive and conservative policy of restoration and stability, and by creating an economic union of mid-European States, governed on an authoritative basis, but organised on federal lines. Metternich made more than one zealous attempt to fit Austria into the German economic system and to transform the Zollverein, by the inclusion of the whole Habsburg State or at least of its Austrian lands, into a Customs Alliance of a more mid-European character; but each time he failed owing to personal no less than practical considerations. The resistance of the Emperor, of the central authorities and of those home interests which clung to the prohibitive system, the existence of an internal customs line between Austria and Hungary and the different methods of taxation in Hungary, all contributed to this failure.

It was not until the Revolution of 1848 that the eyes of Austrian statesmen were at last opened to the indissoluble connection between the economic development and the movement for political unity. The course of that revolution made it quite clear that the nation's desire to make of Germany a single political unit enjoying the status of a Great Power was not to be attained merely by an act of union, but involved as a preliminary the removal of Austro-Prussian dualism, and, alternately, either the ejection of one of the two rivals from the Confederacy or its reduction to the status of a middle State.

The outbreak of the struggle between "Great German" and "Little German," between Austrian and Prussian hegemony, set the Slav and Hungarian peoples in motion against the danger of a Great German Empire; and the German National Assembly at Frankfurt, together with the problem of a constitution for all Germany, also discussed that of an all-German Customs Union. But the failure of the experiment of the "Paulskirche"<sup>1</sup> proved that the German nation was not capable of achieving national unity from its own strength. The Prussian Government now adopted a policy blending in an obscure and contradictory fashion territorial and national aims, while the Austrian Government mastered its internal troubles, checked Liberal and democratic forces on the one hand and Czech national aims on the other, and with Russian help

<sup>1</sup> The Church in Frankfurt where the Parliament of 1848 met.

crushed the Hungarian insurrection, thus recovering the power for a counterstroke. When then Prussia at Olmütz shrank back from the test of war, the moment had come when the struggle for hegemony in Germany was transferred to the economic field, and seemed to foreshadow a decision of at least provisional importance.

Already towards the end of 1849 and early in 1850 the Rhine-lander, Karl Bruck, as Austrian Minister of Commerce, had with all the strength of his enthusiastic personality, in a series of famous memoranda, pleaded the idea of Customs Union; he gave it what may be called its classic formula, in the grandiose plan of a vast and unified continental market. What he had in mind was a policy of continental self-sufficiency, with the centre of gravity transferred towards the Balkan Peninsula and the Mediterranean. In his own words: "What is at stake is the common salvation, the greatness, welfare and fame of Austria and Germany. That they have hitherto been separated in custom and trade is the rock of offence in all matters of national policy and the main cause of our confused conditions." To Bruck an absolute condition for the satisfactory settlement of the problem was that the establishment of a customs union, based on an organic unity of interests, should coincide with the entry of the Monarchy as a whole into the German Confederation. To him the idea of German solidarity of interests stood higher than any specific Austrian policy. Schwarzenberg's attitude was quite different. He made this plan his own, while skilfully exploiting South German protective tendencies and fanning the antipathies of the middle and small States against Prussia and the North German free traders. But in his eyes the project of the "70 million Reich" was a mere instrument of pronouncedly Great Austrian hegemonist policy, and the iron bar destined to make the exclusion of Austria from Germany for ever impossible.

By 1848 the existence of the inner customs line (*Zwischenzolllinie*) and the Hungarian system of taxation were the main obstacles to action in the sphere of trade policy on the part of the Habsburg Monarchy. After the victory of the counter-revolution these obstacles disappeared, a strongly centralised unitary State was set up, and a unified customs tariff was created for the whole Monarchy; and thus the weapons were forged without which Austria's efforts to achieve a mid-European customs union would have been doomed to failure. The struggle for this Customs Union, which broke out in 1849 and lasted for several years, was full of dramatic and swiftly changing situations, and was pursued with passion and bitterness by all concerned. Prussia succeeded in effectively counter-

ing Austria's attempt to split the Zollverein and assault her autonomy in commercial matters, but this was only achieved by taking a very subdued line in the question of Union during the discussions of Olmütz, and by Rudolf von Delbrück's skill in 1851 in inducing the free trade "Stetterverein" to accept the Zollverein. This open turn of Prussian policy towards free trade opened the way to a successful linking up with Western Europe, which was, of course, dominated by the capitalist economic system and had long grown out of the stage of self-sufficient agrarian States. But at the same time the deliberate intensification of the economic conflict between Austria and the Zollverein drove a wedge into the efforts to achieve a Customs Union. Thanks to Prussia's obstinate resistance this first great struggle remained undecided, and in February, 1853, a sort of armistice agreement was concluded between the two sides, which went considerably beyond an ordinary commercial treaty.

Though Austria did not by this treaty attain her full aim, she had at least succeeded in obtaining a virtual balance in mutual tariffs, a reciprocal most-favoured-nation clause, and the establishment of preferential duties, such as placed Austro-German trade on a special footing; and this seemed to open the way for a Customs Union with a common frontier and tariff against all foreign countries. The treaty also included the important provision that in 1860 negotiations were to be opened between the two contracting parties for the purpose of a complete Customs Union. In face of these decisive concessions to Austria, the most that can be said of Prussian policy was that it kept the *Zollverein* in existence and further extended it; that it gained time, and offered hope that, before negotiations could be resumed, the general economic situation and the political constellation in Europe would have changed in favour of Prussia.

Despite constantly renewed efforts, Austria failed during the fifties to make any progress towards the goal of a full Customs Union, and this was due to the Prussian Government's skilful policy of delay and sabotage. Her prestige in Europe was seriously shaken by the outcome of the Italian war and the bankruptcy of dynastic policy, while at home she was weakened by the recrudescence of strife among the nationalities and movements for constitutional reform. Currency trouble and chronic deficits led to a desperate financial situation; the extreme protectionist reaction into which national industry plunged as a result of the world crisis of 1857 had a paralysing effect upon trade; and in Prussia Austria found an opponent bent on exploiting every conjuncture in its own particular interest. The Prussian Government then allied itself, for reasons

of foreign policy, with the German free trade party and boldly attached itself to the West European practice of commercial treaties, taking Cobden's famous Treaty of 1860 as model for its own liberally conceived most-favoured-nation treaty with France. Moreover, in achieving this Prussia definitely aimed at making the economic conflict with Austria unbridgeable and the Customs Union impossible, and at driving her obnoxious rival out of Germany, in the first instance in the sphere of trade policy.

This policy—inaugurated by the "New Era," and taken over and continued by Bismarck—of economic separation from Austria by the help of free trade commercial treaties and tariff reform, suffered certain setbacks, but in 1865 ended in triumph all the more complete because it had the enthusiastic support of the hostile Liberal majority in the Prussian Diet. In the teeth of bitter resistance from Austria and the Southern States, the Prussian Cabinet was able to achieve every important aim—reform of the customs tariff in a free trade sense, a commercial treaty with France on the basis of mutual "favoured-nation" treatment, withdrawal of Austria from its closer connection with the *Zollverein* and substitution for the older intimate relations of an ordinary commercial treaty without any preferences or political obligations. If the preamble to this treaty contained a reference to the plan of a future Customs Union, it was—in diametrical contrast to the February Treaty of 1853—a mere rhetorical phrase which involved no commitment and served to cover up the Austrian defeat. Thus already before the German War of 1866, Austrian hegemonist designs had met with a decisive reverse in the field of commercial policy.

The war of 1866 destroyed for the time being all hope of a customs union between the Habsburg Monarchy and Germany. But it had a further important political effect, in that it led to the conclusion of the *Ausgleich* or compromise, and therefore a customs alliance, between Cisleithan Austria and Hungary, thereby assuring to the Hungarian Government decisive influence on the future commercial policy of the Monarchy as a whole.

During the Bismarckian era economic relations between the German Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy did not extend beyond an ordinary commercial treaty. And, indeed, when in 1873 the great international economic crisis broke out and put an abrupt end to the era of economic prosperity and expansion, when in all the capitalist Great Powers except Great Britain a strong protectionist reaction, sponsored by the big landed proprietors and the heavy industrialists, broke out and proved unexpectedly successful, then both Austria

and Germany, independently of each other, turned away from free trade and adopted a policy of autonomous customs tariffs, free from binding treaties and resting on a protectionist basis. From the end of the seventies trade relations between the two Empires were so strained that, despite their political alliance, they often came near to a customs war. Despite, or rather just because of, this radically transformed economic situation, the idea of a German-Austro-Hungarian economic understanding was widely canvassed, but no longer in the old sense of power politics, which had lost its meaning since the German question had been solved in favour of a Prussian hegemony, but rather on lines of purely economic opportunism. The Customs Union is no longer advocated by the Governments and the bureaucracies, but by individual economists, parliamentarians and interested groups, and especially by the Hungarian Agrarians, who were keenly interested in a system of preferences directed against the competition of overseas and Russian wheat.

The eighties were a transitional period, filled by efforts towards national economic "autarchy" and protectionist isolation, and led in the direction of Imperialism; long-period tariff commitments and commercial autonomy were at a discount, and the idea of a Customs Union seemed not so much an independent problem as the reflex of a vigorous new movement intended to ensure Europe against the competition of America, the British Empire and Russia by the creation of a big mid-European Customs alliance. Though such aims never went beyond the stage of mere projects, they were none the less a clear symptom that the countries and peoples of Middle Europe continued to feel the need for a closer customs relation of some kind. This feeling was to a certain extent taken into account under the Caprivi system of commercial treaties in 1891, the importance of which lay in the desire to reinforce and strengthen on economic lines the political Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy, under the stimulus of the "Franco-Russe."

Behind the commercial treaties concluded for a period of twelve years with Austria and Italy—in which the principle of Customs autonomy, hitherto upheld, was now replaced by those of "most favoured nation," of tariff concession, of bound tariff, and by the method of joint negotiation as against foreign Powers—stood the idea of a mid-European Customs Union. This tendency roused hopeful expectations among the general public, and all the more so when in 1893 it proved possible to bring Roumania and Serbia into the net. The calculation that this system would serve as groundwork to mid-European economic co-operation, in which political



and economic interests would go hand in hand and in the end produce an offensive and defensive alliance against foreign economic competition or political offensives, remained unfulfilled. Indeed, there came first a slackening and then a change of course. After the expiry of the commercial treaties of 1904 there was a turn towards even sharper protection on Imperialist lines, even though it came in the years 1903-5 to the formation of mid-European economic unions (*Wirtschaftsvereine*) both in Germany and Austria-Hungary. The more Germany by her economic and political development assumed the position of a world Power, and turned her eyes to colonial acquisitions and the foundation of an overseas Empire, the stronger grew the currents in favour of Customs autonomy, and the deeper grew the economic cleft between her and Austria. Hence since the beginning of the 20th century the project of a mid-European Union tends to be less and less discussed in parliamentary debates or at conferences, and is only revived on the very eve of the Great War in the form of German-Austrian attempts at *rapprochement*.

It was only in the World War that wide circles of the most divergent party outlook awoke to the view already formulated by Schmoller in 1900 in the following words: "The States of Central Europe must put into the background the political and economic factors which divide them, and concentrate on what unites them. Far off as a mid-European Zollverein may be, the tasks of the new century lie in the direction of a combination between the medium and smaller Central European States." After 1914 a positive flood of books, pamphlets, reviews and newspaper articles discussed in every possible aspect the old idea of a Customs Union, or at least a Customs and Trade Alliance, between Germany and Austria, extended to include the Balkan States. With added vigour, though on a much modified and much broader basis of world politics, the political factor, which had stood at the cradle of the original Austro-German *rapprochement*, was reintroduced into the debate. In the various party camps the, in its essence, Pan-German conception gained ground that "Middle Europe" must hold together, not only in a political and military but also in an economic sense, and must conclude a permanent alliance, not confined to the period of war, and including not only Austria and Germany, but if possible Turkey, an autonomous Poland and the Balkan States; in any case Bulgaria and Roumania. With the passion of a political and social apostle, Friedrich Naumann revived the forgotten theories of Friedrich List and Karl Bruck, of Lagarde and Konstantin Frantz, and preached the future of Middle Europe and the national mission

of Germanism. While there was almost complete unanimity from the Pan-Germans to the Social Democrats as to the need for a far-reaching economic agreement among the States of "Middle Europe," there was wide divergence of opinion as to the final aim and as to the final form which the economic union should take. The idea of full Customs Union with internal free trade receded more and more into the background, and its place was taken by the idea of a close Customs and economic alliance with interior dividing lines (*Zwischenzoll-linie*), but a common frontier against foreign countries, or again by the idea of merely preferential treatment and a system of commercial treaties directed towards achieving closer co-operation between a number of States. It was not only the technical difficulties and the conflict of interests between the various economic groups which found expression in this lack of any uniform programme of action. It was also the conflict between Pan-German hegemonist policy, aimed at the subordination of the non-German peoples of Central Europe to German leadership, and, on the other hand, a federal policy on defensive lines, such as would ensure the existence of Central Europe against both West and East, diminish the conflict between the German and Slav peoples and protect the national individuality of the peoples of Austria-Hungary and the Balkans. Aspirations of this kind won real political importance through the official negotiations initiated by the German Government in November, 1915, with a view to creating an unified economic area out of Germany and Austria-Hungary in the first instance.

After prolonged special discussions the representatives of the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments met in July, 1918, at Salzburg, for the final negotiations. Since the Spa Agreement of 1917 the aim laid before the Conference was the following: "Conclusion of a Customs and economic alliance between Austria and Germany, and its gradual erection, with a view to eventually preparing completely free intercourse between the two Powers, without any duties. The Customs and Trade alliance shall have no aggressive character against other States and shall not render friendly trade relations with them more difficult." When the Salzburg Conference completed its deliberations on 12 October, 1918, by setting up a "Mantel-Tariff" for a German-Austrian Customs unit and declared in favour of an international alliance, with an internal Customs line, but a common trade policy towards the outside world, the dissolution of the Habsburg Monarchy was already in full swing. With its break up and the substitution of a system of seven Succession States, and the far-reaching restrictions

placed upon the freedom of movement of Germany and of "Rump Austria" by the Peace Treaties, a solution of the mid-European problem in the German sense had become impossible.

If, then, the decisions of the Salzburg Conference were a mere Pyrrhic victory, the triumph of the "Great German" idea, as taken up by the masses when the dynasties fell, also did not go beyond a purely theoretical victory. With the forcible veto imposed by the Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain upon the union of Germany and Austria, as demanded by the German peoples in the name of self-determination, there begins the history of an organised movement for "Anschluss." This movement in the post-war period has for reasons both of national and economic policy become the mouthpiece of the old idea of Customs Union, and has, despite all resistance and despite every attempt to shut out the Reich from all plans of Danubian federation, kept the idea alive for over a decade, until in the spring of 1931 it became for a short time a foremost subject of European political discussion.

Already during the discussion of the Briand plan at the League Assembly of 1930, the Austrian Chancellor, Dr. Schober, had not unskilfully put forward the idea of building up "Pan-Europa" from below by regional agreements, as a preparation for a German-Austrian Customs Union. But none the less, when after the failure of the efforts for European tariff disarmament the preliminary agreement for a German-Austrian *Zollverein*, as concluded by Schober and the German Foreign Minister, Dr. Curtius, on 21 March, 1931, was made public, it caused a sensational surprise. Apart from certain tactical reserves, the project was at first warmly received by the overwhelming majority of German opinion, and by the younger generation with positive jubilation; for it seemed to open a gap in the solid wall drawn around the enfeebled Germany by the Treaty of Versailles, and thus to offer a new sphere of activity and power in the South-East. But, on the other hand, the project had not been sufficiently prepared in the diplomatic field, and at once met with bitter opposition from France, who saw in it a threat to the whole artificial system which it had built up since the war, with the object of holding down Germany. An essential principle of French policy in this period had been to form out of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Roumania and Jugoslavia a dam against any German "Drang nach Osten." The voices raised against the project in Paris and in Prague above all insisted that an economic union between Austria and Germany would be followed by political union, and that Czechoslovakia would thus be isolated, Hungary,

Bulgaria, Jugoslavia and Roumania perhaps subject to German influence, and, as a result, European stability endangered.

By invoking Paragraph 80 of the Treaty of Versailles, Paragraph 88 of the Treaty of St. Germain, and the Protocol of 4 October, 1922, French policy speedily succeeded in mobilising international opinion against the clumsy surprise strategy of the two Central European Governments—as revealed especially in the manner of announcement and in the choice of occasion. It was thus discredited on both political and moral grounds as a danger to peace, and a wedge was driven into the internal front both in Germany and in Austria. In Austria the industrialists began to make opposition to the project out of fear of competition, while the Agrarians hoped to enlarge their market and place their products under better conditions. In Germany, on the contrary, it was the “Reichsverband der deutschen Industrie” which favoured the project, whereas the Agrarians declared in May, through the medium of the “Landbund,” that they could only support the Customs Union if it was limited to Austria and Germany, and not extended to include other Central and South-Eastern European countries. Thus France, by exploiting her financial superiority and the economic distress of Austria and Germany, in the end found it easy—especially after the collapse of the Austrian “Kreditanstalt” and the outbreak of the German credit crisis—to kill the whole Customs Union project, which had been designed not only to strengthen the national position of the Germans, but to introduce a rationalisation of mid-European economics. Already on 3 September, two days before the decision of The Hague Tribunal was announced, Schober and Curtius found it necessary to declare in the name of their Governments that they considered it useless to continue their efforts for a Customs Union, in view of the economic crisis in Europe.

The solution of the Danubian problem, the reconciliation of German and Slav Middle Europe, has thus for the moment been indefinitely postponed. The need for a political and economic reorganisation of the Danubian area, which till 1918 belonged to the Dual Monarchy, but today is divided among the seven Succession States and is racked by acute political, economic and racial conflicts, is more clamant than ever. The problem of a confederation of sovereign national States with full guarantees for the various national minorities, the problem of the creation of a free and supra-national “Völkerreich” linking organically Middle and Eastern Europe, has today ceased to be a purely German and Austrian problem, and has become a European and world-problem affecting the vital interests of all.

HANS ROSENBERG.

## JACOBITE RELATIONS WITH PETER THE GREAT<sup>1</sup>

AN earlier volume of the *Slavonic Review*<sup>2</sup> contains an essay upon the relations between England and Ukraine, and recounts in particular the story of the feelers that were flung out by the Government of George I towards Orlik, successor to Mazeppa as the leader of the Ukrainian Separatists. In this essay an attempt will be made to show the other side of this aspect of the complications of European diplomacy in the first decades of the 18th century—the efforts made to interest Peter the Great in the Jacobite cause, and to involve him in the problems of the English succession by playing on that clash of interests between him and George I which was so important a factor in the politics of the last ten years of the great Tsar's reign.

The seven volumes of the Stuart Papers published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission contain much evidence as to the closeness of the relations between Petersburg and the Stuart Court in Rome in the years up to the death of Charles XII at the end of 1718; further material, covering the period that was closed by the death of Peter himself, exists among the Stuart MSS. at Windsor Castle, and of this material the writer has been graciously permitted to make use. It throws an interesting light both on the constant optimism of the Jacobites and on the Tsar's masterly grasp of the complicated politics of the day.

It is clear from the course of the negotiations between the two Courts that, as one would expect, Peter was never actuated by any but interested motives in his dealings with James III. The greatness of Russia was the Tsar's sole concern; everything else was subordinated to that mighty end. Consequently, as it is hoped will appear from this study, the Jacobites interested Peter only in so far as they provided a weapon for the achievement of his aims in Western Europe. Nor was his attitude towards them always one of friendship. When, in 1711, it was rumoured that Queen Anne was planning to leave her Crown to her brother, the Tsar considered offering his support to the Hanoverians in order to gain their aid in the Northern War.<sup>3</sup> But the early years of the reign of George I saw a change of front. Rivalry with England, nervous at the incursion of a Great Power into the Baltic, and disputes with George I

<sup>1</sup> This essay is abridged from a chapter on the relations between the Jacobites and Peter the Great included in a detailed study of Jacobite intrigues in Europe in the years 1719–1725.

<sup>2</sup> *Early Relations of England and Ukraine*, by E. Borshak, in vol. x.

<sup>3</sup> Kurakin Archives, v, p. 182 : Golovkin to Kurakin, 21 December, 1711.

over the problems of Bremen and Verden, Mecklenburg, Schleswig, and the Swedish War led finally, in 1720, to a complete breach of relations between Tsar and King-Elector.<sup>4</sup> With England, the Tsar always maintained, he had no quarrel at all, though difficulties arose, of course, from the dual capacity of her King, but between George I and Peter I there was a serious clash of interests. Dureng has expressed the position succinctly in his *Le Duc de Bourbon et l'Angleterre*<sup>5</sup>—"le czar était pour l'électeur un danger permanent, l'électeur était pour le czar un obstacle invincible." How far the Tsar was prepared to go in his hostility to the Elector is clear from his negotiations with the Jacobites in the years 1716-1718. He even put forward the suggestion that James, who was seeking a Queen, should marry his daughter, the Grand Duchess Anne.<sup>6</sup> The negotiations continued, however, only as long as there seemed to be a possibility that James would be restored by Spain and Sweden, and that the Jacobites could assist Peter to bring the long Northern War to a close by arranging a reconciliation between him and Charles XII.<sup>7</sup> Sentiment did not enter the Tsar's calculations; the principles of "Realpolitik" were his only guide. Nevertheless, there were Jacobites, now and later, who clung to the touching hope that he would desire "the glory of restoring an injur'd Prince to the right of his ancestors," as Dillon, one of the leaders of the Jacobites in Paris, expressed it in December, 1721, to the famous Admiral Thomas Gordon, one of the Jacobites in the Russian service.<sup>8</sup> But the death of Charles XII and the defeat of Spain showed Peter that nothing was likely to be done for the Jacobites, and that, being powerless, they could not in any way serve his purpose. Accordingly, relations with them ceased abruptly at the end of 1718. With George I, soon committed to the attempt to preserve a now defenceless Sweden from the rapacity of the Tsar, relations were at their worst, but it was not until after the Peace of Nystad had been signed in the August of 1721 that the Jacobites again took a place in Peter's policies. Until then the liquidation of the Northern War, with as much advantage as possible for Russia, was an interest that absorbed all the Tsar's attention.

<sup>4</sup> For details of the relations between Peter and George I in this period see Basil Williams's *Stanhope*, Nisbet Bam's contributions to volume v of the *Cambridge Modern History*, and the works of J. F. Chance, notably *George I and the Northern War*, and the articles in the *English Historical Review*, volumes xxvi and xxvii.

<sup>5</sup> P. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Stuart Papers, Historical MSS. Commission, vol. v, p. 154.

<sup>7</sup> The full story of these negotiations is in the Stuart Papers, ii-vii.

<sup>8</sup> Historical MSS. Commission, Drummond-Moray MSS., p. 171.

Two months after the peace he was proclaimed at Petersburg "Father of the Fatherland, Peter the Great, and Emperor of All Russia"; his power seemed complete, his ambitions had been realised. Thenceforth, in the opinion of Nisbet Bain, "his policy was predominantly Oriental."<sup>9</sup> How far this is true the account that follows will endeavour to show.

The peace brought great changes in the situation. As Campredon, the French Envoy, reported, the Tsar's friendship was sought "by all princes with a species of abasements,"<sup>10</sup> and the Regent of France, in particular, was anxious to secure his support against the hostility of the Emperor Charles VI. Both France and Britain failed to understand that Russia could now stand alone, and thought that Peter needed their support. Hitherto, it is true, he had sought a French alliance, but the victory over Sweden had made that no longer a vital issue. Consequently, the years that followed saw the French and British Governments endeavouring to draw Peter into an alliance, which he would accept only on his own terms. He was willing to come to an understanding with France, but steadily refused to consider a reconciliation with George I. The opposition of Hanover to his designs for Baltic supremacy had been too bitter to allow him to consider seriously a renewal of good relations that were no longer necessary for the security of his Empire. George I, anxious for the security of his German dominions, desired peace in the North, and strove, through France, to come to terms with the Tsar, but Peter, in spite of his apparent willingness on one occasion in 1724 to accept a compromise, evaded the issue up to the time of his death.<sup>11</sup>

With France alone he would have made an agreement at any time, but the Regent Orléans, and, after him, the Duc de Bourbon, were too much dependent upon the English alliance to be able to make a separate treaty with Russia. Consequently, nothing could be done.

For the Jacobites, however, the years after Nystad were years of hope and encouragement. At times it seemed to them, blinded as they were by the fervent optimism bred by exile, that Peter was about to undertake a campaign against Britain for the restoration of James III, and though the Tsar never committed himself to independent action they were hopeful even to the end of his reign that he would prove the saviour so long and eagerly awaited.

<sup>9</sup> *C.M.H.*, v, p. 543.

<sup>10</sup> Chance, *Alliance of Hanover*, p. 8.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the full account of these negotiations in J. F. Chance's articles in *English Historical Review*, xxvi and xxvii, and the works of Vandal, Dureng, and Wiesener.

The signing of the Peace of Nystad supplied an opportunity for attempting to reopen the negotiations that had ceased on the death of Charles XII. In November, 1721, James himself wrote to Admiral Gordon a letter in which he expressed his "satisfaction" at the conclusion of the Treaty and at the same time suggested that the Tsar should be asked to employ his now idle troops on an expedition to England.<sup>12</sup> The birth of Prince Charles on the last day of 1720, and the disturbances caused in England by the bursting of the "South Sea Bubble" had greatly encouraged the Jacobites everywhere, and throughout the year 1721 attempts had been made to gain the active support of France, Spain, or the Pope. These attempts had failed, and James had turned in consequence to the Tsar. General Dillon, the Jacobite officer in the French service, who was acting at this time as James's chief representative in Paris, also wrote to Gordon, and in his letter assured the Admiral that "five or six thousand men with arms and ammunition for twenty thousand" would be sufficient to achieve the great purpose, as England was ripe for the restoration.<sup>13</sup> Gordon duly reported these matters to Peter in April, 1722,<sup>14</sup> and he was supported by Sir Harry Stirling, a Jacobite who acted as an unofficial agent of James in Russia, and who presented a memorial to the Tsar in December, 1721.<sup>15</sup> But these efforts to interest Peter in the English situation met with no response, and for a few months the Jacobites, concentrating upon those endeavours to bring about an unaided rising in England that led to the "Atterbury" and "Laver" "plots" in the summer of 1722, suspended their efforts to gain the assistance of foreign Powers.

Although Peter did not respond to these attempts to draw him into the Jacobite circle, it became evident that he was not altogether indifferent to the existence of the exiles. At the end of 1721 his Ambassador in Paris, Prince Vassily Dolgoruky, was sent on a mission to Spain, where he was apparently instructed to see the Duke of Ormonde, who was the acknowledged leader of the English Jacobites, though he was living in exile in Madrid. The Tsar had given an audience to Ormonde in July, 1717,<sup>16</sup> during the earlier negotiations with the Jacobites, and the Duke had actually been

<sup>12</sup> Historical MSS Commission, Drummond-Moray MSS., p. 159.

<sup>13</sup> Drummond-Moray MSS., p. 171. Letter of 26 December, 1721.

<sup>14</sup> Solovyev Book IV, volume 18, pp. 745-750. *Cambridge Modern History*, v, 543.

<sup>15</sup> Bantuish-Kamensky, "Obzor vneshnich snoshenij Rossii po 1800 god," p. 134. For the reference to this book and other Russian words, I am indebted to Dr. Sergius Yakobson.

<sup>16</sup> Stuart Papers, iv, p. 447.



sent by James at that time on an unsuccessful mission to the north.<sup>17</sup> It is probable that Peter wished Ormonde to assist Dolgoruky in finding Jacobites who would be willing to enter the Russian service, for to Camocke, a Jacobite naval officer who held the rank of Rear-Admiral in the Spanish Navy, the Prince offered a position as "Admiral with the Flag at the Top-mast," if he would take service under the Tsar.<sup>18</sup> Dolgoruky's mission does not seem to have had any political significance for the Jacobites, for Ormonde did not, apparently, make any report on it to James; but while in Paris on his way to Spain he saw a good deal of one of James's agents there, James Menzies, who reported to the King in Rome that he had been much encouraged by his conversations with the Prince.<sup>19</sup> James was fully occupied at the time with preparations for the abortive rising in England, which he hoped to lead, and returned little more than a polite acknowledgment to Menzies, but when, in March, 1722, it became clear that nothing could be expected from England, he turned once again to the idea of a restoration achieved with foreign aid. In May he heard that Dolgoruky had returned to Paris, and wrote to Dillon to express his disappointment at having heard nothing more of the Prince's conversations with the Jacobites in Paris.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, Dillon must have seen Dolgoruky about this time, and have discussed the situation with him,<sup>21</sup> for, though there is no record of such conversations at Windsor, James was able to tell the English Jacobite, Lord Orrery, a month later that he was actually "applying anew to the Czar," though any help from him was uncertain and slow.<sup>22</sup> On 15 June he drew up a letter to Peter, thanking him for the continuance of his interest, which had been signified by orders to Dolgoruky to confer with Dillon, and begging him to pay particular attention to a memorial, containing a project for the invasion of Britain, which was to be presented on his behalf.<sup>23</sup>

This memorial was framed by Dillon, and given to Dolgoruky,

<sup>17</sup> The full details of this mission are in the fourth and succeeding volumes of the printed Stuart Papers.

<sup>18</sup> This was reported to Carteret by Colonel Stanhope, the British Ambassador in Spain who was using Camocke as a spy, in February, 1723, when the offer was renewed. (Public Record Office, S.P. 74-92)

<sup>19</sup> Stuart MSS. at Windsor: Menzies to James, 8 December, 1721.

<sup>20</sup> Windsor: James to Dillon, 9 May, 1722.

<sup>21</sup> Schaub, the British representative in Paris, reported to Carteret in June that Dolgoruky was having frequent meetings with Dillon. (British Museum, Sloane 4204, f. 77.)

<sup>22</sup> Windsor: James to Orrery, 15 June, 1722.

<sup>23</sup> Windsor: also in Solov'yev, Book IV, volume 18, pp. 745-750, and mentioned in *C.M.H.*, v, 543.

who carried it to Russia with him in October on being superseded at Paris by Alexander Kurakin. Unfortunately, there appears to be no copy of the memorial among the Stuart MSS. at Windsor; probably it was written hurriedly by Dillon, so that it might be ready when Dolgoruky left, and there was no time to submit it to James for approval. Dillon was well practised in the writing of such documents, and the King had full confidence in his ability and loyalty. The original memorial, however, was preserved in the Imperial Archives, and it appears from this that the scheme laid before the Tsar was merely a more detailed version of that which Gordon had submitted earlier in the year <sup>24</sup>

That these hopes of Russian support were not altogether illusory is shown by letters from two very different sources. In the one, Colonel Stanhope, informing Carteret of Dolgoruky's offer to Camocke, adds:—

"The said Minister, when here, assured Camocke that his Master was resolved to attempt something this summer (1723) against His Majesty's Britannic Dominions in favour of the Pretender and therefore desired an experienced sea-officer well acquainted with those coasts and that would undertake to carry his Fleet through the Sound."<sup>25</sup>

The other letter was sent to Rome by Sir Harry Stirling, on 15 June, 1722, and was forwarded to Dillon in September (one of the drawbacks of a distant correspondence, which James later tried to overcome, was the delay caused by epistolary consultations between him and his advisers in Paris). Stirling reported that he had heard from Admiral Gordon—

"that the Czar had the most sincere inclinations in your favour and had given orders to his Minister at Paris to confer with M. Dillon, and only waited his answer to come to a resolution."<sup>26</sup>

These orders had led to the conversations with Dillon referred to above, but Dolgoruky's report was apparently not too optimistic, for Stirling added that, though the Tsar—

"wisheth for nothing more than an opportunity to serve you—the jalousie the K. of Denmark entertains of His preparations by sea as well as on the Duke of Holstein's account as the free passage of the Sound which the Czar insists on and is refused by K. of Denmark would He thinks render an Expedition in your favour at present fruitless but to satisfy you of the sincerity of his intentions he is willing the King makes use of his name and interest Induce either France or Spain to undertake an expedition in your favour he engages to march an Army of 60 or 100,000 men through Poland into Germany to hinder any troops going from Hanover or the neighbourhood into England "

The only comment that need be made upon this extraordinary

<sup>24</sup> Solovyev, Book IV, volume 18, pp. 745-750.

<sup>25</sup> S.P. 94-92, 15 February, 1723.

<sup>26</sup> Windsor.

suggestion is that at this time it was as likely that France and Spain could be induced to "undertake an expedition" as that a large Russian army would be sent into Germany. That Peter should ever have put forward such ideas seems incredible. After twenty-one years of war with Sweden, and with the Persian and Turkish Wars still on his hands, it was not possible for him to mobilise 60,000 men on his western frontiers, and any idea of marching them "through Poland into Germany" was nothing less than fantastic. The Empire would have risen against him, however cool the relations of the Emperor and of certain of the princes with George I.

Was Stirling misled by his zeal, or did the Tsar make the proposition with some ulterior motive in view? Neither case is improbable, and the second is more than likely, in view of Peter's diplomatic powers. But what could he gain if his idea were taken up? Here one is, perhaps, on surer ground. The Tsar was desirous of an alliance with France, though, as we have seen, no longer eager for it on any but his own conditions, and he may have hoped that James, if properly encouraged, might bring pressure to bear on the French Government in his favour. But even this does not seem very likely; it is probably more reasonable to suppose that Stirling's loyalty had outrun his judgment. In any case, from his knowledge of French and Spanish politics, Dolgoruky cannot have led Peter to believe that there were, at this time, any chances of assistance to the Jacobites from the Bourbon Powers.

But whatever the objections that can be urged against Stirling's letter, James was much encouraged by the evidence of Tsarist sympathy. "What looks most favourable at present," he said in his covering note to Dillon, "is our expectations from the Czar."<sup>27</sup> Hopes were undoubtedly rising, and were destined soon to reach great heights, for relations with the Tsar now became closer than they had ever been before. On 17 August, Dillon reported that he had opened a correspondence with Dolgoruky,<sup>28</sup> and in September James sent to him for the Ambassador a note of gratitude and compliment, discreetly left unsigned.<sup>29</sup> Unless the negotiations were to be carried on in Paris, the King said, Dillon was to send full powers to Stirling, so that he might treat with the Tsar himself.<sup>30</sup> But Dolgoruky put forward a better scheme. It would obviously be preferable that Peter should see someone who had first-hand knowledge of the situation in England, and he suggested that a well-informed Jacobite should follow him to Russia, though not to enter

<sup>27</sup> Windsor: James to Dillon, 1 September, 1722.

<sup>28</sup> Windsor.

<sup>29</sup> Windsor: James to Dillon, 12 September, 1722.

<sup>30</sup> Windsor: James to Dillon, 1 September.

the country unless the Tsar wished it. Then, if he were willing to receive an envoy from James, one would be awaiting his pleasure<sup>31</sup> James at once fell in with this suggestion,<sup>32</sup> and as Dolgorouky, while in Paris, had shown great friendship for Colonel O'Brien, an Irish Jacobite in the French service who was much trusted in Jacobite circles, the King selected the Irishman as a suitable envoy<sup>33</sup> The appointment was made in October by a letter from James to the Colonel; under the circumstances it was necessarily of a vague character, but needs reproducing in full.—<sup>34</sup>

"The good character I have had of you made me very glad to find you were so much in the confidence of Prince Dolgorouky and both one and t'other joined together determines me to direct you to go to Dantzic to dispose of yourself after as you shall find most convenient for my service by the advice and intelligence you may receive from Prince Dolgorouky (*sic*) or any other of the Czar's Ministers. I direct M. Dillon to send you with this my full powers to treat and conclude any treaty with such as the Czar may appoint for that effect, as there is no venturing by the post to send you any instructions in form this letter must supply any defect of that kind, and indeed it is impossible to give you particular orders on the different events which may occur, or propositions which may be made to you, all that can be said in general is, that nothing ought to be refused to a Prince who undertakes my restoration except in cases where an absolute impossibility or a manifest detriment to the interest of my dominions should appear, in the granting of what may be demanded, as to the plan of an expedition and the demands you are to make in that respect, the memoir which Prince Dolgorouky (*sic*) is to carry with him must be your rule."

It was, indeed, difficult to give "particular orders" for such a mission; everything depended on O'Brien's knowledge and address, and on the Tsar's whim. There was, also, an old and familiar problem to be faced—that of reconciling the purchase of foreign support with the preservation of British interests, a problem that, in the south, had centred round Gibraltar. Nor did James realise that whereas his quarrel was with George I, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, the Tsar's enemy was Georg Ludwig, Elector of Hanover and Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg. The distinction was an important one.

But these were difficulties that the Jacobites of the times had to encounter; there is a much more serious problem which the modern historian has to face. Why, it must be asked, did Dolgorouky advise the sending of an agent to the north, and why, when O'Brien was sent to Russia, did the Tsar, as we shall see, receive him favourably

<sup>31</sup> Dillon to James, 21 and 28 September, 1722; neither of these letters is at Windsor, but their tenor can be judged from James's reply of 19 October.

<sup>32</sup> Windsor: James to Dillon, 19 October, 1722.

<sup>33</sup> Windsor: James to Stirling, 9 October, 1722.

<sup>34</sup> Windsor: James to O'Brien, 9 October, 1722.

and discuss with him the question of the Restoration? Nisbet Bain, in the passage already quoted,<sup>35</sup> maintains that after Nystad, Peter's interests turned to the south, and Solovyev also is of the opinion that his attention was concentrated upon the Turkish and Persian Wars.<sup>36</sup> But the very fact that a Jacobite agent was received at his Court indicates that these opinions need modification. Peter the Great was no diplomatic juggler, glorying in the skill with which he could pursue several policies at one and the same time. Nor was he moved by sympathy for an exiled King; realism, not sentiment, was the basis of all his policies.

What, then, is the explanation?

It is not possible, of course, to say exactly what Peter intended. His own journal does not extend to these years, and he took no one into his full confidence. Nevertheless, his attitude towards the Jacobite question can be gauged from what is known of his general political outlook, and from the views he expressed, directly and through his Ministers, to O'Brien and the other Jacobites in Russia. As his one aim, however, was the greatness of his country, it is hardly necessary to say that now, as in the years 1716-1718, his relations with James were based essentially upon his view of the requirements of Russia. To that everything else was subordinate.

Bourgeois suggests a reason for the duality of Peter's policy when he describes the Tsar, in a notable passage, as "général et diplomate à l'ouest, pionnier à l'est."<sup>37</sup> There have always been two aspects of Russian policy, the Eastern and the Western, since the end, in the 16th century, of the period of seclusion, though it was not until the reign of Peter, perhaps, that the two aspects became clearly defined. After Nystad the Tsar's interests may have been "predominantly Oriental," but he never forgot that there was also an Occident. He could never be certain that circumstances might not compel him once again to concentrate his attention on the West; consequently, he could never let fall the threads of his relations with the Western Powers. The death of Orléans, as will be seen shortly, seemed about to draw his eyes westwards again, and it is not improbable that, had he lived to see the death of George I, he would have endeavoured to take advantage of the passing of his old enemy.

With this essential duality of Russian policy in mind, it is not difficult to appreciate the reasons that led Peter to make cautious advances to the Jacobites. He would not commit himself to them,

<sup>35</sup> See above, p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> Solovyev, IV, 18, pp. 745-750.

<sup>37</sup> *Manuel Historique de Politique Étrangère*, I, p. 287.

and all the offers he made were strictly conditional; as Solovyev has pointed out,<sup>38</sup> and, as the account of O'Brien's mission will show, he refused to give James any assistance except as the auxiliary of France. He realised, of course, that it would be impossible for him to undertake the invasion of England single-handed, and he wished to show the French that his Empire was a State of European importance, more than capable of occupying the position in French policy that had been held until late years by Sweden and Poland.<sup>39</sup> As the ally of France in a campaign for the restoration of the Stuart Dynasty in England, he would secure, at one and the same time, the friendship of France and England and the recognition of his position in Europe. The friendship of France he needed for his designs on Turkey, Poland, and Germany; the cessation of hostility of the English Navy in the Baltic would bring nearer his ambition of turning that sea into a Russian lake. The British fleet had been a thorn in his side during the later stages of the Northern War, but with James III installed a grateful friend at St. James' the British guns would never again threaten Russian ports and shipping. France must take the lead, however. That condition Peter laid down at the outset of his negotiations with the Jacobites, and it remained a cardinal maxim of his policy throughout his discussions with them.

O'Brien accepted the task offered him by James, and on 15 December wrote that he would set out at the end of the month, as he had heard that the Tsar would be returning to Petersburg from his Caspian campaign in January.<sup>40</sup>

Dolgoruky had left some weeks earlier, but actually it was not until March, 1723, that O'Brien began his journey.<sup>41</sup> He does not seem to have explained the delay to the King; perhaps he wished to carry to Russia reports of the trial of Christopher Layer, the Jacobite plotter, which was going on in London at this time, or he may have been nervous of travelling during the winter. He reached Danzig on 12 May, and, having written to Dolgoruky to inform him of his arrival there, composed himself to await instructions from Petersburg.

Unfortunately, Dolgoruky had been taken ill on his arrival at Moscow and had been unable to proceed to the capital to sound the Tsar as to the possibility of his receiving the envoy.<sup>42</sup> His letter, apologising for the delay, and assuring O'Brien that he would see

<sup>38</sup> Solovyev, IV, 18, pp. 745-750.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Bourgeois, *Manuel*, p. 281.

<sup>40</sup> Windsor: O'Brien to James, 15 December, 1722.

<sup>41</sup> Windsor: James to Ormonde, 22 March, 1723.

<sup>42</sup> Windsor: Dolgoruky to O'Brien, 9 May, 1723.

Peter as soon as he could, did not reach Danzig until the beginning of June. By that time O'Brien, anxiously awaiting news, had decided to go on to Riga, and on receiving Dolgoruky's letter he at once moved on to that city.<sup>43</sup> Here, on 3 August, he received another letter from the Prince, who, though still ill, was now at Petersburg. His news was discouraging. He had learnt, he said, that the Tsar had made other plans before his return, and that it was useless to press any Jacobite scheme, as the time "n'est pas propre." O'Brien had better abandon his mission. As soon as a favourable opportunity occurred, however, he would approach his master, and would communicate any news to the Colonel, wherever he might be; for the moment nothing could be done. The letter was dated 30 June (Old Style).<sup>44</sup>

O'Brien refused to be put off, and remained at Riga. His patience was soon rewarded; on 23 August Dolgoruky sent him yet another letter, summoning him to Petersburg, and covering an order to Prince Repnin, Governor of Riga, to supply him with passports.<sup>45</sup> O'Brien set out on 2 September,<sup>46</sup> and had reached Peter's capital by the 12th, the first Extraordinary Envoy and Minister Plenipotentiary of King James III and VIII to the Emperor Peter I!

The moment seemed a favourable one for a Russo-Jacobite negotiation. Cardinal Dubois, the all-powerful French Minister, who had so firmly upheld the alliance between the Regent Orléans and George I, had died in the August of this year, and French policy became, for a time, more favourable to the Jacobites. Campredon, the French Envoy at Petersburg, had shut himself up in his house in despair at having failed to bring about a triple alliance between Russia, France and Britain,<sup>47</sup> and seems to have known nothing of O'Brien's mission. The British Government had no representative in Russia, and were, in consequence, equally ignorant of the arrival of an accredited Jacobite agent in Petersburg. Even Solovyev does not refer to O'Brien's activities before 1724, and speaks of him then as "Colonel Dobion, otherwise Perent,"<sup>48</sup> though the Colonel actually passed in Russia as "Daniel Perin,"<sup>49</sup> while J. F. Chance, taking his information from a despatch of Peter to Kurakin of February,

<sup>43</sup> Windsor: O'Brien to James, 2 June, 1723.

<sup>44</sup> Windsor: All Dolgoruky's letters were sent on to Rome by O'Brien.

<sup>45</sup> Windsor: A similar letter to O'Brien from Admiral Gordon, dated 16 August (O.S.), is also at Windsor.

<sup>46</sup> Windsor: O'Brien to James, 1 September, 1723.

<sup>47</sup> Vandal, *Louis XV et Elisabeth de Russie*, p. 64.

<sup>48</sup> Quoted by J. F. Chance, *E.H.R.*, xxxvi, p. 308.

<sup>49</sup> This is the signature on many of his letters to James, now preserved at Windsor.

1724, refers only to that part of the negotiations between O'Brien and the Tsar which took place after the death of the Regent Orléans and the accession to power of the Duc de Bourbon at the end of 1723.<sup>50</sup> O'Brien actually remained in Russia for some months from the September of 1723, and did not see Paris again till the April of 1724. The Tsar offered to receive him, officially, at Court,<sup>51</sup> but he preferred to preserve the secrecy of his mission by remaining discreetly in the background, and it was this caution, no doubt, that prevented any knowledge of his presence in Russia from reaching London.

As soon as he heard of the Colonel's arrival Dolgoruky sent for him, and on 12 September a four-hour interview took place, a report of which was prepared on the same day.<sup>52</sup> At this meeting Dolgoruky, who had had preliminary discussions with the Tsar, put forward his master's views. Peter, he said, desired to be of service to James "au dela de tout ce que l'on peut dire," but everything depended on Orléans. Spain could be relied on, and if the Tsar were sure of French assistance, "tout iroit bien." O'Brien assured the Prince that the death of Dubois would lead to great changes in French policy, but he saw at the outset of the negotiations that Paris held the key to Russian policy in the West. Dolgoruky's confidence in Philip V must have been a result of his visit to Madrid in the previous year, and Ormonde was in touch with Prince Golitsyn, Russian Ambassador in Spain, though he does not seem to have sent to Rome any account of his conversations with the Ambassador. Colonel Stanhope reported to Carteret in November that the Duke "is in dayly conferences with the Czar's Minister here and assures his friends that the Czar has engaged to send 4,000 troops to Scotland."<sup>53</sup> This was optimistic, but as Stanhope's information on the intrigues of the Jacobites was generally reliable, it reflects the hopefulness felt in the party at this time.

In concluding the first long interview Dolgoruky promised to secure for O'Brien an audience of the Tsar. A long "mascarade" at Court kept Peter fully occupied for a week,<sup>54</sup> but in the morning of 21 September (N.S.) there came to the Colonel's lodging the following note :—<sup>55</sup>

"Sa Majesté a promis de venir chez moi apres midi a Cinq heures precis pour vous donner l'audience. Je vous prie Monsieur de venir aujourd'hui a

<sup>50</sup> *E.H.R.*, xxvi, p. 308.

<sup>51</sup> Windsor : O'Brien to James, 12 September, 1723.

<sup>52</sup> Windsor : O'Brien to James, 12 September, 1723.

<sup>53</sup> *S.P.*, 94-92 : despatch of 29 November, 1723.

<sup>54</sup> Windsor : O'Brien to James, 19 September, 1723.

<sup>55</sup> The original note is at Windsor.



quatre heures apres midi chez moi pour que vous puissiez etre avant Sa Majesté.

P. DOLGORUKY.

"Ce 10<sup>me</sup> de Septembre, 1723."

The courtier was careful that his master should not be kept waiting !

The audience followed in the afternoon. Unfortunately, O'Brien's report on it, together with two others of his letters to James, are missing from the Windsor Archives, and the next despatch (the twenty-ninth sent by O'Brien since his departure from Paris) is dated 21 October. But it is possible to reconstruct at least the sense of the missing letter from subsequent despatches of O'Brien and the other Jacobites in Russia, and from James's replies.

In accordance with his instructions, O'Brien asked the Tsar for eight to ten thousand men for an attack on Britain,<sup>56</sup> where the situation, according to the news forwarded by Dillon, seemed to be encouraging. Peter, in his reply, expressed himself as very well inclined towards James, but definitely refused to move unless France also took some part in the attempt,<sup>57</sup> though he agreed to send "a trusty person to expostulate matters with the Court of France."<sup>58</sup> He remained firm to his opinion to await the Regent's opinion before committing himself. In October he spent a few days in the country, and on his return told Dolgoruky to inform O'Brien that his decision remained the same, "jusque ce que l'on fut plus informé des intentions du Régent."<sup>59</sup> But the envoy was well treated. He accompanied the Tsar to Cronstadt to see a new fort in process of erection, and Peter sent a favourite "batiment" for his use, but at the same time he was advised to refrain from pressing for a definite answer;<sup>60</sup> Dolgoruky, O'Brien reported on 21 October :

"n'est pas de sentimens que Dan. O'Brien fasse auqu'unes nouvelles propositions pour le présent mais qu'il s'en tienne à ce que luy a déjà dit le Czar jusqu'à-ce que l'on sache si le Régent veut entrer dans quelque accomodement."

Other considerations, however, brought complications: there was talk of a new war with the Turks,<sup>61</sup> and though French help might be useful in staving off that danger, there was always the risk that the Danes, with whom the Tsar was not on good terms, would close the Sound against an expedition. This latter point was put before the King in a pessimistic letter sent by Sir Harry Stirling

<sup>56</sup> Windsor: Sir Harry Stirling to James, 29 October, 1723.

<sup>57</sup> Windsor: James stressed this in a letter to Ormonde of 11 December.

<sup>58</sup> Windsor: Dillon to James, 10 January, 1724.

<sup>59</sup> Windsor: O'Brien to James, 30 October, 1723.

<sup>60</sup> Windsor: O'Brien to James, 21 October, 1723.

<sup>61</sup> Windsor: O'Brien to James, 7 November, 1723.

on 29 October.<sup>62</sup> Whatever the outcome, the Jacobite case had, at all events, been laid before the Tsar, and O'Brien, having fulfilled that part of his mission, was now anxious to return to Paris, to make a full report to James and Dillon. The negotiations in Russia, he said, could safely be left in the hands of Gordon and Stirling, particularly of the former, who, being in the Russian service, had constant access to the Tsar.<sup>63</sup> Permission to take his leave, however, was slow in coming from Peter,<sup>64</sup> and when it did arrive O'Brien was further delayed by a letter from James ordering him to remain in Petersburg during the winter, lest anything of importance should occur.<sup>65</sup> As it happened, the delay was of service, since it kept the envoy in Russia until after the reception of the news of Orléans' death, but the orders took two months to come and were really out of date when they arrived; the next steps, O'Brien was sure, could be left to Gordon and to Dolgoruky, whom he trusted as a sympathetic agent.

In November, as a result of George's treaty with Prussia at Charlottenburg, there were rumours of an alliance between Britain, Prussia, Poland and Denmark, aimed against Russia,<sup>66</sup> and, perhaps in consequence of this, Peter instructed the experienced Prince Boris Kurakin, his Ambassador at the Hague, to sound the Regent; O'Brien wrote on 19 December—

"Prince D(olgorouky) vint che(z) moy il y a quelques jours pour me dire que le Czar avait déjà fait expedier un ordre pour son Ministre en Hollande tel que Dan. O'Brien l'avoit demandé et qu'il ne doutait pas que l'on ne le remit en main propre à ce dernier pour le présenter luy mesme."<sup>67</sup>

But it was too late: on 2 December the Regent died of an apoplectic fit, and Bourbon took his place as First Minister.

The news reached Russia a few weeks later, and there met with an astonishing reception, which was duly reported to James by O'Brien in a long despatch, dated 30 December.<sup>68</sup> As soon as the Tsar received the news, O'Brien began, "ne pouvant contenir sa joye," he went at four in the afternoon to Gordon's house, where he found the Admiral entertaining some friends. Peter called for wine: "il—parut d'une gayeté surprenante." After a time he called Gordon into another room, and discussed the new situation with him, saying just before he left, "voicy—le vray tems de pousser

<sup>62</sup> Windsor. <sup>63</sup> O'Brien to James, 21 October and 7 November, 1723.

<sup>64</sup> Windsor: Dolgoruky to O'Brien, 16 November, 1723.

<sup>65</sup> Windsor: James to O'Brien, 10 September, 1723. Acknowledged by O'Brien on 7 November.

<sup>66</sup> Windsor: O'Brien to James, 14 November, 1723.

<sup>67</sup> Windsor: O'Brien to James, 19 December, 1723.

<sup>68</sup> Windsor.

les affaires du Roy en France et il peut toujours compter sur tout ce que dependra de moy." This was plain speaking, and something must be discounted for the excitement (and intemperance) of the moment; nor could the Tsar later be persuaded to put his views into writing in such definite terms. His attitude, however, is clear: not only was it the realisation of the difference Bourbon's Ministry might make to French relations with the Jacobites that caused him to say so much, he knew also that the Duke lacked those personal ties which had bound Orléans to England, and hoped that a separate Franco-Russian alliance might now be possible. The Jacobites were equally optimistic, for they had much to hope from the friendship of Bourbon, and their prospects were brightened by the Tsar's decision to abandon, for the time being, any renewal of the Turkish War.<sup>69</sup> James had already summoned O'Brien from Russia,<sup>70</sup> he now repeated the order that he should proceed, as soon as possible, to Paris, where his advice and information were needed.<sup>71</sup>

The day following the Tsar's remarkable conversation with Gordon, O'Brien called on Dolgoruky, who echoed his master's sentiments. "Il me dit entre autres choses," wrote the Colonel, with an airy disregard for the rules of grammar,

"Voicy un grand coup pour le Roy. Les affaires vont vray semblablement se tourner au bien. Vous avez sçu vous mesme, continuâ(-t-) il, de la propre bouche du Czar, qu'une de ses principales craintes estoit que la France ne fut contraire aux entreprizes que l'on auroit pu tenter pour vous, mais j'espère a present que M. le Duc rassurera le Czar là, car je me souviens bien, ajouta-il, que quand j'estois a Paris M. le Duc n'estoit point ami du Roi George."<sup>72</sup>

O'Brien's notions of reported speech were quaint, but his meaning is plain. The Jacobites in the West hoped for much from Bourbon's accession to power. Dolgoruky had observed his hostility to George I, his open friendship for James, and had reported thereon to the Tsar. Hence these raptures. It was not yet realised that Bourbon's fears of the young Duc d'Orléans would invalidate his desire to serve the Stuarts. O'Brien pressed for another audience, and

<sup>69</sup> Windsor: O'Brien to James, 30 December, 1723. James and Dillon had for some time been pressing O'Brien to advise the Tsar to give up the Turkish War in favour of a Jacobite expedition, as the former might cause a breach with France; thus Dillon to James, 10 January, 1724: Windsor.

<sup>70</sup> Letter of 19 November; this is not at Windsor, but is mentioned in O'Brien's of 30 December.

<sup>71</sup> Windsor: James to O'Brien, 21 December, 1723.

<sup>72</sup> Windsor: O'Brien to James, 30 December, 1723. Some punctuation, which was entirely lacking in the original, has been added in order to make the letter intelligible.

Dolgoruky promised to approach the Tsar on the subject. The letter closed on an optimistic note—

“ Je compte luy (i.e., the Tsar) représenter que les choses aient entièrement changé de face par l'évènement qui vient d'arriver. Il trouvera plus de facilité que jamais à engager la France à s'unir avec luy pour rétablir le Roy; que j'estois assez instruit des sentiments de M le Duc pour pouvoir l'assurer qu'il apprendra avec plaisir les dispositions favorables dans lesquelles le Czar est pour le Roy, et que si le Czar avoit quelqu'un de confiance sur les lieux (i.e. at Paris) il pourroit aisément s'éclaircir de ce que j'ay l'honneur de luy avancer.”

Like everyone else, O'Brien was intoxicated by the prevailing optimism. He knew something of the political situation in France, and was well aware of the strong Jacobite sympathies of the Duc de Bourbon, whom he knew well, but he did not realise that there was a difference between the Duc de Bourbon and the First Minister of France. French policy still demanded a close connection with England, whatever the private sentiments of the Ministers with regard to the Government there.

Peter still owed James a reply to his letters of June, 1722, and January, 1723, and O'Brien, enlisting Dolgoruky's support, had urged him to send one, hitherto in vain, as the Tsar gave out that he was nervous of the Post.<sup>73</sup> Now, however, he was more decided in his inclination to seek French co-operation, and O'Brien was needed in Paris; the letter could safely be carried by him. The Colonel, conscious of the value of time at this juncture, suggested to Dolgoruky a scheme whereby the Tsar should include in the letter a definite offer of assistance, conditional upon French support, which could be shown to the Duke.<sup>74</sup> On these lines, though much more vaguely than O'Brien had intended, was drawn up the letter with which the envoy returned, but the Tsar did not place much faith in this method of approaching Bourbon. There is no doubt, however, that he felt the importance of the changes brought about by the death of Orléans; everything had been prepared for his departure from Petersburg, but he now elected to remain in his capital during January.<sup>75</sup>

Amid these hopes opened the New Year of 1724. It seemed that the usual messages of loyal goodwill sent to James at this season were more than ever likely of fulfilment.

<sup>73</sup> Windsor : O'Brien to James, 19 December, 1723.

<sup>74</sup> Windsor : O'Brien to James, 30 December, 1723. The idea was repeated to Dolgoruky early in January and at once accepted. (Windsor : O'Brien to James, 11 January, 1724.)

<sup>75</sup> Windsor : O'Brien to James, 30 December, 1723.

O'Brien had his second audience on 15 January,<sup>76</sup> and at this it seems to have been decided that Boris Kurakin should be instructed to see Bourbon and to discuss the Jacobite situation with him, but the Tsar insisted that Dillon should first make sure at Paris that the Duke would receive the Ambassador for such a discussion.<sup>77</sup> As usual, the first steps had to be taken by the Jacobites themselves; Peter had no intention of inviting a rebuff from France, however favourable the situation might seem, nor did he wish to add to Bourbon's difficulties by approaching him at an inopportune moment. On this point he was inflexible. The policy was his own and owed nothing to the influence of his Ministers; Dolgoruky, when discussing with O'Brien the suggestion that the Tsar should send an agent to Paris to discuss the prospects of a restoration with the French Government, promised to forward the scheme to the best of his ability, but added that the Colonel would understand from his knowledge of the Imperial Court "*que sur certaines matières le Czar décidait seul, sans consulter aucun de ses Ministres.*"<sup>78</sup>

Nevertheless, on the day following the second audience, Peter wrote, with his own hand, two letters; one was a reply to James's letters, the other an Imperial Ukase, ordering Kurakin to assist O'Brien and the other Jacobites at Paris. Both letters were couched in terms of an extreme vagueness and caution; it would not be safe for a Jacobite to carry compromising letters, even though they were in Russian.

The letter to James was expressed in the following terms:—<sup>79</sup>

"The bearer of this has been with us, and we have spoken to him a good deal about the affair with which he was commissioned by you. He will report to you at length on all points and will be in a position to testify that, so far as is possible, we from our side are at work and will continue our task, if from the other side they will enter this affair.

PETER.

Petersburg, 5 January, 1724."<sup>80</sup>

The Tsar would not be more explicit, for the sending of a letter was a very different matter from discussing the possibilities of a

<sup>76</sup> O'Brien's report of the audience, as of the previous one, is unfortunately missing from the Windsor Archives.

<sup>77</sup> Windsor: O'Brien to James, 11 January, 1724. This was reported to O'Brien by Dolgoruky before the audience.

<sup>78</sup> Windsor: O'Brien to James, 11 January, 1724.

<sup>79</sup> From the original at Windsor. I owe the translation of both these letters to the kindness of Dr. Sergius Yakobson.

<sup>80</sup> The date given is, of course, in the Old Style.

restoration with Admiral Gordon over a glass of wine. Nor would he run the risk of replying to James in the language he had used for his letters, for French was <sup>widely</sup> understood.

To Kurakin the Tsar was no less vague :—<sup>81</sup>

"The bearer of this letter will speak to you; take trouble over his business so far as you are able to do, and especially in order to help Mr. Perin (i.e. O'Brien) in every way in order that he may attain his ends. We send you also a special letter about their affairs (i.e. Jacobite affairs) in another place, and when one of them (i.e. one of the Jacobites) will write to you or will personally ask you to do that (i.e. to help them), that is understood to be the same bearer (i.e. he is to be treated as if he were the bearer; the reference is probably to Dillon).

PETER."

Everything depended now upon the attitude of the French Government, and O'Brien hurried back to Paris. But here the Jacobites, full of high hopes, met with a rebuff. Bourbon received Kurakin, and spoke of his desire to serve James "in due time," but he refused to commit himself further. Peace, he told the Prince, was vital to France, and in consequence a breach with George I was impossible. The French realised that their interests would sooner or later demand a more friendly attitude to the Jacobites, but for the moment the European situation, and the weakness of France, made action impossible.<sup>82</sup>

Actually Bourbon, like Orléans before him, was making desperate efforts to heal the breach between Peter the Great and George I. In September, 1724, Campredon almost succeeded in the task,<sup>83</sup> and the Jacobites realised that in spite of the Tsar's friendship, nothing would yet be done for them. In any case, Kurakin did not favour a Jacobite policy. He pressed Peter to make a close alliance with England and France,<sup>84</sup> and later told O'Brien frankly that "ye true interest of Moscovy was, and is, to be in strict alliance with England and France."<sup>85</sup> In 1725 he actually revealed to the British Government information given to him by the Jacobites.<sup>86</sup>

Hopes rose again, however, early in 1725. Owing to Peter's lack of enthusiasm for a reconciliation with George I, and to the influence of the Duke of Holstein and his supporters, the negotiations for a

<sup>81</sup> Kurakin Archives, i, 31.

<sup>82</sup> Solovyev, IV, 18, pp. 745-50.

<sup>83</sup> For details of this, see Dureng, pp. 226-229, and Vandal, p. 74.

<sup>84</sup> Solovyev, IV, 18, pp. 745-750.

<sup>85</sup> Windsor Bishop Atterbury to James from Paris, 15 October, 1725.

<sup>86</sup> Dureng, p. 353.

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ORIGINAL LETTER  
 OF PETER THE GREAT TO JAMES III  
 In the Stuart Papers, Windsor,  
 (by Gracious Permission of His Majesty the King).





treaty were once again broken off in spite of Campredon's efforts to bring them to a successful conclusion. Kurakin informed O'Brien of this step, and the Colonel also saw Baron Ciederhielm, Holstein's representative in Paris, who gave him encouraging messages from his master to James.<sup>87</sup>

The King was so much encouraged by O'Brien's report that he decided to send another envoy to Russia in the hope that Peter, who was displeased with the French for their efforts to reconcile him with George I, would consider schemes for a Russian invasion of England in support of a Jacobite rising. The agent selected was Thomas Hay, who had been in the Russian service and who was a relative of James's favourite, William Hay, Earl of Inverness.

Hay set out on 25 February, armed with long and elaborate instructions, and carrying letters to Admiral Gordon and blank full-powers.<sup>88</sup>

But all these preparations were in vain. Already, on 8 February, the Tsar had died, after only twelve days' illness. The blow was a severe one to the Jacobites, comparable to the death of Louis XIV during the '15. "The loss for us," James wrote to Ormonde on 24 March, "is great and certain," and to Atterbury he spoke of "a terrible stroke."<sup>89</sup> Hay went on to Petersburg, and was well received by Holstein and by the Empress Catherine, but the strong hand had been removed from the direction of Russian policy and nothing was done for James.

The death of Peter the Great closed a chapter in Jacobite relations with Russia and in the story of Jacobite designs in general, as it closed a chapter in the history of Russia itself. He died at a moment when he seemed the only ruler willing to give the Jacobites more than fair words, at a moment when it seemed to the ever-hopeful exiles that the situation in Great Britain was such that it would be possible for him to send an expeditionary force to accomplish the restoration without the French aid he always regarded as indispensable. That he would have fallen in with such plans is not at all probable, for he had made it clear before that without France he could not move, and he knew from the reports of Kurakin that the French and Dutch would assist their allies against any threat to the Protestant Succession. The Jacobites strove to prove that France

<sup>87</sup> Windsor. O'Brien to James, 29 January, 1725.

<sup>88</sup> Copies of the "Instructions" and of a long letter to Gordon are preserved at Windsor. The full powers and a short letter to Gordon, neither of which is at Windsor, are printed in Drummond-Moray MSS, pp. 160-161.

<sup>89</sup> Windsor: James to Atterbury, 28 March, 1725.

would declare for James as soon as the first thrust were made and England were roused, but Peter might well have asked why, if the people of England were so hostile to the tyranny of Hanover, they did not make some attempt to throw it off themselves, in order to prove that they were in earnest. In any case the coolness with France that had encouraged extravagant hopes in James and his friends at the beginning of 1725 did not in any way commit the Tsar to good relations with the Jacobites. If he could do nothing for James while France was friendly, it was not likely that he could do more when he was no longer on the best terms with Bourbon. As so often happened, the unfortunate Jacobites, lost in the maze of European politics, were but building castles in the air.

Had Peter lived he might well have sought allies elsewhere, and have adopted the policy of alliance with Spain and the Empire that was actually carried out by his widow—or rather, by her Ministers, Peter's pupils. With these allies, and in a Europe radically altered by the Treaty of Vienna, he might have concerted schemes for the restoration of the Stuarts. What he might have gained by such a policy has been suggested above, but his treatment of the Jacobite question seems to show that he regarded it mainly as a means of achieving his great aim of an alliance with France. That he would play the agent, but never the principal, suggests that he was more interested in the friendship of France than in the restoration of James III, and that was certainly the case. The story of his relations with the Jacobites is a practical lesson in the application of the principles of "Realpolitik." In 1711 it seemed to him that the accession of the House of Hanover would best serve his interests; by 1716 he had quarrelled with George I and was willing to open negotiations with James, but was compelled to abandon the idea by the influence of the Regent and by the death of Charles XII, which would have left him to bear the brunt of the attack on England. After Nystad he wished to keep a watchful eye on the West and to secure the alliance with France; the Jacobites could serve both purposes. James, then, was, like the Dukes of Mecklenburg and Holstein, one of his pawns in the international game. The pawns might at moments influence his policy, but it was only that they might the better serve Russia. Truly for the single quality of steadiness of purpose, as much as for his other abilities, does Peter deserve his title of "the Great."

MAURICE BRUCE.

## PHILHELLENISM IN ENGLAND (1821-1827)

DURING the early years of the 19th century two opposing forces struggled for supremacy: political liberalism and pre-revolutionary absolutism. Monarchs of the various States of Europe were determined to restore and enforce the rights of legitimate sovereigns that had been imperilled in the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleonic period, and progressives were determined to establish constitutional checks and to enjoy some measure of legal and political freedom. Alliances of the Great Powers repressed any evidences of popular agitation and strove to prevent open or underground revolt. In 1821, when the people of Naples and those of Piedmont rose against their rulers, Austrian troops were sent against them; in 1822 and 1823, when the constitutionalists of Spain also rebelled, French troops performed the same function. But popular ferment continued in a number of countries, although at times it was driven underground into secret organisations, such as, for example, the Carbonari of Italy.

Yet, despite the prevailing temper of governments, much interest was taken in human welfare by individuals; religious and social movements were very active, especially during the first half of the century. William Wilberforce led the great agitation to abolish slavery; Fourier, Louis Blanc, and Robert Owen sought to establish ideal communities; the problem of factory reform received increasing attention. Visionary idealists gradually gave way to the utilitarians and English classical economists whose concern was with practical social betterment and who believed that the purpose of a government was the well-being of its people.

Such an atmosphere was conducive to sympathy for the revolutionists despite discouragement from official quarters. In London committees were formed to render assistance to the "ill-fated victims of freedom (Spanish and Italian), who have sought asylum here in the hour of adversity."<sup>1</sup> Subscriptions were raised to the amount of several thousands of pounds,<sup>2</sup> and many men of Liberal sympathies and politics took part. It is of interest to note that often the same names appeared in connection with these committees and with that set up for the relief of the Greeks—Lord William Bentinck, Lord Erskine, Lord John Russell, and Sir James Mackintosh—to mention only a few.

The Greek revolutionists were in a particularly favoured position

<sup>1</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 15 December, 1824; see also *Archives of the London Greek Committee*, Athens, vol. XI, Z<sup>5</sup>, J. White to J. Bowring, Plymouth, 2 December, 1824.

<sup>2</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 93, part I, p. 560, June, 1823.

in the eyes of European Liberals, for the very name of Greece had many significant connotations. A classical education was the privilege, or fate, of every cultured person, to whom the heritage of ancient Greece was everywhere in evidence. It was even pointed out by Philhellenes that all the arts of peace were traceable to that source. A glimpse through any of the lists of works published at the end of the 18th or beginning of the 19th centuries reveals the predominant place occupied by things Greek in all artistic and intellectual pursuits. Books were printed on its grammar, rhetoric, literature, art, drama, philosophy; translations were made of its ancient writings, stories appeared based on either the ancient or modern life there; poetry glorified its ancient and contemporary heroes. The architecture of England became strikingly pseudo-Greek. The poverty, mental and material, of the present as opposed to the past was often deplored, and any evidence of a revival of letters was hailed with delight.<sup>3</sup> Conditions of the country at the time were also well known to the educated public. The young gentleman on his "Grand Tour" and the more mature traveller often visited that part of the Mediterranean world and many of them brought the name of Greece before the public either by their own fame or by the publication of their journals, a very popular form of literature. Of the former group may be mentioned Lady Hester Stanhope, niece of William Pitt, and Queen Caroline, who toured the region as Princess of Wales. The poetry of Byron alone did much to make people aware of the fate of Greece. In 1816 he became very bitter over the transfer of the famous Grecian marbles, brought by Lord Elgin to England. Nor was he the only one who criticised the deed; the importation of the marbles aroused a great controversy between those who thought that Greece should not be despoiled and those who believed that the country had become degenerate and so was no fit guardian for such treasures.

English Philhellenism in the twenties developed naturally out of this background, out of the philanthropic disposition of the period and of the particular favour in which Greece itself was held by many persons, but it developed slowly.

#### PUBLIC OPINION IN 1821 AND 1822

When on 6 March, 1821, Alexander Ypsilanti crossed the River Pruth from Russian territory into the Turkish province of Moldavia with a handful of Russian and Greek officers, to raise the standard

<sup>3</sup> See for example, the *Literary Panorama*, vol I, November, 1806, pp. 287-288.

of revolt, few people in Europe took notice. Although his attempt proved a fiasco, it was soon evident that unrest was widespread in Greece. A manifesto was issued on 28 March (O.S.) from the headquarters of the Spartan troops which urged that civilised nations of Europe come to the rescue of the "just and sacred cause," since, as it said, "Greece our mother was the source of the enlightenment which spread over you."<sup>4</sup> As early as the middle of April the English papers began to comment on the events taking place: *The Times*<sup>5</sup> spoke of the Turks as "implacable barbarians," oppressors of the interesting Greek nation; the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Morning Post* both expressed sympathy for the rebels.

During the first year of the war the nature of the fighting on both sides was revealed, and the knowledge tended to retard the growth of Philhellenism in England. The revolution was not an organised war by one well-established government against another, but was an agglomerate of sporadic outbursts of peasants and mountaineers under various *klephts* or *capitani* against more or less isolated Turkish civil authorities or garrisons. The warfare was not "civilised" and caused caustic comment even by the usually friendly *Morning Chronicle*<sup>6</sup>: "The infatuation of this nation becomes more evident, who had built their places upon sand, and thought to gain independence by treachery and shameful massacres, which their leaders called victories. The manner in which both parties carry on the contest excites indignation. It is mostly unarmed persons who are sacrificed. The Mussulman and the Greek vie with each other in cruelty." The Turks caused an outcry in the summer of 1821 when they murdered the Greek Patriarch and several bishops in Constantinople; the Greeks brought stern reproof upon themselves for misdeeds perpetrated against three Turkish fortresses—Tripolitza, Navarino, and Monemvasia—although in some cases provocation was admitted by the critics. Yet, on the whole, the Turks received the most censure since their irremediable barbarism was generally accepted as fact: "the barbarous nature of the Turkish Government, the fanaticism of the Turks, and the utter hopelessness of communicating to them Christian feelings or European knowledge, are too well known in England to allow any of us

<sup>4</sup> E. Driault, *Histoire Diplomatique de la Grèce*, (11, pp. 137-8. In the *Morning Chronicle* of 15 June, 1821, is an appeal from Greece, "Given at the headquarters of the Spartans, 25 March, 1821 (O.S.)." It differs in date and phraseology from the above, but in substance is the same and bears the same signature.

<sup>5</sup> 26 April, 1821.

<sup>6</sup> 29 June, 1821.

to wish the continuance of Mahometan ascendancy," said the *Morning Chronicle* in its issue of 1 October, 1821. The editor of *The Times* also remarked on 29 October that more and more interest was being shown in the Greeks, but to date it had been limited to good wishes.

Philhellenism grew slowly in England, but its progress was steady. Only a few newspapers expressed sympathetic views at first, but the number increased during 1821 and 1822, and the amount of space given to Greek news, articles on the Greeks, and comments on the war gradually expanded. The rebels were fortunate in that their cause was one which struck a responsive cord in widely divergent types of people—people with religious, humanitarian, liberal, classical, and economic interests.

The influence of the religious and humanitarian character of much 19th-century thought was apparent at this time, since the struggle was between Christians and Mahommedans, between an oppressed nation and its tyrannical alien rulers. The *Christian Observer* lamented in September, 1821, that as Christians the Greeks suffered humiliations and daily misery. *The Times*<sup>7</sup> remarked that civilised nations must have changed their opinions or it could not be considered illegal to aid in emancipating Christians from infidel oppression, and the *Morning Chronicle* became eloquent when it said that the same cruel despoilers against whom the faithful had fought many times had desolated the "pleasant places of Zion and the fair fields of Greece," that "the land was as the Garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness."<sup>8</sup> The lamentable fate of the Greeks as the enslaved subjects of the Ottoman Empire for several centuries enflamed their protagonists and was the inspiration of a great many fiery letters, articles, and pamphlets.<sup>9</sup> The oratorical intensity of the era that had not forgotten *Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité* was exercised in favour of "these unfortunate beings, who have been so long debarred from the light of liberty,

<sup>7</sup> 29 September, 1821

<sup>8</sup> 13 December, 1821.

<sup>9</sup> For example, see the columns of *The Times*, *Morning Chronicle*, *Morning Post*, *British Press*, *Post and Herald*, *Sun*, *Globe*, *Traveller*, and many provincial papers; also such magazines as *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, *Gentleman's Magazine*, *London Magazine*, *Westminster Review*, and *The Pamphleteer*. Examples of the pamphlets are T. S. Hughes, *An Address to the People of England in the Cause of the Greeks, Occasioned by the Late Inhuman Massacres in the Isle of Scio* (London, 1822), and his *Considerations Upon the Greek Revolution* (1823); Rev. R. Chatfield, *An Appeal to the British Public in the Cause of the Persecuted Greeks* (1822), and *A Further Appeal* (1823); E. Blaquiére, *Report on the Present State of the Greek Confederation* (1823); Thomas Lord Erskine, *An Appeal to the People of Great Britain on the Subject of Confederated Greece* (1824).

goaded at length to desperation by the increasing weight of oppression, encouraged by the sublime recollections of their glorious predecessors," and who were at last carrying on a struggle to the death against "cruel tyrants, bathed in the blood of their own Emperors upon every succession; a heap of vassals and slaves; a people that is without natural affection; without pity; without morality; without letters, arts, or sciences; in a word, a very reproach to human nature, and that has made the garden of the world a wilderness"<sup>10</sup> These appeals for the Greeks and invectives against the Turks also often added a reproach that in England, the cradle of liberty, nothing had been done to assist a people struggling for its very life.

The high place that classical scholarship held in the esteem of the educated has already been mentioned. Attention was frequently called to the benefits derived from antiquity, particularly the Greek, when all the "noblest exercises of the imagination, memory, and judgment" were referred to in an estimate of the debt of western civilisation to Greece. One of the reasons often advanced for sending assistance was that it would in some measure repay this debt. For instance, Dr. Lempriere, the editor of a classical dictionary, wrote in the *Gentleman's Magazine*:<sup>11</sup> "I feel for the descendants of those immortal heroes who bled in the field of Marathon and of Thermopylæ, in the defence of their liberties; and though the land which gave them birth has almost lost its name and its consequence under the iron yoke of Turkish despotism, yet the bravery of their leaders and the matchless exertions of their citizens in arms, in arts, and in literature, live and must ever live, in the page of Classical History. I have, in common with thousands of my fellow-countrymen, derived the greatest gratification and the sweetest delight, in the perusal of those immortal writings which dignify the human character, which elevate us above ourselves, and which place the acquirements of past ages almost above the competition of modern times."

Religious, humanitarian, scholarly, economic, and political reasons for and against rendering assistance to the Greeks combined to make intervention in the Greek Revolution a question of the day, but sentiment was by no means unanimously in favour of the rebels. The economic argument was based on the importance of England's trade with that part of the Mediterranean world, which had been increasing since the close of the Napoleonic wars. Some servants

<sup>10</sup> T. S. Hughes, *Considerations*, p. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Vol. 92, p. 604, Dec., 1822; see also *Morning Post*, 5 Oct., 1822.

of the Levant Company were accused by Philhellenes of being pro-Turkish because they favoured the Turkish trade, but others believed that an independent, flourishing Greece would offer much more satisfactory facilities for commerce than one in which the inhabitants feared that any sign of prosperity would lead to extortion by their rulers.<sup>12</sup> The political discussion was even more important than the economic from the point of view of the development of public opinion since large numbers, particularly Tories, were swayed by the attitude of the Government which had declared itself neutral. It was feared that if Turkey were weakened, Russia would take the opportunity to expand in the direction of the Balkans, so that the British Government felt that it could not afford to risk a war with Turkey or to give Russia any excuse for intervention. The daily press carried on the discussion, reflecting and influencing the opinion of the public. For instance, the *Courier*, as a paper with Government sympathies, maintained that the success of a revolution in Greece might lead to Russian aggrandisement in the Balkans on account of the weakening of the Ottoman Empire; that neither the British Government nor people should take any steps that might cause a break between them and Turkey or give Russia an opening. The *Morning Post* opposed this view stoutly; the nature of Turkish tyranny aroused its sympathies for the oppressed and it denied that what Turkey would lose Russia must gain.<sup>13</sup> On 10 May, 1821, the *Morning Chronicle* also discussed the problem: "It is of importance to the liberty of Europe that European Turkey should not be annexed in whole or in part to Russia, but humanity revolts at the idea of a people being condemned for ever to a state of degrading servitude, and policy and general interest do not require any such sacrifice. We are not enemies of Greek independence, but of Russian aggrandisement. Therefore, if Lord Londonderry (Castlereagh, Foreign Secretary), who entertains so strong a conviction of the Emperor Alexander's honesty of intentions on this subject, will only undertake to secure Europe against this danger, he will find it very easy to reconcile it to the overthrow of Turkish power. God forbid that we should ever recommend any attempt to prevent a people suffering from such dreadful misgovernment as that which has made almost a desert of the finest part of Europe."

To those who upheld the position of the Government, but whose

<sup>12</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 1 August, 1821, quoting a pamphlet written by a Mr. Ridgway; *ibid.*, 15 Nov. and 4 Dec., quoting from Chateaubriand, *Travels in Greece*.

<sup>13</sup> *Morning Post*, 26 and 27 April.



sympathies were enlisted on the side of the Greeks one course seemed open. They said that individuals could, without prejudice to the interests of England, send assistance to Greece in the form of money or supplies, or could go as volunteers. As will be seen later, this reasoning was used effectively in some places where Tory politics tended to baulk efforts to raise subscriptions.

#### FIRST CONTRIBUTIONS

Despite the belief of many Philhellenes that "the Greeks have sinned too deeply to be forgiven (by the Turks), they have shown themselves too powerful to be spared; if not soon released they will be persecuted to extirpation,"<sup>14</sup> little was done to relieve them during the first two years of their struggle. The apathy of the great majority of the English public was severely exasperating to those who had urged action. Several newspapers and other periodicals as well as a comparatively small number of individuals had championed the revolution, but little general interest was displayed. On the Continent committees had been formed, funds were raised, and volunteer corps were equipped for service in Greece, but in England no activity of the sort rewarded the efforts made.

In the autumn of 1821 Dr. Lempriere tried to start a subscription list and he himself gave £10. He wrote an appealing letter that appeared first in the *Courier*, a paper usually opposed to intervention, on 9 October, 1821, and later in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.<sup>15</sup> On 13 December the *Morning Chronicle* published another letter from Demetrius Schinas Byzantinus, a Greek, in which the writer said that he had received numerous offers of assistance, had endeavoured to form a committee, and that a book was open for the receipt of donations for his compatriots. The *Chronicle* encouraged the attempt by calling on the best sentiments of the English people towards the Greeks on the grounds of humanity, religion, and the debt owed to Greece by all civilised nations.<sup>16</sup> Soon after a committee was actually formed on which served such men as Lords Lansdowne, Aberdeen, and Elgin, and some money was collected, Lord John Russell being on the list of donors for £50.<sup>17</sup> In January, 1822, Dr. Lempriere again began to write for the daily papers, as he hoped to increase public interest, but at the time opinion was running against the belligerents, particularly on account of recent

<sup>14</sup> *The Times*, 29 Sept., 1821, see also *Morning Chronicle*, 1 Oct.

<sup>15</sup> See a letter of Dr. Lempriere in *Archives of the London Greek Committee*, vol. I, J<sup>2</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 13 Dec., 1821.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 Dec., 1821, and 20 August, 1822.

reports of Greek atrocities in the Morea. Consequently, he ceased writing and waited to see what others, more powerful in name and influence, might accomplish.<sup>18</sup>

Efforts to bring about further action in favour of the revolutionists were in vain until a serious calamity to the Greek people startled Europe : in April, 1822, the Turks attacked, pillaged, and burned the island of Scio, and either killed, enslaved, or drove away its inhabitants. It was said that a community of 100,000 was reduced in three days to a meagre 2,000. "The Tears of Scio"<sup>19</sup> watered Philhellenism and made it grow when the magnitude of the disaster was fully realised, although that was not until some months after the occurrence. In August a meeting was held in Merchants' Hall, Edinburgh, which declared its horror at the massacre and opened a subscription "for the relief of those Sciots who survive that massacre, and of such other Greeks as may be placed in similar circumstances."<sup>20</sup> The Scottish papers contained full accounts of the April events and gave generous publicity to the subscription. They sought to arouse particularly those whose sense of duty to humanity and religion was strong; the funds were advertised to go only to the assistance of sufferers and to redeem slaves.<sup>21</sup> One of the editors of the *Scotsman* remarked that although many would have preferred to give to the fighting Greeks, this policy was adopted in order to attract the sympathy of "vacillating and religious souls."<sup>22</sup> About £300 were collected and it was believed by the promoters that practically all who were interested had contributed.<sup>23</sup>

The catastrophe of Scio likewise aroused the philanthropic disposition of the Society of Friends, under the inspiration of one of their number, William Allen. He had been in Vienna in the autumn of 1822 when some refugees from the island arrived there in desperate straits. At his instigation two letters were sent to the Society of Friends in England, but no action resulted until the following January, when Allen himself had returned from his travels. Then a committee was formed and a subscription raised. According to the

<sup>18</sup> *Archives*, vol. I, J<sup>2</sup>, J. Lempriere to E. H. Barker, Shaldon, Tynmouth, 26 March, 1823.

<sup>19</sup> Verses under this title appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*, 13 July, 1822. Many "affecting" accounts were given in papers and magazines for months after.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 1 August.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 27 August.

<sup>22</sup> *Archives*, vol. I, I<sup>1</sup>, T. Gordon to J. Bowring, Secretary to the Committee, Cairness, 17 March, 1823.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. I, U<sup>2</sup>, C. Maclaren to E. H. Barker, *Scotsman* Office, 30 March, 1823.

treasurer's reports of January and June, 1824, the sum of £9,980 7s. 2d., exclusive of an exchequer bill for £1,000, was collected and dispensed. The work of relief was carried out in the usual systematic manner of the Society by the prompt establishment of local committees and special correspondents in numerous centres in the Levant and elsewhere on the Continent.<sup>24</sup> These gave the means of subsistence to hundreds of the destitute who had flocked especially to Trieste, Venice, Marseilles, and Ancona.<sup>25</sup> Assistance was afforded them even in the Ionian Islands, facilitated there by the cooperation of the British authorities who had received instructions from home that they might take part so long as they refrained from doing anything that might be construed as a breach of neutrality.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>24</sup> MS., Friends Society, Port. 8, no. 8 166; Committee of the Friends Society *First Report* (London, 1824), and Tracts, E, no. 15, W Allen, *Selections from his Diary and Correspondence* (Philadelphia, 1847), II, pp 103-4

<sup>25</sup> E. Blaquiere, *Report on the Present State of the Greek Confederation*, (1823), p. 22.

<sup>26</sup> Friends Committee, *First Report*, pp. 45-6.

(To be continued.)

## THE UKRAINIAN MOVEMENT IN GALICIA (II)

### III. THE PERIOD OF UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE IN AUSTRIA, 1906-1914

IN the famous Bill for universal suffrage introduced by Baron Gautsch in 1905 in the Austrian Parliament, 88 mandates out of 445 were assigned to Galicia, but of these only 27 to the Ukrainians; while Bukovina received 11 mandates, of which only 4 were given to the Ukrainians. Gautsch's successor, Prince Conrad Hohenlohe, introduced various amendments, increasing the total number of mandates to 495 and assigning 102 to Galicia, out of which 77 and 35 went to the Poles and Ukrainians, respectively. But later on, in committee, the Ukrainians were restricted to 27 mandates. In the subsequent discussions the number of Galician mandates was once more raised to 106, out of which 28 fell to the Ukrainians. When this reform was adopted by the Reichsrat by a majority of 227 votes to 46, Julian Romanchuk made an interpellation (22 November, 1906) protesting against such encroachment on the rights of the Ukrainian people, whereupon the Ukrainian deputies demonstratively withdrew from the House. A big meeting of Ukrainian nationalists was held on 2 December in Lemberg, but was dissolved by the inspector of police present, as an answer to the loud cries of protest against the betrayal of Ukrainian rights by the Austrian Government.

Ukrainian electoral activities were suppressed, on orders from the Governor of Galicia, Count Andrew Potocki, with the bayonets of the gendarmerie; but in spite of all, 22 Ukrainian deputies and 5 Russophiles were elected. Simultaneously a fierce struggle was waged between the Polish and Ukrainian students in the Polish university of Lemberg, culminating in the arrest of about a hundred of the latter, who for three days carried out a hunger strike (21-24 February, 1907), and on being acquitted, demonstratively marched in a body through the streets, cheered by the Ukrainians of the city. Their acquittal was due to the demands put forward by a joint meeting of Slav and German students in Vienna on 10 February, by Ukrainian nationalist meetings in Lemberg and Czernowitz on the 12th, and in a petition of all the Ukrainian deputies in the Galician Diet, led by the Uniat Metropolitan, Count Andrew Sheptytsky.

The newly-elected Ukrainian deputies of Galicia and Bukovina presented on 20 June, 1907, at the session of the Chamber of Deputies, a declaration concerning the legal position of the Ukrainian people in Galicia and Bukovina. In this they pointed out that the Ukrainians of Galicia were ruled by the Polish majority in the Diet; that its powers were being steadily extended, and that under the new electoral law the number of Ukrainian mandates had been reduced by half; and, finally, that the elections in Galicia had been conducted by partial and illegal methods. They laid stress upon their desire for Ukrainian national and territorial autonomy within the Austrian State, and at the same time protested against the extension of Polish local autonomy in Galicia. This declaration was signed not only by all the Ukrainian deputies of Galicia and Bukovina, but also by the five Russophil deputies.

As, however, the Ukrainian interpellations against electoral abuses did not obtain the necessary majority in the Chamber, the Ukrainian deputies entered demonstrative protests by singing their national anthems: "Ukraine is not yet dead" and "The time has gone for serving Muscovite and Pole." Their Parliamentary Club decided to oppose every Austrian Cabinet, so long as it declined to fulfil the Ukrainian demands. The Premier, Baron Beck, twice negotiated with them, and on receiving from them a demand for the restoration of real constitutional conditions in Galicia and the punishment of officials convicted of electoral abuses, he invited Count Potocki to institute an inquiry into such cases. But Potocki, assuring Beck that everything was in order, gave instructions for the use of the gendarmerie and their bayonets to deter the peasantry from voting for their own national candidates during the elections to the Diet. On 6 February, 1908, an Ukrainian peasant named Marko Kahanets was stabbed by the gendarmes, and on 12 April his death was avenged by an Ukrainian student, Myroslav Sichynsky, who killed Potocki with revolver shots, shouting as he fired: "For the wrongs done to the Ukrainian people, for the elections, for the death of Kahanets!"

Needless to say, the assassination of Count Potocki greatly embittered the relations between Ukrainians and Poles. The representatives of the former in Parliament represented this outrage as an act of despair on the part of a people shut off from every avenue of escape, while the gendarmes continued with impunity to shoot down Ukrainian peasants in Galicia. But the obstruction adopted by the Ukrainian deputies both in the Diet and in the Reichsrat alarmed the Austrian Government and even the Poles; and the

latter suggested a compromise which, however, the Ukrainian representatives refused to consider seriously.

Among the national problems which assumed great importance in the arena of Parliament at the end of the first and the beginning of the second decade of the 20th century, that of establishing an Ukrainian university at Lemberg was one of the foremost. This question repeatedly called forth in Lemberg among the rival student factions conflicts in which blood was shed; for instance, on 1 July, 1910, the Ukrainian student, Adam Kotsko, was shot dead by a Polish student. The Austrian Government at first endeavoured to find a solution acceptable to the Poles. But when Ukrainian obstruction began to have a disturbing effect in the debates on the budget, army and finance, the Government consented to a measure of electoral reform for the Galician Diet and promised the Ukrainians a separate university. As a result, parliamentary obstruction ceased in the middle of June, 1912.<sup>1</sup> From that time till the outbreak of the Great War the Ukrainian representation scarcely ever opposed the Government. Indeed, the constant menace of war with Russia, who was bent on destroying all the independent national characteristics of her own Ukrainians, forced the Galician Ukrainians to enter upon a compromise in their relations with Vienna. But the good intentions of the Austrian Government to comply with Ukrainian demands were thwarted by the negative attitude of the Poles to Ukrainian wishes, and at home in Galicia, by the Polish majority of the Galician Diet. Thus the establishment of an Ukrainian university at Lemberg was constantly postponed.

It was the Galician Governor, Michael Bobrzyński, who at the instance of the Central Government tried to carry out electoral reform in the Diet. But his compromise Bill of 1913 was not accepted either by the Polish Club in the Diet, or by the Polish Episcopate, and consequently he tendered his resignation, and the Galician Diet was dissolved on 3 May, 1913. In June the elections took place on the basis of the old unreformed franchise, but this time the Ukrainian people displayed its political maturity by electing 31 deputies, the Russophil group retaining only one seat.

This increase in the Ukrainian representation in the Diet roused Polish opinion, and on 26 January, 1914, a compromise was finally reached regarding the university and electoral reform for the Diet. The Polish parties declared for the immediate establishment of an Ukrainian University and agreed that in the new Diet there should

<sup>1</sup> At the last elections to the Austrian Parliament, in 1911, the Galician Ukrainians elected 24 deputies, and the Russophils only two.

be 62 Ukrainians out of a total of 228. Towards the close of its existence (February–March, 1914) the Galician Diet resolved to take over already existing private Ukrainian secondary schools (gymnasias), 9 in number. This was to have come into effect in September, 1914, while the elections to the new Galician Diet, on the new basis of separate voting for the two nationalities, were to take place from 7 October to 6 November, 1914. But the hopes of a peaceful settlement between the Poles and Ukrainians of Galicia were not to be realised, for the Great War overthrew all hope of realising Ukrainian political aspirations within the parliamentary sphere.

#### IV. THE UKRAINIANS OF GALICIA DURING THE GREAT WAR (1914–1918)

When the Great War broke out, the Ukrainian people in Galicia unanimously and firmly took the side of Austria-Hungary against the Russian Empire, as the greatest enemy of Ukraine.<sup>2</sup> The leaders of all Ukrainian parties in Galicia united in the "Central Ukrainian Council," which, in its proclamation of 3 August, 1914, clearly insisted that the victory of the Austro-Hungarian army over the Russians would bring the liberation of Ukraine. It therefore appealed to the people to form an Ukrainian Legion of volunteers on the Austrian side, the so-called "Sich" Riflemen.

Disregarding these proofs of loyalty and devotion of the Galician Ukrainians to Austria, the Austro-Hungarian commanders and the Polish provincial administration set themselves from the very outset to persecute the Ukrainians for their supposed "Russophilism." Already before the Great War the Poles in their struggle with the Ukrainian nationalists had profited by the existence of a small group which proclaimed the national identity of the Galicians with the Russians; and as soon as the war broke out they cast the suspicion of high treason not only on their former allies, these genuine Russophiles, but also on the whole Ukrainian people in Galicia. Following the information of the local authorities and denunciations from various quarters—the German and Magyar regiments of the Joint Army brutally maltreated the defenceless population during their retreat before the Russians in

<sup>2</sup> As one who was in Galicia for nearly the whole period of the Russian occupation, I should stoutly challenge this statement. I saw many signs among the native population of just the opposite: and no wonder, for a large portion of the Russian troops engaged were, like the inhabitants, Ukrainians and definitely regarded their task as one of liberation.—B.P.

1914. Gallows were erected in the Ukrainian villages beside the churches, with innocent martyrs, among them many Uniat clergy, and many parents, wives, and even children were hanged as traitors at the very moment when their sons, husbands and brothers were risking their lives on the battlefields for the Austrian Emperor. Thousands of innocent prisoners filled the Austrian concentration camps in Thalerhof, Schwaz, Kufstein and Theresienstadt, and it was not till the summer of 1917 that the survivors were set free, after prolonged efforts on the part of the Ukrainian political representatives.

This attitude on the part of the Austro-Hungarian high command and police led some members of the "Central Ukrainian Council" to the idea of an appeal to the Western Allies for the protection of the unhappy Ukrainian people in Galicia against the atrocities of the Magyars. But on the one hand they feared even greater Austrian repression, and on the other hand the Russians during their occupation of Galicia (1914-1915) plundered the Ukrainian cultural institutions and arrested many Ukrainian national leaders and workers, notably the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky; and this prevented the "Central Ukrainian Council" from going over to the Entente, as the Czechs did in their struggle against Austria. Instead of that, the Council endeavoured to prove to the Austrian Government how groundless were the repressive measures taken by its subordinates against the Ukrainian population. In compliance with the demand of the Ukrainian deputies, the Austrian Premier, Count Stürgkh, brought the matter to the notice of the Emperor Francis Joseph; and the latter instructed the Commander-in-Chief, Archduke Frederick, to keep a tight hand over the army and check the abuses of martial law. The Archduke Frederick issued, on 13 January, 1915, a command to the army, explaining that all Ruthenes (Ukrainians) are not to be regarded as traitors, that the army should avoid making use of false denunciations, and adopt a friendly attitude towards the population of Galicia; and finally he reminded it that the Ruthene soldiers were heroically fighting in their ranks, just like the soldiers of Polish and other nationality.

The Ukrainian deputies in Vienna were not satisfied with the contents of this *communiqué*, and demanded that the summary execution of suspected persons should be strictly forbidden to the troops, that Ukrainian interpreters should be employed and that the accused, where the charge seemed well-founded, should be sent to the competent courts. The ill-treatment of the innocent Ukrainian



population by the Austrian army continued, throughout the war, to present a grave problem to their elected representatives.

While the Ukrainian population of Galicia thus suffered no less from the Austro-Hungarian than from the Russian troops, certain Galician Poles played the role of informers in both directions. To the Austrian Government they accused the Ukrainians of Russophilism, to the Russians they denounced them as Austrophils. In Vienna they put abroad the story that the Metropolitan Sheptytsky had lent himself to the Russian cause. The Pole, Stanislas Zagorski, became notorious for the death sentences passed upon innocent Ukrainians on the Austrian side. The Ukrainian representatives pointed out in Vienna that the political authorities in Galicia, with the Governor, Vithold Korytowski, at their head, were spreading malicious rumours about Ukrainian treason to Austria, and prosecuting even the most loyal citizens of Ukrainian nationality. It would seem as though the Austrian Government had been convinced; for the Governor, Korytowski, was dismissed and replaced by a German, General Hermann Colard (20 July, 1915). The new Governor assured the Ukrainian leaders that he would be just to both nationalities and admitted the reasonableness of the Ukrainian claim to equal rights with the Poles. He took a kindly interest in the Ukrainian action on behalf of the Galician population, and helped to obtain credits for the principal Ukrainian institutions; he also removed from office certain specially chauvinist "starosts," and also the Vice-President of the Provincial Board of Education, Dembowski.

On 5 May, 1915, the Ukrainian deputies from Galicia and Bukovina, together with the Ukrainian emigrants from Russia resident in Austria, formed the "General Ukrainian Council" in Vienna, as representing the whole Ukrainian people for the period of the war. This Council presented, in August, 1915, to the Governments of Austro-Hungary and Germany a memorial (*Denkschrift*) stressing the necessity for the occupying Powers adopting a milder attitude towards the Ukrainian population of the provinces (*gubernii*) of Holm, Horodno, Minsk and Volhynia and publishing a proclamation in the Ukrainian language. Such a document, they argued, should proclaim the liberation of the Ukrainian nation from the Russian yoke, assure it of religious and national liberty and equality of rights, and promise the introduction of the Ukrainian language into the schools, the administration and the churches, and also a just regulation of agrarian questions. The memorial further referred to the need for employing Ukrainian interpreters

with every military unit throughout the above-mentioned Ukrainian provinces (*gubernii*), and urged that the services of the Ukrainian Legion should be made use of. The Council was opposed to the union of Ukrainian occupied territory with Polish, and demanded that the administration should be Ukrainian, that Ukrainian newspapers, schools, libraries and reading-rooms should be set up, and finally that the Greek-Catholic clergy from Galicia should be allowed to take up the cure of souls in the province of Holm, where as early as 1875 the Russian Government had ejected all Uniat priests.

It was, however, only in Volhynia that any such cultural and educational action was taken, and this was due to the Austrian officers of Ukrainian nationality and the Ukrainian Legionaries who accompanied the army. The Austrian authorities in occupation of Holm reunited it with the Polish province of Lublin. As for the Poles in the Austrian service, they tried by all possible methods to polonise the Ukrainians throughout the districts occupied by Austria. Count Burián, when he again became Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, evaded the insistent appeal of the Ukrainian deputies in Vienna by declaring that in the question of Holm and Volhynia no answer could be given either to the Ukrainians or Poles till the end of the war.

Meanwhile even the situation of the Ukrainians in Galicia did not improve, though the Premier, Count Stürgkh, declared on 25 August and 7 November, 1915, to the "General Ukrainian Council," that following an agreement with Germany the division of Galicia was to take place, while Baron Hussarek, Minister of Public Instruction, declared on 18 May, 1916, that the Ukrainians were standing before the gate of their own university. But when after the murder of Stürgkh in October, 1916, Koeber was appointed Premier, an Imperial decree was issued on 4 November, re-establishing an independent Polish State, and the fate of Galicia followed lines quite contrary to the national aspirations of the Ukrainian people. Austrian policy hesitated between the Poles and Ukrainians, but the protest of the Ukrainian representation, the death of Francis Joseph, and finally the resignation of Koerber, only delayed the isolation of Galicia. The Emperor Charles and the new Premier, Count Clam-Martinic, made promises to the Poles, but did not fail to stress their desire for an understanding between the two nations.

The Russian Revolution of March, 1917, and the rise of the Ukrainian State on the territory belonging to the former Russian Empire gave another course to Ukrainian aspirations in Galicia.

The students demanded that the Ukrainian parliamentary representation should declare that the nation aimed at the creation of a single independent State comprising all Ukrainian lands, even those suffering under the Polish and Magyar yoke—in other words, Galicia, Volhynia, Holm, Podlasia and “Carpathian Ruthenia” (then under Hungary, now under Czechoslovakia). But the parliamentarians, to the very moment of the downfall of the Habsburg Monarchy, defended the standpoint of Ukrainian national autonomy within the boundaries of the Austrian State. A minor favour granted to the Ukrainians by the Austrian Government was the nomination of the Ukrainian professor, Dr. Ivan Horbachevsky, as Minister of Health (31 August, 1917).

The Poles spared no effort in Vienna and in Berlin to ensure that the whole of Galicia should be annexed to the restored Polish Kingdom. Meanwhile the new Ukrainian Republic concluded with Austria-Hungary the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (on 9 February, 1918), with a secret clause concerning Eastern Galicia and Bukovina—Austria undertaking to unite them, not later than 31 July, 1918, as an Ukrainian autonomous province. But thanks to Polish endeavours the Austrian Government annulled this secret treaty concerning Galicia, in spite of the protest of the Ukrainian Ambassador in Vienna, Vyacheslav Lipinsky (28 July, 1918). It was only when the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was on the point of collapse that a manifesto was issued by the Emperor Charles I and the Premier, Hussarek, on 16 October, announcing the reconstruction of Austria as a federation of national States: German-Austrian, Czech, Illyrian and Ukrainian, the latter consisting of Eastern Galicia and Bukovina. This idea had always been advocated by the Ukrainian deputies in the Austrian Parliament, but by October, 1918, it had already ceased to offer any attraction. On 19 October, 1918, the representatives of the Ukrainian population of Galicia, Bukovina and the Carpathian districts proclaimed an independent West Ukrainian Republic on these territories; to maintain its very existence a hard struggle with the Poles began early in November, 1918. This Ukraino-Polish War for Galicia and its consequences forms a new epoch in the efforts of the Galician Ukrainians to establish a national State of their own.

NICHOLAS ANDRUSIAK.

## RUSSIAN DOCUMENTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (I.)

"It seems that neither Russian nor English scholars have as yet exhausted the treasures, and though much has been published, there is still a great deal left for further research." This remark, made by Vladimir Burtsev in 1926 at the beginning of his survey on "Russian Documents in the British Museum," which appeared in vol. IV (p. 669 *et seq.*) of the *Slavonic Review*, still continues to hold good. Efforts to collect and use the valuable material on Russian history preserved in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum were, indeed, repeated many a time, having commenced at the beginning of the 19th century, as soon as a deeper interest was awakened in Russia for Russian monuments of the past, scattered beyond the boundaries of the country. The first decisive steps in that direction were made in connection with the activities of Count N. P. Rumyantsev (1754-1826), the famous Mæcenas and Chancellor of Alexander I, whose name may well be used to symbolise a whole period in Russian historiography.<sup>1</sup> The documents copied for Rumyantsev were mainly of the 16th century and belonged mostly to the Cotton Collection. "From the Library of the British Museum," Rumyantsev writes on 1 May, 1817, to Evgeny Bolkhovitinov, the renowned expert in Russian antiquities, at the time Archbishop of Pskov, "I have received copies of curious documents concerning Russia; however, not of early periods, but almost all relating to Tsar Ivan Vasilievich and his successor. How happy I should be," Rumyantsev continues in his long-winded style, "if while gathering such treasures, I could, my dear Sir, examine them with you and learn to fix their value, making use of instructions from you, a man learned and inspired by real historical criticism." And a few weeks later, in a letter of 30 July, Rumyantsev, who was primarily interested in the oldest periods of Russian history, adds: "From England have been delivered to me copies from the so-called Cottonian Library; among these papers are things very curious for lovers of Russian history; but all copies received up till now belong to the 16th century."<sup>2</sup> An active assistant of Rumyantsev (who had early learnt to appreciate the value of foreign sources), was Friedrich

<sup>1</sup> P. Milyukov, *Glavneishia techenia Russkoy Istoricheskoy Myshl*, 3rd ed. 1913, p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> "Perepiska Mitropolita Kievskago Evgenia s Gosudarstvennym Kantslerom Grafom Nikolayem Petrovichem Rumyantsevym," 1868, pp. 6-7.

von Adelung (1768-1843), the well-known collector of reports on Russia by foreign travellers. Adelung, as we shall see, gave attention also to some valuable material of the 17th century deposited in the Sloane Collection. However, neither Rumyantsev<sup>3</sup> nor Adelung<sup>4</sup> succeeded fully in accomplishing their plans with regard to foreign—particularly British—materials, which they intended to edit. More was achieved in this direction by their younger contemporary, A. I. Turgenev (1785-1846), whose materials were published by the Archæographical Commission as *Historica Russiae Monumenta ex antiquis exterarum gentium archivis deprompta ab A. I. Turgenevio*; the second volume of this edition, issued in 1842, contains over 20 documents from the British Museum,<sup>5</sup> covering the years 1557 to 1605. The greater part of them were again taken from the Cotton Collection. Essential supplements, deriving from the same collection, were published in 1875, together with some of Turgenev's documents, by George Tolstoy in *The first forty Years of Intercourse between England and Russia, 1553-1593*. And a few years earlier, in 1870, various "Materials on the History of Russia," collected from manuscripts of the British Museum, extending over the years 1570 to 1804, had been published for the first time by N. Storozhenko, the Moscow Shakespearean expert.<sup>6</sup> A series of Tolstoy's documents, it may be added, was, in 1878, reprinted by Baron de Bogoushevsky in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol. VII, in his article, "The English in Muscovy during the 16th Century."

Manuscripts preserved in the British Museum were finally used to a great extent for research on Anglo-Russian relations in the 16th and 17th centuries by the Russian historians Joseph Hamel and Inna Lyubimenko. Of their numerous works we are able to mention here only the most voluminous ones: *The English in Russia in the 16th and 17th centuries* (1865-1869), by J. Hamel, and *The History of Russian Commercial Relations with England* (1912), by I. Lyubi-

<sup>3</sup> V. Ikonnikov, *Opyt Russkoy Istoriografii*, vol. I, 1 (1891), pp. 157, 168.

<sup>4</sup> F. Adelung, *Kritisch-Literarische Übersicht der Reisenden in Russland bis 1700, deren Berichte bekannt sind*, 1846, I. The preface by Adelung's son, pp. viii-xi.

<sup>5</sup> Among these documents are the following mentioned in Burtsev's survey, pp. 671 and 673, as not published:—

A. "Notes on the benefyte . . ." 8th May, 1575.

B. Reports of Thomas Barmester and Mr. Duckett, 25th June, 1569.

C. Copy of a Treaty, May 1570.

D. Letter of the False Demetrius in Latin, 28th December, 1605.

<sup>6</sup> In *Chtenia Moskovskago Imperatorskago Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostey Rossiyskikh*, 1870, iii.

menko—both in Russian.<sup>7</sup> In the lapse of time many of the same materials were, of course, used by English authors as well; for instance, by Miss Mildred Wretts-Smith in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, fourth series, vol. III, 1920: "The English in Russia during the Second Half of the 16th Century."

But notwithstanding all the fundamental works just cited, as well as a number of smaller contributions<sup>8</sup> and notes<sup>9</sup> scattered among various publications, which it is impossible to review here, the treasures preserved in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum are as yet far from being exhausted concerning Russian history, and are still in need of further investigation, quite independently of the new materials acquired after Burtsev's survey; even among the old documents can still be found historical sources not only not used, but even not mentioned in literature. The purpose of the present article is just to point out and to examine some such examples.

#### I. 16TH CENTURY—MARCO CONTARINI'S REPORT

An unknown document of the 16th century, for instance, is preserved in the Italian Manuscript, "Sloane 1826," which, in Franchiotti's *Survey of Italian Manuscripts in England*,<sup>10</sup> is ascribed to the 17th century, but in the Catalogue of the British Museum is noted as of the 18th century. The manuscript consists of ten Venetian reports of the 16th century, concerning Italian and other European States and of one Spanish report describing the Republic of Venice. A detailed index completes the whole manuscript as a volume. Most of the articles can be found among the reports of Venetian Ambassadors published by E. Albéri,<sup>11</sup> for instance, the tenth, dealing with the well-known Embassy of Girolamo Lippomano

<sup>7</sup> Mme. Lyubimenko's researches have quite recently been summed up in her French monography: "Les Relations commerciales et politiques de l'Angleterre avec la Russie avant Pierre le Grand," Paris, 1933. (*Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Hautes Études*, fasc. 261.)

<sup>8</sup> For example, the letter of Tsar Michael Fedorovich to King James I of 1 August, 1617, mentioned by Burtsev, p. 673, was published in *Chtenia Mosh. Imp. Obshchestva Ist. i. Drevn. Ross.*, 1846 (2nd year edition), No. 1 (= No. 5), p. 58 (Miscell.).

<sup>9</sup> For instance, Adelung's numerous notes on Russian Documents in the British Museum, some of which will be mentioned later on.

<sup>10</sup> G. Franchiotti, *I Mss Italiani in Inghilterra*. Serie I. Londra—Il Museo Britannico. Vol. I. La Collezione Sloane, Londra, 1899, pp. 71-74.

<sup>11</sup> *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato raccolte, annotate, ed edite da Eugenio Albéri*, Firenze, 1839-1863. Partly also in *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato a cura di Arnoldo Segarizzi*. Vol. I-III, Bari, 1912-1916.

to Poland in 1575. The next and last article, however, entitled, *Relatione del gran Ducato di Moscovia et Tartaria dell' Clarissimo Marco Contarini Ambasciadore per la serenissima Repubblica di Venetia*, seems never to have been published, neither as a whole nor in fragments.

As to the nature of the document, it is scarcely possible to take it for some Ambassador's report : neither its form nor its content betray the slightest sign of a diplomatic character. Also, it does not give the impression of an itinerary, but appears to be simply a mixed description of Muscovy and Tartary, dealing with politics, geography, economics, civilisation and ethnography. It begins by stating that Muscovy, comprising vast deserts and remote regions, is larger than the whole territory of Poland—and similar comparisons with Poland and Lithuania, it may be added, occur also in several other parts of the narrative. With all its neighbours—with the Turks in the south, with the Tartars in the eastern borderlands, with the King of Sweden in the north, and with Livonia and Lithuania in the west—Muscovy is incessantly at enmity, and although the Poles boast of their victories, the Muscovites have taken possession of many adjacent districts. Their prince (Principe) has therefore obtained fame, although, being a great tyrant, he is hated by his own as well as by foreign peoples. Having thus briefly described the political conditions of Muscovy, the author turns to the civilisation and culture of the country, first of all devoting much attention to the servility of the Muscovites. Then, he gives a short account of their clothing, food and trade, and a more detailed one of the weapons used by them. Having further mentioned their extraordinary endurance when defending themselves, the author continues his narrative without any strict sequence, mingling an inventory of the natural resources of the country with a description of habits and customs of family and public life. In this connection much space is allotted to religious and church questions, many particulars being given with regard to the dogmas and rites of the Orthodox Church, as well as to the rights and duties of the Russian clergy. Ecclesiastical affairs are followed by an outline of lay justice, great stress being laid in this connection on the deplorable conditions of the Russian peasants.

In summing up the negative qualities of the Muscovites, who do not consider it a sin to abuse the principles of trading in various ways, the author again comments on their trade, this time giving more particulars of their commercial relations with various countries and nations, such as Germany, Lithuania, the Tartars, and the Turks.

The description of Muscovy is concluded by information concerning the geography of this State, the mightiest among all Christian realms.

The second part of the narrative is entirely devoted to the Tartars, of whom two hordes—Astrakhan and Kazan—being subject to the Prince of Muscovy (*Principe di Moscovia*), continue nevertheless to live under the old laws they had before, receiving from their conqueror only their governor and judges, and being obliged to follow him in war wherever he chooses—against Christians as well as against Turks and even Tartars. Altogether, there are, however, as the author indicates, many hordes; they are similar to Swiss cantons and are scattered over various countries right down to East India, the mightiest of them being the horde of Perekop, subject to the Great Khan. To the latter horde the author's attention is mainly devoted; of the other hordes he gives only a short survey, passing on to a general account of the military art of the Tartars and of their conditions of life, including habits, customs, weapons, food, etc.

Being, strange to say, only just annotated in Franchiotti's survey of Italian documents, mentioned above, this curious work seems, for some reason or other, entirely to have escaped the attention of Russian scholars. It may well be that such neglect was provoked by the author's name, i.e. that this work was simply considered a copy of the well-known and repeatedly published account of the Venetian Ambassador Contarini, who being in 1474 sent to Persia, chanced to pass on his way back through Muscovy. In that case we must suppose that no one was struck by the author's Christian name, as Contarini of the 15th century was called, not Marco, but Ambroggio, not to mention the fact that even the most superficial examination at once reveals the two works as having nothing in common and shows the '*Relazione*' of our Marco Contarini as bearing upon a much later period. It is true, the title of Contarini's account, in contrast to all the other Venetian reports in this manuscript, contains no date, nor are there any exact dates given in the text. But we have quite sufficient indirect hints indicating the period. When speaking of the Tartars, the author mentions not only the time after the conquest of Kazan (1552) and Astrakhan (1556), but also the burning of Moscow by the Tartars (1571). On the other hand, the account was evidently written during the lifetime of Ivan the Terrible, for, although not actually named, the "*Prince of Muscovy*" is, as we have seen, described as a great tyrant. Less clear, it must be admitted, is a remark added with regard to the invasion of 1571 that "*few years*" had elapsed since the Tartars invaded Podolia and Little Poland in the reign of Sigis-



mund: the event alluded to is apparently the Tartar invasion which took place in 1566 in the reign of Sigismund Augustus.<sup>12</sup> This date, however, is in any case of no importance, the time in which the document originated being precisely limited by two other events—the burning of Moscow in 1571 and the death of Tsar Ivan IV in 1584. Thus the date of the work is sufficiently evident.

Quite a different situation arises with regard to the authorship. Notwithstanding the strict indication contained in the title of the work that its author was an Ambassador of the Venetian Republic, the personality of Marco Contarini is as yet entirely enigmatic. Among all the Italian diplomats at present known to have visited Russia up to the end of the 17th century,<sup>13</sup> there is at any rate no other Contarini besides the Ambroggio mentioned above, nor is the name of Marco Contarini to be found among the "Minor Venetian Travellers" of Donazzolo's collection.<sup>14</sup> It is also impossible to identify our Marco with anyone of the numerous Venetian authors bearing the name Contarini, who have been registered, for example, by Cicogna and Soranzo.<sup>15</sup>

There is also no means of detecting the text any point either enlarging upon or affirming the statement made by the title. In this respect the circumstances may be described as exactly the reverse of those relating to the date, in regard to which no direct statement is given in the title, but many indirect hints are contained in the text. As far as the authorship is concerned, the narrative offers no useful indication whatever—only one short remark of a personal nature being uttered by the author: "This is all," he says at the end of his account, "that I came across (*quanto mi occorre*) concerning these two nations." Of course, nothing can be gathered from these words for the purpose of disclosing the author's personality and activities, nor can this remark help to solve the doubt already mentioned as to whether any Embassy had been sent at the time. There arises, moreover, a new question, namely, how did the author obtain the information he came across? By means of personal inquiries on the spot, or by compiling written and printed sources, or perhaps with the aid of both methods combined? Without

<sup>12</sup> *Kronika Marcina Belskiego*, vol. II (Bks. IV and V), edited by K. J. Turowski, 1856, p. 1163.

<sup>13</sup> N. N. Bantysh-Kamensky, *Obzor Vnyeshnich snosheniy Rossii (po 1800 god)*, part 2, 1896.

<sup>14</sup> P. Donazzolo, *I Viaggiatori Veneti Minori*. Studiobibliografico, Rome (1931). (Memorie della Reale Società Geog. Italiana. Vol. XVI.)

<sup>15</sup> *Saggio di Bibbografia Veneziana* composto da Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, Venice, 1847. *Bibliografia Veneziana* compilata da Girolamo Soranzo in aggiunta e continuazione del "Saggio" di Emmanuele Antonio Cicogna, Venice, 1885.

undertaking a thorough analysis, indispensable for a definite deduction, one can only say that some relative literature was undoubtedly familiar to the author. His description of that enigmatic thing called "Barannetz,"<sup>16</sup> used by the Tartars for their clothing and which grows in Tartary—combining in itself in a miraculous manner attributes of plants and of animals—is almost literally taken from Herberstein's *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii* (1549). The influence of Herberstein is unmistakable in many other cases also, for instance, in the information concerning the life of the Russian clergy, in the reports and examples demonstrating the servility of the Muscovites, etc.

Consequently, the personality of the newly-emerged author remains as enigmatic as the personality of another Italian of the 16th century, Marco Foscarini, whose name, although long known, is also still a puzzle. The analogy is, moreover, in many respects a striking one, since modern investigations have rectified the erroneous conception confirmed by Adelung, according to which Foscarini appears as the actual author of the report, although the work is only attributed to him with a certain reserve in the title. Adelung did not hesitate, too, to declare Foscarini to have been likewise a Venetian Ambassador to Muscovy.<sup>17</sup> But Ogorodnikov has proved with sufficient conclusiveness that the name Foscarini has nothing to do with the author, being by some inexplicable chance connected with only one copy of the anonymous work. And the possibility of any Venetian Embassy being sent at that time to Muscovy, has been denied by Shmurlo, the great expert in Italian-Russian relations.<sup>18</sup> Thus both authors, bearing names of well-known Venetian families and said to have been Ambassadors, turn out to be merely fictitious figures. In fact, it may well be that name and rank were added here, as in many other cases, with the purpose of increasing the attractiveness and authority of anonymous works.

But the noteworthy parallel between the reports of Foscarini and Contarini is not restricted to the question of authorship, for being evidently intended to excite curiosity by their pretended

<sup>16</sup> In this connection it may be added that the legend concerning the "Agnus Scythica s. Fructus Borometz" was twice critically analysed by Engelbert Kämpfer, to whose manuscripts the next part of this article is devoted. At first, the legend served as one of the ten Inaugural Theses when Kämpfer took his degree of Doctor of Physics at the University of Leyden in April, 1694. ("Disputatio Med. Inaug. Exhibens Decadem Observationum Exoticarum," Leyden, 1694, § 1.) Later, in 1712, it was included also in the *Amoenitates*, fasc. III, p. 505-508.

<sup>17</sup> Adelung, *Kritisch-Lit. Übersicht*, I, No. 37.

<sup>18</sup> V. Ogorodnikov, *Doneseniia o Moskovii vtoroy poloviny 16-go veka*, in *Chitënia Imp. Obshch. Ist. i Dr. Ross*, 1913, No. 2 (245), pp. iv-v, xvii-xviii.

diplomatic nature, both works represent the same literary type. Both are in reality not purely original, but based mainly on literature, although no sources are mentioned. We have seen already to what extent the information of Contarini is drawn from the famous "Comments on Muscovy" by Herberstein. The same sort of literary dependence has long ago been established by Russian historians between the report ascribed to Foscarini and Paolo Giovio's well-known work: *Libellus de legatione Basilii Magni Principis Moscoviae ad Clementem VII. Pont. Max., in quo situs regionis antiquis incognitus, religio gentis, mores et causae legationis . . . referuntur* (1525). A whole series of relative extracts from Jovio's work is, for instance, annexed to Ogorodnikov's Russian translation of the report ascribed to Foscarini. But in Pierling's opinion, expressed as far back as 1892,<sup>19</sup> the two authors had simply used a common source, namely, the account of the Genoese traveller Paolo Centurione, and this suggestion has quite recently been repeated by an Italian scholar, Maria Modigliani, who maintains that the anonymous author of the report ascribed to Foscarini has used in particular some account of Centurione at present lost.<sup>20</sup> There is in any case no doubt whatever that the report ascribed to Foscarini, like the report of our Marco Contarini, is not a purely original work.

Having drawn attention to Foscarini's report only on account of its analogy to one of the documents in the British Museum, we may add also a few words in closer connection with our theme; for among the Russian documents preserved in London are several copies of the work ascribed to Foscarini. Two of these manuscripts were, indeed, known to Adelung, but all being anonymous, they were registered by him as copies of the anonymous *Relazione dell' Imperio di Moscovia*, which is described by Adelung, apart from Foscarini's work (I, No. 41). It has been proved, however, by Ogorodnikov that this anonymous report is identical with the report attributed to Foscarini (*ibid.*, No. 37): Adelung, without being aware of it, had simply registered as a separate anonymous work another version of the same report which he had just before ascribed to the fictitious Venetian Ambassador.<sup>21</sup> One of the copies registered by Adelung<sup>22</sup> in this way is undoubtedly the manuscript 14. A. XVI. of

<sup>19</sup> P. Pierling, *L'Italie et la Russie au XVI-e siècle*. Paris, 1892, p. 109.

<sup>20</sup> Maria Modigliani, "Note intorno al viaggiatore Paolo Centurione," in *Bollettino della R. Società Geografica Italiana*, Rome, Ser. VI, vol. IX, No. 5-6, May-June, 1932, pp. 350-363.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Kordt, "Chuzhozemni Podorozhni po Skhidny Yevropi do 1700 r.," 1926, pp. 30-32. See note 18.

<sup>22</sup> F. Adelung, *Siegmund Freiherr von Herberstein*, 1818, pp. 510-513. (Append. XVI.)

the British Museum, *Relazione dell' Imperio o Ducato di Moscovia*, while the second one, mentioned with less precision, is evidently the MS. 14. A. XIII.7, *Relazione del Regno di Moscovia*, both belonging to the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum. There is, in London, yet a third copy, which until now remained entirely unknown. It is preserved in the Record Office among various papers under SP 9/206. The varying length of the title, as well as some discrepancies appearing in the text, which cannot be investigated here, make the existence of different versions of the text more than probable.<sup>23</sup> Particularly noteworthy is the note at the end of the copy found in the Record Office, "Jesus Maria. Anno 1591. 17 Januarii, Di Giovanni Thiepolo." The date signifies undoubtedly the time when the copy was finished, because the actual work, according to the text, was written at a time when Tsar Ivan was 27 years of age, which means not later than in 1557, for he was born in 1530. More difficult to solve is the question of the name. Although it is most probable that Giovanni Thiepolo only copied this work, just as we know he had completed a copy of another work on 3 September, 1590,<sup>24</sup> there always remains a slight possibility of his authorship. And in connection with this question there inevitably arises a further one, as to whether Giovanni Thiepolo has anything to do with Francesco Tiepolo, the author of the *Discorso della Moscovia*, registered by Adelung as No. 50. Of this work the British Museum possesses a copy as well, which, however, does not bear the author's name and therefore was evidently not noticed by Adelung. It is MS. 29,444, *Discorso della Moscovia, l'anno 1558*.

But it would certainly lead us too far to discuss fully all the problems connected with the Italian manuscripts which we have mentioned. The present cursory notes already indicate sufficiently, it would seem, the amount of valuable material to be found in the Department of Manuscripts of the British Museum dealing with such a peculiar theme as the Italian sources on Russian history. The report of Marco Contarini is in any case an interesting supplement to the Italian literature of the period on Russia. Its importance as an independent source has naturally yet to be examined. However much of his work may have been compiled from previous writings, there is at any rate no doubt about the value of Contarini's report as a sign of the interest in Russia and an expression of the degree of information on Russia in Italy at the end of the 16th century.

LEO LOEWENSON.

<sup>23</sup> There are apparently two more copies at Oxford: *Catalogi Codicum MSS. Biblio. Bodleianae*, Oxford, Part V. No. 605, i and 635, v.

<sup>24</sup> Donazzolo, *I Viag. Veneti*, p. 132.

## THE LAND QUESTION IN JUGOSLAVIA

TODAY the most difficult problem of Yugoslavia, alike from the economic, cultural and political point of view, is the question of what to do with the surplus population. It is not a problem of unemployment in the sense which obtains in industrial countries. According to the data of the state Labour Exchanges there were at the beginning of January 1935 only 27,218 persons registered as unemployed. But this does not give a real picture of unemployment; it merely shows how relatively few people seek employment through the official medium. The point is that in the villages there are many more entirely or partially unemployed persons among the agrarian population, and that there is definite agricultural overpopulation. These people are still tied to the land. Among the agrarian unemployed the number of those who possess no land at all is proportionately small; but the number of those who own land but have not enough means to live upon it, is very large. Thus the essential problem is one of the relations between the available land and the people who live upon it, and again of the gross return and net return of the peasant owners; in other words, the size of the holdings, and the output of their owners.

In a recent English work on population, this problem is treated very optimistically. "Yugoslavia," writes the author, "supports its 12,000,000 people with only one fifth of its total area under crop; and there is a balance of grain export every year. The area of grass lands and pastures is nearly 10,000,000 acres, so it is obvious that agriculture can be greatly expanded and a very much larger population can be supported by the land. With closed settlement and more intense cultivation of its lands, and with better transport facilities the natural increase in population of Yugoslavia should be easily absorbed during the next hundred years."<sup>1</sup> The figure given for the population is that for 1921; the total of arable land under cultivation is today far more than a fifth and, indeed, is nearly 28 per cent. of the total.

Another writer, Oskar Jászi, who gives a broader survey of the economic problems of Central Europe, is much more pessimistic with regard to Yugoslavia. He, too, starts from the relations between cultivated land under crop and the number of the agrarian population, but his conclusions are unfavourable. He finds that in Austria 64 persons live on 100 hectares of arable land, in

<sup>1</sup> H. L. Wilkinson: *The World Population Problem and White Australia*. London, 1930, p. 24.

Hungary 92, in Roumania 97, in Jugoslavia 114, in Germany only 52 and in France only 84. Jászi accepts the view of the German writer Hedwig Meyer, who "in discussing the Yugoslav situation has estimated that the amount of arable land should be increased every year by more than half a million hectares in order to accommodate the increase in agricultural population."<sup>2</sup> From this, Jászi concludes that all the Danubian agrarian states are overpopulated, and that this condition is most pronounced in Jugoslavia. His analysis reaches the following catastrophic conclusion:—"Under such conditions a war or a revolution is inevitable. After a bloody chaos mass-misery may find its solution. This will come, however, not through a peaceful reform of the agricultural production on the bases of independent peasant holdings and cooperation, but possibly in the form of the bread factories of Russia and with dictatorial methods. This might also lead to new political union, but this union could not be the federation of free Danubian countries; it would mean Slav unity under Russian dictatorship."<sup>3</sup> This view of Jászi rests on the premiss that in agrarian countries the pressure of the agrarian population upon the space available is too strong, and that industrialisation is impossible, because the purchasing power of the countryman is weak, while the strata of town society are thin and an ordered and stable social situation consequently becomes illusory.

Let us examine the statistical position with regard to Jugoslavia. In 1931 there was a total population of 14,000,000 on an area of 248,655 sq. km. (96,000 sq.m.). There was a yearly increase of roughly 200,000, and thus we may reckon with a total of 15,000,000 at the close of 1935. In 1931, 9,200,000 of these—or today in round figures 10 millions—lived from the land. The cultivable area consisted of 13,500,000 hectares or 55 per cent. of the whole, forest land making up 7,500,000 or 30 per cent. and the uncultivated area about 3,500,000 or 14 per cent. Of the cultivated area, however, only 7 million hectares, or a little over one-half comprise arable land: 1,800,000 consist of meadowland, 4 millions of pasture, 139,000 of garden land and 183,000 of vineyards.

The first outstanding fact with regard to this division of the country in respect of cultivation, is the great extent of the forest land. Nearly a third of Jugoslavia is wooded, and of all her industries, save agriculture, the timber trade employs the largest

<sup>2</sup> Oskar Jászi: *The Economic Crisis in the Danubian States* (Social Research, New York, February, 1935), p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

number of workmen (52,000 in 1934). Timber and kindred products continue to hold the chief place in Yugoslav exports. The value of exports of building timber amounted in 1933 to 567,000,000 dinars (£2,700,000 at the present rate), of firewood 27,400,000, of wooden manufactures 34,900,000, of tanning extracts 25,900,000; in other words, the value of timber and various wooden products reached a total of 655,000,000 dinars (or 17 per cent. of the total exports from Yugoslavia, which amounted to 3,777,000,000). There are few countries which have relatively so large a proportion of their area under forest—in Europe only Finland, Sweden (53 per cent.), Austria (37 per cent.), Czechoslovakia (32 per cent.)—or in which the total of forest land exceeds the total of arable land, as is the case in Yugoslavia. This area of forestland corresponds to exactly half the total area of England and Wales. It renders less acute the problem of agricultural over-population, because a great part of the forests are in the mountain districts and far from the thickly settled north, and therefore in an unfavourable position for markets (a smaller portion is in the plain or in rich hill land), and because complete deforestation would have tended to leave the mountains bare, and unfit for ploughing. In this forest area, then, there is still a possibility of a shifting of proportion between the different kinds of land under cultivation, of converting woods into pasture and meadow, and the latter into arable land. Large portions of the forests have never yet been cut and are situated far from navigable rivers, railways and practicable roads. They still appear to belong to the stockbreeding section of the population rather than to those who work the land, and this section still for the most part retains its natural economy, following extensive and patriarchal methods, satisfied with very little, and very far from reflecting that “the existence of a Yugoslav agriculturist is based on one quarter of the produce realised by a French or a German agriculturalist” The standard of life is a relative test, and that of a Yugoslav stock breeder cannot be measured by American or English standards. Three-quarters of the English households have as good an income as a General or a University Professor in Yugoslavia, but we know from Marshall that for the practical purposes of contemporary and future generations every country must in the main dispose of its own resources and bear its own burden,<sup>4</sup> in other words must reckon with such means of production as it possesses, for it is not easy to adjust the balance between the profit on output and the income of individual families, within

<sup>4</sup> Marshall: *Industry and Trade*, I, p. 5.

the limits of a single economy, and still more difficult is it between the economies of a number of nations with very varied topographical conditions.

A second characteristic of the division of land in Yugoslavia is the relatively high proportion of uncultivated land—3,500,000 hectares, or 14 per cent of the total. This is a distinct defect, but one which exists in other countries also; for instance, it is much greater in Italy. Moreover, the main area of uncultivated land is along the coast—on the Croatian Littoral, Dalmatia, the Adriatic islands, Hercegovina and Montenegro. These districts have two advantages—first, that they are on the sea and hence a considerable portion of their inhabitants is engaged in fishing and maritime pursuits as an additional occupation, and, second, that they form some of the most beautiful districts not only in Yugoslavia, but in all Europe, linked up with famous historic cities, and thus tend to correct the passive balance of their income by tourist traffic, of which a steadily increasing portion comes from Central Europe and even England. Moreover the climate of these districts lends itself to the cultivation of fruit, tobacco and wine.

These circumstances, that the forests still remain almost entirely unexploited, and the seacoast very inadequately, offer a potential outlet of great importance for the agrarian population of Yugoslavia. It cannot be expressed in exact figures, but it must be taken into consideration in any inquiry into the problem of over-population.

There remains the cultivated area, of which, as yet, only 51 per cent. consists of arable land (or 28 per cent. of the total area of the country; as compared with 27·8 per cent. in Holland, 23·1 per cent. in Austria, 12·1 per cent. in Germany, 12·1 per cent. in Switzerland) and roughly 40 per cent. of meadow and pasture land. This is also brought out very clearly by a characteristic feature of Yugoslav husbandry, namely, the extensive method of stock breeding which has already been mentioned. Cattle, pigs, sheep and meat form a great part of Yugoslav export. From 1928 to 1932 there was an average annual export of these livestock and meat of 71,000 tons, of an average value of 810,000,000 dinars, or an amount equal to the combined value of the export of maize and wheat during the same period (736,000,000). In 1933 the value of exported maize was 431,000,000, of wheat only 15,600,000, whereas that of meat amounted to 137,000,000, of cattle to 86,000,000, of pigs to 214,000,000, of horses 43,000,000, and of small livestock 34,600,000. This shows the country's aptitude for the



production of livestock, which could indeed be increased if only there were still a possibility of placing products in foreign markets. It must be borne in mind that exports from Yugoslavia have fallen from 8 milliards in 1928 to 3 milliards in 1933, and that this decline is not merely the result of a fall in the value of agrarian products, but also of export totals. Even under the present state of agrarian technique, which is, on the whole, behind that of central and western Europe, the potential capacity of Yugoslav agriculture and stockbreeding is far greater than is shown by the export figures, and besides this the majority of agricultural holders send a relatively small quantity of their products to market. For instance, out of an annual production of about 4,000,000 hectolitres of wine the amount exported in 1932 was only 93,000, and in 1933 only 30,000.

From the above analysis there follows this conclusion. Only 28 per cent. of the total area of Yugoslavia consists of arable land, in other words, exactly the same percentage as in England and Wales the combined area of arable land and rotation grass (28 per cent.). This is for an agrarian country a low percentage, and the amount under meadow and pasture (23 per cent.) and under forest (30 per cent.) is quite out of proportion. Yugoslavia is thus in certain districts agricultural with an intensive production of wheat, maize, industrial plants, fruit and wine, and has a certain surplus in all these products. The great majority of the holdings are really mixed, because specialisation is economically unprofitable, for lack of markets. Wherever there is the possibility of placing fruit, vegetables, grapes or wine, cultivation has become more extensive. In the wooded and mountainous districts extensive stockbreeding prevails, which also result in surpluses. With methods of cultivation which are partially extensive and predominantly mixed, it is not possible to provide full employment for the whole agricultural population. The peasants' standard of life remains low, nor can the towns develop.

If we look at Yugoslavia from the point of view of property, the predominant feature is the small holding, farmed in most cases by the owner. This structure is not the result of post-war reforms, it has merely been consolidated by them; it is the result of economic development and of earlier legislation. Already in 1905 in Serbia an area of 2,000,000 hectares was divided among 542,000 families, or an average of 3.7 hectares per family. But earlier still, in 1897, 54 per cent. of the owners of land possessed less than 5 hectares. The holdings between 5 and 20 hectares made

up 41 per cent. of the total, so that 96 per cent. of all owners of land fall under the category of small holders. Only 0.02 per cent. of land consisted of holdings of over 100 hectares. On the other hand, in Croatia and Slavonia before the war, holdings of 100 hectares and upwards comprised over one quarter of the total (27 per cent.).

There still are no exact statistics of ownership in post-war Yugoslavia. In 1931 the data were collected together with the census of the population, but so far only the latter has been published. We can get a fairly accurate idea of the average size of the holdings if we compare the number of agricultural families with the area under cultivation. In 1931 there were in Yugoslavia 1,553,000 independent householders engaged in agriculture and stockbreeding. The cultivated area amounted to 13,700,000 hectares, the area of arable land to 7 millions; and on this showing the average holding of cultivated area and of arable land should be 8.5 and 4.2 hectares respectively. Whether this is a low or a high average, is a relative problem. The average size of holdings in Poland is slightly greater (5.6 hectares of arable land), and in Austria 4.7, while in Ireland it is smaller (3.9), and in Holland still smaller (2.4).

But in these other countries the average size is not a sufficient criterion, for among them there must be a large number of very small holdings, and a considerable number of larger estates; whereas in Yugoslavia this is not the case. Historical evolution, economic circumstances, a weak industry, the absence of big urban centres (there are only three towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants, two with over 200,000, and none with more than 300,000), and the course of legislation, have all combined in the direction of constant subdivision, so that the number of holdings has increased and their average area diminished.

The effect of natural conditions and of historical evolution has been to differentiate between the various kinds of holding and between agricultural methods in the various districts.

(a) There are districts where there are still a great many medium (5-20 hectares) and large (20-100 hectares) peasant holdings. They are relatively strongest in the districts north of the Danube (Voivodina), in Posavina and Podravina (i.e. Slavonia and Syrmia or Srem), and this is the result of the quality of the soil and of historical causes. Here there are great plains, and rich, heavy "black earth," relatively thickly populated (80 inhabitants to one square kilometre). This rich soil is hard to work and

requires bigger and stronger teams and therefore more horses, which again is only possible on a larger property. These are districts producing large quantities of wheat, maize, sugar beetroot, (5 out of the 8 beet factories of Yugoslavia are located here), hemp, hops (and breweries), heavy draught horses, strong cattle, strong tobacco, fat Styrian pigs and plentiful poultry and eggs. These districts give the largest export surplus in all articles of produce. Their agricultural technique is on a mid-European level, the use of machinery is the rule, motor binders and motor ploughs are not uncommon, even though many tractors are today out of use owing to the high running expenses, especially the price of petrol. Here, till the end of the war, there were many large properties, of the Hungarian or Prussian type, run by the proprietor himself (as a *Gutswirtschaft*), with a considerable supply of hired labour. This type of feudal property made possible the formation of big peasant properties; peasants who had money bought up estates which were falling into financial difficulties or proving uneconomic to run. But there was also formed an agricultural proletariat, of farm labourers without any land of their own—a type only to be found in this district in Yugoslavia. Here, too, there is not much forest land; indeed there is very little throughout the Voivodina, because the soil is so rich. Nor is there much pasture, with the result that stockbreeding is backward and sheep-farming in decline.

(b) Small holdings of two to five hectares and parcelled peasant holdings of under two hectares are characteristic for Croatia, Dalmatia and especially Serbia. This is a highly typical specimen of mixed holding in districts where the soil is not heavy and can be worked more easily, with small oxen and cows, and with members of the peasant's own family. He produces wheat for home requirements, and only has small surpluses for the market. What he can supply to the market on a larger scale is, above all, fruit (especially plums), vegetables, wine, hens, eggs, pigs and calves, and in Hercegovina and Southern Serbia tobacco. These holdings were cut up in the Western districts, as a result of the special conditions of South German and Austrian feudal rule (*Grundherrschaft*), a system organised on lines somewhat similar to the English manor. Here in earlier times, before the emancipation of the peasants in 1848, there existed special peasant holdings, with special obligations "in kind," or special services towards the lord—whether it were a feudal aristocrat, the Church, or a town patrician. In the Western districts of Croatia and Dalmatia there are still large areas under pasture, and these grazing lands are still

for the most part the collective property of the Communes and of the Property Communes (*Imovne Opštine*), a special legal organisation which is a survival from the days of the "Military Frontiers." They support cattle, sheep, pigs and other livestock. There is also woodland, but in the main for the use of the peasantry only.

In Serbia the small holding has arisen from the break-up of the "Zadruga." In its agrarian structure Serbia is one of the most interesting countries in Europe, because it has not experienced a feudal development. After the collapse of the Serbian medieval state in the 14th century, the Serbian village lived under Turkish rule as a special administrative unit, collectively responsible to the Turk for its taxation. The Serbian nobility died out or emigrated, and there only remained peasants, and for the most part sheepfarmers. These peasants carried out the first revolution in Turkey (1804-1813), founded a virtually independent state, army, and administration, but even to this day the townsman only forms a thin layer of the population. They took as much land as they wanted, by degrees cut down forests and ploughed the pastures. No large properties grew up there during the 19th century (there were legal difficulties as to the transfer of land), and there were no large concentrations of capital. As stockbreeders they remained good soldiers, and as farmers they felt themselves in war to be defending their own ownership of the soil. The state found it impossible to follow any economic policy which was directly contrary to their interests; for it was they who had created and maintained the state. They were the foundation stone of Serbian democracy, which especially from 1903 to 1914 exercised a strong force of attraction upon all the Yugoslavs of Austria-Hungary, since the latter lived under the semi-feudal aristocracy of Hungary and Austria and were drawn to Serbia not only by their natural feelings, but also by the social order which she had established at home. The existence of the peasantry could not be at stake so long as the village lived a natural economic life, while the forests had not been cut or the pasturage tilled. But the lack of a rational policy for the preservation of pastures and forests resulted in the ruin of the latter in certain rich districts of Serbia during the 19th century, for instance, in the valley of the Morava.

(c) Finally, there remain the properties belonging mainly to sheepfarmers, in the mountainous and wooded districts, scattered over different parts of Jugoslavia—in the extreme west and extreme

east, in the central districts (Lika and Gorski Kotar in Western Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Eastern Serbia and parts of Western Serbia). There are very great differences in the size and methods of exploitation of these holdings, according to the various districts. The quality of soil, distance from a market, climatic conditions, make such districts "passive" in the matter of exporting wheat, and they tend to produce maize (even for bread), potatoes, cattle (of a small breed), sheep, cheese and wool, and, above all, pigs, which feed mainly on the acorns in the oak forests, and, finally, in certain districts, also fruit and its products (rakija or plum brandy, pekmez or plum jam). In certain districts far from a market, a large part of the fruit, and particularly apples and oranges, is either wasted, or used to feed the pigs.

### III.

It remains to consider the effect of legislation on the distribution of property. There are two kinds of laws in the lands which now make up Yugoslavia, as regards the growth of small holdings. On the one hand there are civil laws based on the Code Napoleon, which has been completely adopted in respect of the division of land *ab intestato* into equal portions among the male heirs in Serbia, or heirs of either sex in the other districts. On the other hand there is the purely Serbian legislation, which is quite original and has for a full 100 years had its influence on the status of small holdings, but also on their steady subdivision and, indeed, pulverisation.

(a) The western districts of Yugoslavia entered earlier into the sphere of a money economy (*Geldwirtschaft*). The result was that in the period from 1860 till today the old "Zadruga" units have rapidly collapsed and been subdivided, and in place of collective ownership individual peasant ownership came to predominate. The late Professor Stephen Jurić, of Zagreb University, conducted an inquiry in 1924 as to the influence of this change to individual property in Croatia. He took certain rich villages with a large area of rich land, and certain other poor ones, and compared the number of holdings in 1859 and in 1924. The result of his *enquête* shows the extent to which property has been pulverised in the western districts. Here are a few examples of the changes in property in Croatia during the last two generations.

1. *Rich Village.*

Size of holdings.	1859.		1924.	
	Number of holdings.	Percentage of that number.	No. of holdings.	Percentage of that number.
	332	100	780	100
Below 5 acres ... ..	77	23·2	546	70
From 5 to 15 acres ...	199	59·9	219	28
From 15 to 40 acres ...	48	14·5	15	1·8
Above 40 acres ... ..	8	2·4	1	0·1

In these rich villages the number of holdings has increased in 65 years by 134 per cent.

2. *Poor Village.*

Size of holdings.	1859.		1924.	
	Number of holdings.	Percentage of that number.	Number of holdings.	Percentage of that number.
	171	100	309	100
Below 5 acres ... ..	104	60·8	209	67·6
From 5 to 15 acres ...	37	21·6	89	28·8
From 15 to 40 acres ...	20	11·7	9	2·9
Above 40 acres ... ..	10	5·9	2	0·7

In these poor villages the number of holdings increased in 65 years by 80·7 per cent. In both groups today there exists a system of parcel holdings. Such holdings can be sufficient for the maintenance of a family where cultivation is intensive; but here they are not sufficient.

The same process has taken place in the other western districts of Jugoslavia. Only in Slovenia is it partially checked by the influence of the feudal German common law of single succession to peasant properties, by which all the other heirs only receive payment in money. This procedure was somewhat facilitated after these districts became industrialised, so that the heirs who got no land could take up other pursuits. But in no part of Jugoslav territory has there been in force since the middle of last century any law forbidding or rendering more difficult the subdivision of peasant land.

(b) In Serbia the principles of civil law were also applied, and

there was no obstacle to the subdivision of property. There the Zadruga system and the collective community held out a little longer, but since the end of last century, as Serbia entered more and more into a money economy, the change to individual property was effected here too. This subdivision was strengthened by two legal provisions intended to promote small ownership—the first, the protection against forced sales; the second, the restrictions upon trade in the village.

The first law for the protection of peasant property from sale for debt was passed by Miloš Obrenović in 1836, and was the first of its kind in Europe. Under it, a peasant could not mortgage his house, gardens, land to the extent of two days' ploughing, a cow and the necessary field implements. The Serbian civil code of 1865 strengthened this measure of protection, by clause 471. This refers to the house, land to the extent of two days' ploughing out of the whole property, with the addition of land to the extent of five days' ploughing in respect of each "taxable head," together with a plough, a cart, two oxen, field implements and food sufficient to last till the next harvest. This law forbade a peasant to sell, of his own free will, the amount of land mentioned, unless he could prove that he had found a non-agricultural occupation, and was about to become a merchant, state employee or something similar. In very exceptional cases a peasant might mortgage up to one half of the value of the property concerned.

This law was meant to prevent the peasant from entering into financial speculations, and to tie him up to his land, since he was more of a sheep breeder than a cultivator. It has remained in force until the present day. The Yugoslav constitution of 1921 provided for such protection of a minimum of peasant property for the whole country, but so far no such law has been passed. The western part of the country, where finance and credit are more developed, was opposed to the passing of such a law for the whole country, on the ground that it was bound to exclude the peasant from the sphere of credit operations and to disqualify him legally for mortgage credit or bills of exchange. The result of this law was that larger holdings could not be formed, since the peasants were economically too weak to achieve a concentration of landed property. Neither could a sifting out of the better and more rational farmers be achieved. Thus from generation to generation landed property was bound to become smaller and smaller, since the population is increasing at the rate of 15 per thousand. The agglomeration of property has further been prevented by the very

small prospects of peasants being employed in other occupations. Thus a stationary condition has been maintained in agriculture. It was not until a law was passed in 1929 for the establishment of an Agrarian Bank, that the peasants were made competent to borrow money. The new constitution of 1931 does not mention this minimum protection at all, thus mitigating the protection of landed property.<sup>5</sup> Under this policy, landed property stood in the main *extra commercium*. Capital did not enter the villages; agriculture was not being intensified. Each division of landed property by inheritance increased that part of the whole land which was protected by the law of the minimum. Hence the modern cooperative system (*zadrugarstvo*) could not develop to any large extent. As long as the village remained in a state of natural economy the effect of the protection was satisfactory. When agriculture had to provide a surplus for market and thus had to organise itself for market competition, the protection proved negative.

Another measure of the economic policy of Serbia had the same effect, namely, the Village Shop Law. In its original form, in 1870, it laid down that no shop might be opened in a village unless that village was at least four hours' walking distance (10 miles) from the nearest small town or market place. By the second law, of 1891, if a shop was established in such a village, it was not allowed to sell articles which were not necessary for the immediate needs of a peasant household. In addition to salt, petroleum (lamp oil) and some iron implements, only articles of home (and not factory) manufacture were permitted to be sold in village shops. Thus the village shops constituted a special legal and economic category among commercial businesses, unknown to other countries. The selling of any textile factory goods, cotton yarn, wool and silk was forbidden in them; so also was the sale of factory-made shoes, chinaware, tea, coffee, sugar and some other articles. The object of this prohibition and the limitation of village trading was to keep the standard of peasant life permanently low, and to preserve the peasant from incurring debts by spending money. It is interesting to note that this prohibition was abolished only in 1931,

<sup>5</sup> It is interesting to note that a similar law was passed in Texas, almost at the same time in 1839 (during the interregnum before Texas was transferred from Mexico to the U.S.A.). As Texas then possessed an enormous surface and a small population, the homestead was large; the house and the land round it, up to 20 ha. if the value did not exceed \$500; furniture up to \$200, implements up to \$50. This whole minimum was protected, as in Serbia, against forcible sale by the Law Courts.



was re-established in 1933 and finally abolished in 1934. It resembled the medieval trade monopoly in continental cities and it aimed at a concentration of trade in the cities, but by maintaining a low standard of life in the villages it hindered both purchase and production, retained professional differentiation, and exercised an influence in the direction of maintaining the monotony of the villages and the stationary position of productive agricultural technique. Moreover, this measure was positive from the point of view of natural agriculture, but negative from the point of view of intensified production and of any increase in agricultural wealth and income.

### *Conclusion*

It remains to consider which point of view is correct with regard to the agrarian structure of Yugoslavia, the optimistic or the pessimistic? A low standard of life of the population has lasted there for centuries; it has even been artificially maintained so far (by means of legislation). There certainly exists a possibility of increasing the area of arable land by reducing the amount of land under forest, and, again, a possibility of increased output with the present productive technique, in proportion as markets for these products are found. If there were not so great a need for military and administrative expenses, Yugoslavia would form an ideal agrarian autarchy with a system of small proprietors, as was the case with the Serbian democracy before the World War. Under the money economy and the international division of labour, with the increase of state needs and the needs of the city population, the economic fate of Yugoslavia does not depend on herself alone, but on the neighbours who consume her agricultural surplus. If these consumers, and particularly Italy and Austria, were ready to take from Yugoslavia the same amount of agricultural products, timber and live stock as in 1929—and the economic and political outlook for this is not entirely unfavourable, because those countries cannot become self-supporting in the very products of which Yugoslavia possesses a large surplus (if they increase pig-breeding, they will import maize from Yugoslavia; if they increase the production of wheat, they will import cattle and poultry and eggs) the pressure of the population on the available space would be felt less. Increased export will make it possible for the peasants to buy more, and their increased purchasing power will then enable them to buy the products of home and foreign industry. Thus industrialisation and urbanisation are facilitated, though only, it

is true, on a small scale, and part of the surplus of peasant population will thus be absorbed. In proportion as the closing of frontiers continues to affect Yugoslav exports to the West and North, Yugoslavia must reckon with what she possesses and can create in the present state of productive technique. The result of this may be a long continued adhesion to the traditional technique, with the same low agricultural output; the maintenance of a low standard of life in the villages and towns and the survival of the present standard of partial natural autarchy in the villages. This state of affairs cannot continue permanently, if the ratio of the increase of the population does not diminish. The breaking up of landed property as the result of its subdivision among heirs, which, on the other hand, is necessary until production is increased (and this depends on export) diminishes the area on which a village family must depend. The same gross return from a smaller area can be achieved only by increased human labour. This gross return is sufficient for the maintenance of life in the transitional period. The medium-sized present holdings, and a portion of the smaller holdings, are even in this state suited for smaller net returns. But this net return, as a whole, is not sufficient to serve as a basis for industrialisation or to meet the claims of public taxation, or for the creation of the new capital necessary for the intensification of agriculture. However, the function of agriculture in the maintenance of life of over two-thirds of the country is socially important. As regards the agrarian structure of Yugoslavia, in the transitional period from an extensive to an intensive economy, from a natural to a money economy, from a peasant society towards the growth of a strong urban society, we can repeat what Professor Tawney<sup>6</sup> placed in the mouth of a jury of manor in the 16th century, when England was undergoing the same process as we see today in Yugoslavia :—" True, our system is wasteful and fruitful of many small disputes. . . . Nevertheless, our wasteful husbandry feeds many households, where your economical methods could feed few. In our ill-arranged fields and scrubby commons most families hold a share, though it be but a few roods. In our . . . village are few rich, but there are few destitute, save when God sends a bad harvest, and we all starve together."

MILJO MIRKOVIĆ.

*Faculty of Law, Subotica.*

<sup>6</sup> *The Agrarian Problem in the 16th Century*, p. 409.

## ŻEROMSKI

No other Polish author from among those whose activity was at its height in the first two decades of our century had such power as Żeromski over the minds of his contemporaries; no one else's works were at that time reacted upon more keenly; and there was hardly any other writer who influenced so deeply the sensibility of the younger generation. By the majority of his readers he was regarded as a living embodiment of the Polish people's conscience, as their "heart of hearts." And surely he was in the lineage of those typically Polish writers who, in the fulness of their renown, assumed spontaneously a sort of moral responsibility for their nation and were widely acknowledged as its representatives. But this acknowledgement of Żeromski was in its own way even more surprising, as several of his works were acutely criticised, and some of the ideas he propagated were far from being generally shared. His death, in 1925, was nevertheless an occasion for national mourning, and his burial a national manifestation. A Russian writer (D. Filosofov) who was at that time in Warsaw described with wonder the lines of thousands and tens of thousands of people waiting long hours at the gates of the historic castle where Żeromski's body lay in state, waiting for their turn to see for the last time that man for whom they felt an almost filial emotion.

As Kasprowicz<sup>1</sup> represents in a way the new energies of the Polish race arising from the peasantry, who had been given the opportunity of sharing in the mind of the nation only in the last century, so Żeromski may be considered a representative of the older energies of the Polish gentry: of that class which played so large a part in Poland's former history, and from which came the majority of its great personalities in the post-partition period: such as Kościuszko, Mickiewicz, Orzeszkowa, Sienkiewicz, Prus, Piłsudski and many others.

He was born in 1864 in the family of a steward of an estate in the district of Kielce, among the wooded hills of St. Cross, the wild beauty of which was to give him impressions remembered till his death. He had lost his parents in early youth. In the hope of acquiring quickly a profession which would enable him to aid his people, he went to Warsaw without having obtained his matriculation certificate, and registered as a student in the veterinary school. But on account of ill-health and of the necessity of gaining his

<sup>1</sup> See the present writer's essay on him in *The Slavonic Review*, Vol. X, No. 28, p. 28.

livelihood he could not continue these studies. To save himself from destitution, he had to take a position as tutor in a country house. Private tutorship was to become his means of support for a longer period. It gave him a variety of experience and acquainted him with different parts of the country.

This was the time of his first notable literary efforts. In the office of a Warsaw weekly where he tried to place some short stories, he met the woman who was soon to become his great love and his wife. She exerted enormous influence upon his existence: by her deep feeling for him, by her intellectual companionship, and by her practical energy. He was a consumptive, and several times in his life was near dying; as a most subtle and devoted nurse, she knew how to keep him alive. His disposition was rather gloomy; she supported him by her cheerfulness, though she herself was subject to a nervous disease. They settled down for some years in Switzerland, where Żeromski obtained the post of librarian in the Polish Museum in Rapperswil. Then for some years he was librarian in the Zamoyski Library in Warsaw.

These were the days of his first great literary successes. But only when about 40 was he able to give up struggling for a living and devote himself entirely to writing. He lived for long periods abroad. He became a prominent personality in literature. But having spent a great part of his manhood in libraries, as he had spent his childhood among forests, he liked solitude. He was shy in society. In intercourse with other people (especially in practical matters) he was always greatly helped by his wife. Then there came a dramatic end to that union which had lasted for twenty years. Another woman had entered Żeromski's life. A new love was kindled in him, which he was unable to deny. He founded a new family, and thereby sundered his personal life in two. The breach was even more dramatically marked by the death of his only son; this was the great sorrow of his later years from which he never recovered, in spite of his devotion to the daughter of his second marriage.

Even this brief and rough outline of his life is sufficient to show that he knew what passion and suffering were. And passion and suffering abound in his works. The most remarkable pieces in the first two collections of short stories published under his name (*Short Stories*, 1895; *Tales*, 1898) were studies of human pain and grief. A woman whose husband has gone mad (*A Taboo*); a peasant whose

legs are being amputated (*Whatever happens—let the blow fall*); a doctor dying in agony from the dreadful disease of glanders which he has caught from his poorest patient (*The Ray*); a miserable field labourer who has to steal boards for the coffin of his dead child and who is severely punished for his crime (*Forgetfulness*); such are the typical characters of these stories. It was the prevailing time of naturalism, and its influence is felt here, though by the subtlety of his psychology and by the craftsmanship of his style, Żeromski in these very earliest of his works passed beyond the canons of naturalism.

Highly sensitive to every kind of pain, he was particularly haunted by that which was rooted in social injustice. Doctor Peter, in the story of that name, renounces his old and dearly-loved father from the moment when he learns that this father gave him his education by means of reductions year after year in the wages of workmen in the factory of which he was manager. Doctor Peter leaves his home, determined to work with blind energy; he will live in privation, to restore to the workmen the money which had been filched from them. The hero of *The Ray* is set upon by a tramp in the small provincial town in which he had settled; but this unpleasant adventure does not make him indignant; on the contrary, it makes him feel responsible for the social conditions in which the tramp's life is possible. The heroine of the story, *A Girl Athlete*, a young village teacher, dies from exertions and hardships, as a worker among the poor, but soldier-like remains at the post when there is none to replace her.

All the art of Żeromski's early period and all its characteristic *motifs* expressed themselves at their fullest in his novel *The Homeless* (1900). Its hero is again a doctor. He is a son of a poor Warsaw shoemaker. By a lucky chance and by his own strenuous efforts he acquired an education—and was even able to spend some years in Paris to complete his studies. Returned to his own country, his whole mind is bent upon the idea of improving the conditions under which the poor have to live. He starts social work among his medical colleagues, he proposes the introduction of humane regulations into the working system of a factory, he reorganises a sanatorium, he tries to secure a healthier existence for workers in an iron-foundry and in a mine. Everywhere he is baffled by the greed or the cold indifference of people whose help is necessary for the success of his plans. He fails at every point of his activity. But the more he realises the difficulty of his task, the more he is persuaded that he must carry on. Filled by this sense of duty, he renounces

his personal happiness; and he parts with his devoted bride. He has no right to be happy, when his fellow-men are living in squalor; and he fears the inevitable egoism of a home, modest though the home may be, because it will turn him away from his sacred task. He must be alone. They part, indeed. And Żeromski knew how to portray the reality of the sacrifice. Already in his short stories he had revealed himself as a poet of love (*A Taboo, The Ray, An Eye for an Eye*). In *The Homeless* this talent of his rose to its apogee. Some of Dr. Judym's meditations and parts of his bride's journal are among the most ardent pages which up to that time had ever been written in Polish.

With *The Homeless*, Żeromski became for the first time known to a larger public. But this novel and the two volumes of tales were not the only works he had written before 1900, though they were the only ones signed by his name. There were a number of people who knew of the existence of two books published in Galicia under the name of Maurice Zych which were unobtainable in Warsaw. And those near to the writer knew that this Zych was no other man than Żeromski himself. The adoption of a pseudonym was necessary, since Żeromski lived under the Russian rule which strictly forbade such books to be either written or read. These two volumes showed that Żeromski was sensitive not only to social evils, but to national misfortunes as well. The first of them bore the title taken from a popular song: *We are Carrion for Crows and Ravens* (1895). It is a collection of tales giving pictures of Polish life after the defeat of the rising of 1863. An atmosphere of calamity hangs over all of them. The most impressive has for a hero a young Pole who is serving his period of conscription in the Russian army. His worst experience is to feel the suspicion of his fellow-countrymen. In painful reverie he comes across a grave in which the victims of the last of Kościuszko's battles are buried. Suddenly he realises that this grave is the only thing near him allowed to speak frankly of the past. And it seems to him that he hears a message from it. All these tales reflect the utmost pessimism. Sienkiewicz used to declare that his aim in writing was "to comfort the heart." Żeromski declared that it was necessary to tear wounds open, "lest they be covered by a membrane of vileness." And he conformed to this motto. There are scarcely any happy endings in his works.

His first pseudonymous novel, however, was not devoid of a certain cheerfulness, pessimistic though its title was: *Labours of Sisyphus* (1898). It is a school novel; a curious Polish parallel to *Nicholas Nickleby*. Żeromski described his own schooldays. All

instruction is given in Russian. Talking Polish is forbidden and penalised. The Polish teachers are either morally corrupt or terrified by their superiors. The Russians are either brutal or diabolically cunning. Even the beauties of Russian literature are used as a means to seduce the patriotism of the boys. There are terrifying vistas in the novel, but there is also humour; the humour of the young and weak struggling against the old and strong, the humour of conscious and buoyant vitality, triumphant in many cases over a crushing and repressive system. Situations of exquisite dramatic irony abound, as, for instance, the occasion of a Russian inspection in a small village school. The teacher is a Pole, and the result of the inspection seems anything but satisfactory to him. His pupils cannot read Russian. The poor man gets drunk to comfort himself. And then the Russian inspector comes back. The village people have complained to him about the teacher on the ground that he has overworked the children by teaching them the official Russian hymns. This complaint makes the inspector change his mind; he returns, and the poor drunken teacher is praised and rewarded. The book is written with restraint and delicacy, and it is well constructed. Its documentary value is on the same level as the artistic.

Żeromski was interested not only in the immediate past of his country. Among his first short stories we meet at once a tale of Napoleonic times *On a Soldier Wanderer*. It is with the same period that he deals in his most ambitious achievement, the three-volume novel *Ashes* (1904). This is a prose epic, a painting on a large canvas of the nation's whole life at that time, its every-day events no less than its fevered experience during the Napoleonic wars. The place of *Ashes* among the works of Żeromski is similar to that of *War and Peace* among the works of Tolstoy. We see the country and the town, landlords and peasants, civilians and soldiers, simple people and men of genius, ordinary deeds and exceptional exploits. The whole colour of the past is rendered with acute vividness. The scenery changes incessantly. From the wild woods of the Sandomierz district, disturbed only by hunters and game, we pass to a convent school and to the Cracow Academy; we make acquaintance with splendid aristocratic castles and modest manors of the poor gentry, remote from the rush of the world. We see the capital, with its brilliant salons and masonic lodges, and then we are shown battlefields and tents in which the best men of the nation are meditating not only on plans of separate battles, but also on the

whole puzzling tangle of events, on their historical and even meta-physical issues. Warfare is depicted with all its glory, but also with all its cruelties. One of the momentous episodes of the novel is the conquest of Saragoza with dreadful scenes of struggle in the street, of the attack on a lunatic asylum and a nunnery. The story ranges, then, far beyond the borders of Poland: it carries us to Spain, to Italy, even to San Domingo, wherever Poles were drawn by national hopes or national calamity, or by their confidence in the great leader. The heroism of the epoch is glorified equally with the beauty of some old customs; but the evil elements of the time and those handed down from earlier centuries are not concealed. A peasant who had passed bravely through long campaigns has to be punished for a breach of feudal law. The threads of private and public life are intertwined. Pictures of battles and of assemblies alternate with love scenes and magnificent descriptions of Nature.

There is no central hero in *Ashes*. The greater part of the plot is concerned with three young men. One of them, Raphael Olbromski, represents the rough, violent, rather egoistic racial force; his passions are powerful and he has no mood for reflection. Another type of man is his friend Christopher Cedro, a character of great delicacy and genuine kindness, full of the sense of duty, however tragic seems to be this duty's consequence. The third of them, Prince Gintuŭt, is a man of speculative habit. He feels and acts like his contemporaries, but he endeavours also to penetrate to the inmost reasons of things. A revolutionary enthusiast in his youth, he feels disappointed in his ideals; he tries to live like a hedonist, enjoying passing moments; this, however, does not suffice him; he falls into mystical abstractions. But the *dramatis personæ* in *Ashes* are much more numerous. Very different types of the national temperament are represented in it, and very different attitudes to life in general. Some of the minor characters, well-drawn though they are, are rather lost in the largeness of the work. In respect of diction, the novel is (like most of Żeromski's later tales) a rare union of two styles: the realistic and the lyric. Passages which are a mirror of physical history mingle with outbursts of pure emotional poetry. And the combination of these two manners seldom jars.

Żeromski went still farther into the past in his exploration of history. Following *Ashes* came *The Tale of Walter the Hardy* (1904), based on a story from a medieval chronicle. The narrative labours here under the burden of an ornate style. The central figure, who acquires by great personal sufferings a sense of the wider issues of life, is too artificial and is obscured by elaborations. *The Lay of the*



*Hetman* (1908) which appeared two years after, is a powerful work. Its central part is a long series of visions evoked from the past with their characters giving testimony before a court where Polish history and the Polish national character are put on trial. Artistically, it is a mosaic of scenes and different forms of expression, such as prose dialogue, rhythmical narration, verse of the kind of the Russian *byliny*, and so on. It is all accomplished with the fineness of a goldsmith's craft; though the whole is too large for us to enjoy such richly decorative art. Yet the first and third parts are masterly, and show Żeromski at his best; they are two rhapsodies of the Polish 17th-century war against the invading Turks and of the heroic death of the valiant hetman Żółkiewski in the lost battle of Cecora. There is no excessive ornamentation in these parts of the saga; they seem to be carved out of the language with strength and simplicity, as though out of stone.

The next historical work of Żeromski, the drama of *Sutkowski* (1910), is rather a failure: full of pathetic dialogues but lacking in dramatic movement. In contrast with this, the novel entitled *The Faithful River* (1912) is the best constructed of Żeromski's works of fiction. It is called "a legend" and is based on the recollections of the rising of 1863 preserved in Żeromski's own family. It is a simple story of a wounded insurgent and of a loving woman. When the rising fails, the rebel takes refuge in a small manor house. The district is closely combed by Russian patrols. It is an act of great courage and of thrilling romance for the young girl to hide the persecuted soldier and to nurse him. In these circumstances affection grows between the two young people and develops into one of the most fascinating of Żeromski's love stories. It ends as most of them do, in frustration. Courage in war proves not to be the same as courage in private life. There is a difference of social class and of habits between the two lovers: the man is an aristocrat, the girl is of the smaller gentry. This difference makes itself felt more strongly as the romantic circumstances of the beginning of the story fade into the past. And the poor Salomea is abandoned. The family of her lover is tactless enough to offer her financial aid. She throws the money which has been sent her into the river—the faithful river which seems to her the only friendly thing in the world! In diction this novel marks a further step in Żeromski's art: his realistic and his lyric style are melted into something new and appropriate for rendering atmosphere and passions.

This style culminated in the fragment *Everything and Nothing* (1914). It is a chapter from the projected continuation of *Ashes*,

which was afterwards given up. As a story it is of the utmost simplicity. It tells of a blizzard, of a meeting of two friends, and of a child's departure from home; but the whole colour of time and place is evoked. "If," writes the critic Antoni Potocki, "there exists anywhere a magic spell powerful enough to draw out of one drop of water . . . all the mysteries of the ocean, it is that spell which inspired the fragment *Everything and Nothing*. . . It has seldom been given to any writer to incarnate so fully a race in a single family, an epoch in a single day, a country in a single landscape."

Nevertheless, haunted by the past though he was for years, Żeromski did not take his finger from the pulse of his own day. Inclined to socialism since his years in Switzerland, he shared the hopes of Polish socialists in the Russian revolutionary movement in 1905; and the failure of these hopes led to a new pseudonymous work entitled *The Rose* (1909). In dialogues and collective scenes various types and groups are represented. There are unenlightened workers and all too enlightened spies; there are martyrs and traitors, enthusiasts and sceptics; there is a section of society which refuses to think at all; and there are people creating a satanic confusion of ideas for their own profit. The somewhat naïve ending, which identified the hopes of the nation with the progress of technical discovery, is characteristic of Żeromski's enthusiasm for science. The temper of the work is strange—half real, half allegorical. It is confused and tumultuous; a true reflection of the period which produced it. Its chief literary value resides in the lyrical intermezzos with which the acts of the drama are punctuated.

A still earlier work by Żeromski, the novel called *A Story of a Sin* (1906), seems to have been influenced by the general disenchantment of the day. This is to be traced not only in the picture of life in which an important rôle is given to bandits, such as they had in reality after the abortive revolution of 1905, but chiefly in the general lines of its development and climax. The principal characters are not particularly connected, either, with the crowded events of the time. Their sins are not to be explained by social conditions: they seem to derive from the general order of the world. The hero, a scholar with a subtle mind, who quotes Plato and Shakespeare in his conversation, turns thief; and—what is even stranger, perhaps—after having written a series of love-letters which are among the best of their kind forgets and neglects the woman he loved. She—a pure and good-hearted girl when we make her acquaintance in the beginning of the book—becomes a murderess and a courtesan. Her

influence is destructive for all around her : an old philanthropist, for instance, because he desires her, forsakes and undoes a lifetime of noble work. The novel is not easy to appreciate. Its plot lacks too much in consistency and psychological conviction. Its somewhat strained style is not quite adapted to the painful realism of its matter. But it echoes faithfully the poet's mood of that time : the mood which was rightly called Manichæan. For, indeed, it was the only conclusion to infer from the book : that Evil is eternal and invincible, and that beauty and noble passions become its weapons. These thoughts had already been expressed by Żeromski in earlier years in an even more direct way : in the parable entitled *Ahriman takes his revenge* (1904).

This morbid mood did not last. The next novel, *The Charm of Life* (1911) is a gospel of hoping against hope. It is the story of the renaissance of Polish feeling in a Russianised youth. Garrisoned as an officer in Poland, he is stirred by his family traditions, and fortified by their moral strength he breaks with his past. From this time on, all his efforts will be directed to serving the national cause. He dreams of large constructive works, and in his plans he is helped by friends who likewise forswear all personal interests. Their resolution scorns every obstacle. They are arrested ; and one day when awaiting trial they are suddenly convulsed with laughter at the thought that imprisonment is expected to frighten them. This scene expresses the spirit of the novel. As a whole it is again a badly-constructed work. Żeromski concentrated upon the first volume, narrating young Rożucki's moral rebirth and his love-story—doomed to a tragic end ; but the second volume is disconnected, and pages of great lyric inspiration and acute realism are mingled with unnecessary discursions and subsidiary plots.

Hardly better in construction is the trilogy of novels under the characteristic title *The Fight against Satan* (1916–1919). Its hero is once more an enthusiast of the type already familiar to us from *The Charm of Life* and *The Homeless*, but he is less tragic and more human. With dreams of prosperity for his fellow-countrymen he seeks for power ; and as a modern man he sees power in money. It introduces into the novel a flavour reminiscent of Balzac. He is successful both in his financial operations and in his social activities. He is killed by socialist fanatics who misunderstand his aims, but his work is continued by his wife ; and afterwards by his father-in-law, whom the shock converts to his ideals. The satanism of the title is expressed both in the vampiric charm and frailty of a woman, and afterwards in the horrors of war and in the figure of a ruthless

criminal to whom the war gives every scope. Opposed to him are a group whose motto is a phrase from St. Thomas Aquinas, several times repeated in the trilogy: *Charitas non est aliquid creatum sed ipse Deus*. There are admirable fragments in *The Fight against Satan*, as there are many in *The Charm of Life*. As a whole, however, it seemed to show some exhaustion in the writer.

Then the recovered independence of Poland gave him a new span of life. He seemed to foresee this great historical event in his prose lyric *The Dream of the Sword* (published in 1905); and he seemed to show a care and feeling for the whole community when he wrote its counterpart, *The Dream of Bread*, two years after the outbreak of war (1916). From 1918 onwards he developed a great activity both as an artist and as a publicist. Pride of place must be given to his charming pamphlet, half didactic, half lyrical, *The Vistula* (1918). It is an exaltation of the national river and its banks, a series of reminiscences from history and a hymn of hope for the future. Żeromski succeeded in speaking with poetic purity and persuasiveness even about such things as coal, salt, and petrol. Similar in character are Żeromski's two books on Pomerania: *The Wind from the Sea* (1922) and *Between Two Seas* (1923). He was particularly attached to the Polish coast, of which he had already spoken in *The Charm of Life*. In both of these later works he glorified its beauty, described it perhaps over-conscientiously, recalled its past with all its splendours and all its miseries, depicted its people and their legends. It is a succession of historical tableaux: from the apostolic expedition of St. Adalbert and his martyrdom to the foundation of the new Polish port at Gdynia. Pictures of horror and of love follow one another. But *The Wind from the Sea* ends in an assurance of peace to come between Pole and German. This is all the more significant because Satan himself is continually on the stage, in a shape suggested by Pomeranian legends.

Never resting, never content with his conquests, the writer entered now on a field where his energies seemed least likely to succeed. The construction of his works has always been their greatest weakness. Yet he undertook to write in the dramatic form. It is touching to see him at the height of his glory and popularity become once more a beginner. He tried to portray the moral chaos which followed upon the war, and to throw new light on the tangle of Good and Evil which disturbed him always. Twice he failed. *Whiter than Snow* (1920) and *The White Glove* (1921) were dramas full of improbabilities; their characterisation inconsistent and

misty. Not discouraged by the critics, he produced a more unified work in *Skin of the Beast* (1923), dealing with one of the most terrible episodes in Polish history : the massacre of Galician gentry in 1846 by peasants, at the instigation of Austrian agents. And he astonished all his theatrical audience by his last endeavour and first real success in drama : a comedy under a title borrowed from a popular rhyme : *My Little Quail Has Fled Away* (1924). The play is finely built and mature in its technique ; its characters are clear-cut, and its dramatic interest increases up to the last scenes. Moreover, it is connected with vital points of contemporary life, and develops in a new way the fundamental problems of Żeromski's works : the relation between Good and Evil, and between Happiness and Suffering. Its hero, one Przełęczki, is a young scholar devoted to social work. An enthusiast himself, he gathers similar enthusiasts around him. All of them regard the work upon which they are engaged as a kind of mission. But there is among them a married woman who falls in love with the hero. And he falls in love with her. It is a deep, passionate, persuading love, but if they accept it, the work which is so dear to Przełęczki will be ruined by scandal, and a third person will suffer. For the sake of the moral values at stake Przełęczki resorts to an heroic buffoonery : he degrades himself in the eyes of the woman and in the eyes of his friends. There is a risk : will they reject him or reject the idea to which he had attached them ? This risk is tragic for Przełęczki, but he wins against himself. He is condemned to an existence of insignificance and seclusion. He loses what is dearest to him ; but in feeling himself a victor, he is justified.

Yet even now Żeromski did not pause in optimism. His method was to warn people and to awaken their conscience. So in his last novel, *First Spring*, written when he was 61 (1924), he deals with new cares and new dangers. The hero of the book is a young man brought up in Bolshevik Russia. He has passed through all the horrors of the revolution, but in spite of what he has personally suffered from it, he is imbued with its ideas. His mind is torn between denunciation and acceptance. In 1920 he enlists with armies defending Poland against the Bolshevik invasion ; in a circle of Communist young people he answers their fanatical reasonings with the arguments of a patriot. But when among those belonging to the possessing class, he inveighs against their egoism and cruelty in the phrases of a Communist. The novel ends with a Communist demonstration in which he takes part and is arrested. Żeromski intended to continue his story in another novel. Death cut short

his intention. His last work was a short poem in prose, *A Forest of Firs* (1925), glorifying his native hills, and their memories.

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Żeromski's peculiar importance in Poland depended on his close connection with the life of the nation; on the singular way in which he united old traditions and new tendencies. He is in many respects a successor of the romantics, in other respects of the 19th-century positivists; in his language he is indebted to the remote past as well as to various dialects of contemporary Poland. And there was no event, no current of ideas in his country which passed unobserved, unfelt or unanswered by him.

But he was also strongly connected with many general currents of his epoch, and of some of them he gave lasting expression.

His fundamental talent was that of a poet of emotions. Their intricacies, their associations and conflicts, their crises, the half-conscious reverie aroused by them—these were the favourite territories of his art. He invented a style of his own to convey these states of mind with poetic persuasiveness. He succeeded most unmistakably in representing the passions. He was a great love poet. Both the exultations and the despairs of love, its sublimity as well as its sensuousness, were rendered by him with penetrating sharpness. And what a variety of loving women do we not meet in his writings: from the delicate, yearning Josia of *The Homeless*, to the sarcastic and evasive Xenia of *The Fight against Satan*. Żeromski was, indeed, a creator of feminine figures.

He was less sure in his men characters. For really vivid pictures of men we must look among his villains or among his minor characters. The principal heroes are in many respects somewhat uniform, some of them being simply mediums of their author.

For at heart he was more of a lyricist than a novelist. His most perfect artistic expressions are his prose poems, such as *The Vistula* or *The Forest of Firs*. But, at the same time, his was too rich a nature to be limited to this one form. And, besides that, account must also be taken of the fact that the novel was the most popular literary form of the period. It was practically a necessity for everybody who wanted to be widely read and exert extensive influence. Still, a lyrical undercurrent is present in all Żeromski's works, and it explains the frequent recurrence of certain *motifs* in them.

One of the most notable of his artistic prepossessions was his insistence upon the ties which bind man to nature around him. His works are not only full of splendid descriptions. Nature is for him,

as for his heroes, a "mirror of a sentient soul." Borowicz (in *Labours of Sisyphus*) feels for trees as if they were organs of his mind. The heroine of *A Taboo* finds in a chirping little bird a profound, irrational consolation in her distress. And so it is with many others of Żeromski's creations. Almost all of them are observers and lovers of Nature; some of them are able even to distinguish the individual shapes of trees or various sighings of wind in different bushes. And this sense is even sharpened in them when their emotions are aroused. This prepares the reader for a treatment of states of mind which are nearer to musical feeling than to intellectual perception. A typical example is the romance of Raphael and Helena in the second part of *Ashes* (in the chapter entitled *Mountains, Valleys*), where the presentation of the lovers' feeling is indissolubly blended with the description of a small Tatra meadow.

Nevertheless, he was very far from giving his heroes only ecstatic minds. On the contrary, he is a master at demonstrating how manifold human nature is. For no other reason than that, he conceived even in his youth a special predilection for Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. "It is an immortal work," he said (in a letter of 28 May, 1892, addressed to his fiancée), "where flashes of poetry are conveyed in a brutal form. The audacity of Shakespeare was required, indeed, to hurl from their pedestals the statue-like and anointed heroes of the Iliad who had cousins among the gods of Olympus, and to hew, with a fantastic chisel, passionate, real men out of them. To reach to their very souls and to light them with a dawn of an eternal and yet totally new brightness. . . . It is a work of Nature, apparently shapeless and devoid of thought, a welter of tremendous images, of wild words and illogical oppositions—for all the world like a chain of peaks in the Tatra. But whoever looks at it finds an infinite beauty, a terrible truth and an eternal poetry." Żeromski's own heroes are, accordingly, mixed in their nature. Raphael Olbromski is deeply attached to his brother, but when this brother is dead there is a moment in which greed prevails over all other feelings. Now all this will be mine, he thinks, looking at his brother's possessions. Love is the very soul of Salomea, the heroine of *The Faithful River*; but, when her lover is gone, to end their romantic and dramatic story, her first feeling is that of relief.

The soul in Żeromski's characters is never detached from the body. Their bodily sensations are described as keenly as their imaginative states. The interdependence of these two orders was an object of his permanent interest; it became even sometimes his obsession. He created innumerable startling images to express

their close and yet mysterious relationship. A very characteristic one is that about "the physical growth of the soul."

His heroes being so often two-sided, his whole world is two-sided also. He is eager for beauty and joy, and at the same time there is scarcely anybody who felt more penetratingly the foul "leprous" stains of life. Intent upon fighting these abominations, he sometimes forgot his art and wrote as a publicist. He resented this in his later years as a tyranny of compassion, and contrasted it with the desired direct delight in the beauty of life.

But even the beauty of life proved very often to rest on evil and violence. Nothing is more symptomatic than the description of a forest in *The Wind from the Sea*, where every element of splendour is dependent on a murder or a torture of some created being.

Żeromski had no easy way of reconciling all these painful contrasts in a final harmony. They troubled him always, and when he pronounced a word of hope, it was always gravely counterbalanced by sacrifices and renunciations. As a rule, contradictions prevail in his world. Among the elements illustrative of its dramatic nature are Żeromski's plots: so often strange, cruel and hard; sometimes beyond the limits of probability, though he certainly did not equal Thomas Hardy in this respect. If there is any question with him of peace for the soul, it can only be inferred from the religious atmosphere which, however indefinite, hangs over most of his works. There is conveyed a sense of grace able to simplify and purify everything. Religious sublimation is known to most of Żeromski's heroes. And his last notes preserved to us were taken from a book dealing with the immortality of the soul.

His work is admittedly unequal in quality. On the whole he is not a skilful literary architect. Construction, in the Latin sense, can be found only in his short stories, *Labours of Sisyphus*, *The Lay of The Faithful River* and *My Little Quail*. Whatever reservations we may make as to his constructive craft, it must be stated that as an artist of language he never failed to be creative and arresting. His style, burning and palpitating in lyrical passages, can also be exquisitely humorous or matter-of-fact. He produced in it dramatic scenes and unexpected images. His highly individual ways of expression threatened to become a mannerism at times, and at other times the threat was fulfilled. But he was vigilant, and sought incessantly for new avenues.

WACŁAW BOROWY.



## HAWTHORNE AND DOSTOYEVSKY

HAWTHORNE and Dostoyevsky. At first sight this is a most impossible comparison, for it is hard to see what can be common to the great portrayer of old Puritan life and the Russian psychologist and thinker. Surely no two authors were ever superficially more different in origin, in training, in philosophy and in ideas. What did Massachusetts have in common with Russia a century ago? The two men could not meet and there is no reason to believe that they had even heard of each other, for Hawthorne died in 1864, the year when the first of Dostoyevsky's mature works, the *Memoirs of the Underground*, appeared.

Yet both men, in their own way and under their own systems, were working toward the same goal, the realisation and the depiction of what we may call a functional morality. Both men lived in formal societies, and they had come to realise that the maintenance of an external code had no necessary connection with internal moral excellence. Neither man could be satisfied with that easy solution of all the problems of life which divides mankind into the good and the evil by a rule of thumb. Neither could be satisfied with an external picture of mankind, whereby the moral worth of a character was determined by certain unimportant actions. They both sought to know the human heart, and they both sought to interpret every act of man, not as it appears to the casual observer but as it should be judged by the deep and broad intelligence of the world. In other words, both Hawthorne and Dostoyevsky believed that morals were made for man and not man for morals. They did not believe that any man could attain perfection by obeying a series of negative commands, and they therefore sought a moral code which was one of content and not one of the letter of the law.

The result is a philosophy which at times is almost cynical in its frankness. Both men delight in tearing away the mask of sanctity from their respected characters and in revealing the moral foulness that lurks within the greatest saint. Such a revelation is common in Dostoyevsky, and Hawthorne again and again (as in *Young Goodman Brown*) pictures pious old women trafficking with the devil or saintly old men appearing at the feasts of the enemy of mankind. The list in both Hawthorne and Dostoyevsky could be lengthened almost endlessly, and yet it would be very false to see them merely as critics. Both authors are equally willing to tear off the rags of filth and of degradation that surround some sinner and to reveal the sanctity within, and to show how these men and women

who have been condemned by the moral judgment of the world may still precede the saints into Paradise. As in real life, both of these authors emphasise the fact that one can never know what is passing in the heart and mind of one's own friend and companion, much less the stranger that is passed on the street.

Even when a man talks of his ideals and when he devotes himself to the attainment of them, we can never be sure that he really believes in them himself. Hawthorne puts this bluntly in *The Blithedale Romance* when he says of the philosopher Hollingsworth, "The besetting sin of a philanthropist is apt to be a moral obliquity. His sense of honour ceases to be the sense of honour of other honourable men." What an indictment this is of humanity in its higher stages, and how often it is justified! How often we learn to our sorrow that the reformer has a hidden vice and that the methods of those who are holding for the highest ideals in political life are methods that would shock and disgust the representatives of the most greedy and grasping advocates of evil. Today it is necessary but to look at the administration of any of the forces of righteousness to realise that they have their own sins and their own vices, which nullify so much of the good that they would do. Similarly there is in many of our most corrupt political machines a good and a helpful side which secure them approval and support without regard to their ultimate aims.

Let us take *The Scarlet Letter* as the masterpiece of Hawthorne and see what *motifs* in that piece could be paralleled with those of Dostoyevsky. There is no need to summarise the story or to comment on the utter dissimilarity of setting. The little New England village amid its pleasant fields and woods, with its well-kept houses, has nothing in common with the gloomy pictures of the mental and physical slums of Dostoyevsky. Yet in this smiling community, Mistress Hester Prynne has a child by some man who is obviously not her husband and for this sin she is condemned to wear the scarlet letter A. She does not reveal the astounding fact that the father of that child is the saintly pastor of the village, Arthur Dimmesdale. Her husband, taking the name of Roger Chillingworth, studies and analyses and thirsts for vengeance until he forces the pastor to confess publicly in order to escape him.

Let us compare Arthur Dimmesdale and the heroes of Dostoyevsky. In him there is none of that superhuman revolt that we find in Ivan Karamazov. He does not hand back his ticket to God. Yet he is racked and torn by tortures worthy of Raskolnikov, as he tries to maintain his self-assurance and to atone for his sin in every

way other than confession. Ivan Karamazov has the respect of the community. He never violates the laws or customs of the day. He stands unflinchingly for honesty, and then he is driven to realise that it is his own teachings and not the drunken sallies and quarrels of his brother Dimitry that have led to the murder of his father. His sin comes back to him as an overwhelming burden. So Arthur Dimmesdale, the austere pastor, the living saint, knows all the time that he is the father of Hester's child. He knows that he should take his place beside her on the pillory, and with that knowledge in his heart, he prays and fasts, he multiplies his devotions, he wears himself out, he does everything except to make public confession of his guilt. When he does, no one will believe him. The worthy Puritans are sure that he confessed from a sense of humility and that the entire act of mounting the pillory with Hester was purely symbolical, and in death as in life Arthur must pass with a reputation that has grown repulsive to him because of its unreality and falsity. Salvation must come for him, as for Raskolnikov, from confession, and the price of confession is the ending of that mode of life to which he has become accustomed, or death.

Or let us take Hester and Sonya. Both of these women are sinners. Both of them flout the judgment of the world and seem unaware of the extent of their transgressions. Hester even embroiders the Scarlet Letter and decorates it as a boast of her shame, for only thus can she stand the torture of the world. Yet she is not depraved nor perverted. She has sinned through love, and that experience and her child Pearl, the result of it, are the greatest things in her life. She will not betray the clergyman, but she prefers to suffer in silence, and out of that suffering comes a nobility of character that elevates her above her critics and torturers, above the respectable, so that Hester is blessed far and wide throughout the colony for her philanthropy, her kindness, and her mercy. She achieves among the cold and relentless people of Massachusetts Bay that aureole of sanctity that Sonya gains amid the Siberian prisoners, when she follows Raskolnikov into exile. She can do but little, but that little is so sincere that her sins are forgiven and forgotten, and both Sonya and Hester atone for their sins. As the old drunken Marmeladov says of his daughter, they are sure of pardon, because they have loved much.

Or how about the third member of the group, the grim and vengeful Roger Chillingworth? Did Dostoyevsky ever draw a more tragic figure? He has given up his old life in his desire to expose and punish Dimmesdale. He has become a devil, such a complete

devil as only a man can become. He has ruthlessly stifled every good impulse in his soul without committing a single sin, as the world would call it. What is left to him when Arthur dies and he finds that he has been cheated of his prey? Nothing that can make existence tolerable, and he becomes a mere Svidrigailov who must commit suicide because he cannot live longer on this planet. Yes, man cannot look too keenly into the face of vengeance and remain unpunished himself, and if he lives like Roger, the devil will come to him as he did to Ivan in his own form and image and will goad him to the depths of despair.

Thus in *The Scarlet Letter* Hawthorne was working with substantially the same underlying philosophy as Dostoyevsky. Each in his own way had reached the conclusion that man must be judged by his motives and not by his actions. Each was ready to exalt the sinner, if only the sin was the result of storms of passion or of accident or of necessity and the heart was still open to the impulses of the right and good. Each was ready to condemn the righteous if their hearts were turned to stone and their feelings were atrophied. Conventional morality knows nothing of such an excuse. Legalistic codes cannot understand it, but the experience of life is not slow to grasp the meaning of the theory and to welcome it as a truer picture of Christianity than is that theory of external righteousness which the world so often holds.

There is no need to go over in detail the other novels of Hawthorne. We could compare the fate of Clifford Pyncheon in *The House of the Seven Gables* to that of Prince Myshkin in *The Idiot*, for Clifford has been broken by his unjust confinement in prison and he is an idiot in Dostoyevsky's sense of the word. Or we could compare the pompous, virtuous and ambitious Judge Pyncheon to Prince Valkovsky in *The Insulted and Injured*<sup>1</sup>. Both are guilty and respectable. Both are foul and cruel of spirit, but their prestige is such that their subordinates dare not and their equals will not question their principles. Who would doubt the guilt of Clifford when Judge Pyncheon indicates it? Who would believe the tale of the ruined Jeremiah Smit in preference to that of the respectable Valkovsky? Society knows whom to believe and it stifles its qualms. Hawthorne is rarely roused to sharp condemnation, and yet his final picture of the dead Judge is as bitter as are any of Dostoyevsky's outbursts against the evils of society, and it is directed against a respectable man.

The same parallels can be drawn in *The Blithedale Romance*.

<sup>1</sup> We use the title of Mrs. Garnett's translation.—ED.

Old Moodie, driven to the depths by his sins, is as pathetically helpless as is Smit. The narrator, with his love for Priscilla which he dares not utter, is like Ignatyev in *The Insulted and Injured* or Makar Dlevushkin in *Poor Folk*, who thinks only of serving the unhappy Barbara, whatever the cost to himself. The talented daughter Zenobia commits suicide, for like Stavrogin in *The Possessed*, she cannot tolerate defeat nor can she find satisfaction in love and triumph. If she would live, she must become human, and that she refuses to do. The same is true of Hollingsworth, of whom Hawthorne uses the very startling but penetrating phrase, "He ought to have commenced his investigations by perpetrating some huge sin in his proper person, examining the condition of his higher instincts afterwards." We can imagine how strange a sound that must have had for the New England ear, and it is a challenge to the Tolstoys, and all other reformers, who can thank God that they are not as other men are, not even as this publican.

Yet the same novel shows us also how Hawthorne differs from Dostoyevsky. The two men were interested in the works of the French Socialist Fourier. Hawthorne stayed for a while at Brook Farm. Dostoyevsky was caught in the conspiracy of Petrashevsky and sent to Siberia. Yet their treatment of the results of this philosophy is entirely different. Hawthorne does not have a political interest in the fate of the community. We can read his criticism of it on every page. We can see how difficult it was for thinkers and artists to turn themselves into simple tillers of the soil, the cost of that simplification which Russian thought a couple of decades later was to seek so earnestly. To Hawthorne all this is unimportant. The novel deals with sin and personality, and the cursed questions of social organisation do not cry out for a solution. To Dostoyevsky those questions are as vital as the personal problems of humanity. In every one of his novels along with the personal and religious struggle come the social elements. *The Possessed* deals with the meaning of revolution. *The Brothers Karamazov* questions the functions of the courts and public order. *The Idiot* raises many general problems of civilisation. Dostoyevsky is moving in a sphere that does not exist for Hawthorne.

In many of the short stories of Hawthorne, we find the most biting and the most keen statements of his knowledge of human nature and even of society, and these stories perhaps explain Hawthorne and his philosophy as well as or better than his longer novels. They are often in a chimerical form. They deal with unreal events, unreal persons, impossible times. They are perhaps sym-

bolistic in nature, and yet the truth which they depict is one which Dostoyevsky shows in his own way.

If we look at *The Procession of Life*, we shall see at once how Hawthorne bursts the bounds of conventional society. The talented but untutored blacksmith gives his hand without shame to the learned scholar. The women of the streets find friends and companions among the severely respectable ladies of society, and some of the latter seek a far different place in the great procession. Likewise Dostoyevsky equates Aglaya and Nastasya in *The Idiot*, Dunya and Sonya in *Crime and Punishment*, Grushenka and Katerina Ivanovna in the *Brothers Karamazov*. Spiritual affinities, rather than external likeness, are what count

Again there is in the world a demand for change. Hawthorne expresses it in *Earth's Holocaust*, where the reformers burn up everything that exists on this planet in order to create a new life. They succeed, but they leave behind them the human heart, and so long as that continues to remain unchanged, external reforms cannot avail. All the intrigues and the plots of Petr Stepanovich Verkhovensky in *The Possessed*, all the studies of Russian nihilism and communism, cannot be summed up any more effectively than in that short story of 23 pages which portrays, outside of time and space, the success and fall of all these movements.

Dostoyevsky likewise realised the corroding power of selfishness. All of his great rebels who sought to be supermen, Raskolnikov, Stavrogin, Ippolit, Ivan Karamazov, all of them are unable to get outside of themselves, they cannot share the sympathies, the aspirations and the hopes and the failures of their fellow men, and they all perish miserably. They become unreal, exactly as Gervayse Hastings in *The Christmas Banquet*. Here is a man who has risen above the mediocre. "He had won a stainless reputation in affairs of the widest public importance." He had success in every line, and yet the chill cold of indifference kept him apart from his fellow men. As he truly says, "I know of but one misfortune and that is my own." And no one can see that he is unfortunate. There is Stavrogin in a nutshell. Success and accomplishment, like failure and loss, mean nothing, for Gervayse Hastings does not live. The tragedy of egotism.

Yet these short stories show at a glance also the difference in technique and in background between the two authors. Like all Russian authors of the nineteenth century, Dostoyevsky was bounded entirely by the present. He drew his subjects from the Russia of his day. He did not look for the same lessons in the past.

He did not project his thoughts into the future. He did not try to create imaginary characters in imaginary surroundings. It was of Petersburg or some Russian city of the fifties or the sixties that he wrote, and it was there that he saw in embryo all that the human spirit could produce. Hawthorne was burdened with the past. The old Puritan discipline cast over his whole life the curse of Maule. He placed *The Scarlet Letter* in the past. *The Legends of the Province House*, *Lady Eleanore's Mantle*, *The Gray Champion*, all are of the past, from which Hawthorne draws examples that have a living message in the present. He seeks to draw themes from there, so as to satisfy the historic sense which Dostoyevsky almost completely lacked.

On the other hand, he jumps with equal avidity to the future and times non-existent. His bitterest and his keenest criticisms of society and humanity are contained in such stories as *Earth's Holocaust*, *The Procession of Life*, *A Virtuoso's Collection*, and others where the people are indeed the people of the day but the background and the action is impossible to conceive in any realistic way. By avoiding the present, Hawthorne was able to picture the results of those ideas which Dostoyevsky analysed.

Then too Hawthorne was not tortured by the idea of God as was Dostoyevsky. He never flared into the righteous wrath of the Russian. He never threatened to return his ticket to God with Ivan Karamazov. He never laboured over the rights of man and superman with Raskolnikov. He never saw the universe in such a quivering and blazing state as did Dostoyevsky. He took life simply and quietly. He stayed apart and did not seek to be a guide or a thinker. He merely analysed humanity, its sins and its virtues and set them forth for people to read, if they wished.

Nevertheless, eternity and infinity are in the finite and the temporal. Hawthorne showed this in *The Great Stone Face*. The humble villager finds at home all this he needs for greatness and success. The man who leaves his native village to enter the larger world and wins fame in arms, in government, in literature, has not chosen the better or the greater form of life. He has played with a shadow rather than with the substance, for the heart exists in the country as well as in the great city or the arena of the world. That story really sums up much of Hawthorne.

Dostoyevsky, ranging from Petersburg to a Siberian prison, found a limitless world at his command in the mental slums in which he and his neighbours dwelt, and there he found all the potentialities of good and evil. Hawthorne looked into a little New England

community where all seemed quiet and lovely, and he found the same abundance of human material. He found in the formal and rigid life of Puritanism all that he could need of hypocrisy and vice and virtue, and he realised the sin that might lurk behind the facade of a respectable life. The respectable and those accepted by the world may be sinners. Perhaps they cannot fail to be sinners. And at the end of *The Scarlet Letter* he wrote, "Be true! Be true! Show freely to the world if not your worst, yet some trait whereby the worst may be inferred!" The man who could write that from his observation of simple New England life had learned, like his hero in *The Great Stone Face*, how little man needs of the external in order to rise to greatness. Both Hawthorne and Dostoyevsky had learned that man must be judged by his motives and by his heart, by his will and by his attitude toward his fellow-man, and that his acts of virtue or of vice are a very unsubstantial and unreliable guide to what the man is within.

It is easy to show how different the two men are superficially. Their attitude toward the background of their works, their choice of subjects, the civilisations which they described—all differ. Besides that, Dostoyevsky is a more imposing figure. His problems are greater. The struggles of his characters are more overwhelming. Their revolt against the world is more titanic. Yet both Hawthorne and Dostoyevsky had grasped the one truth which was central in all their works, the demand that man be judged by his motives rather than by his actions. He who is without sin, let him cast the first stone—that is the cardinal teaching of both men. Both had the same outlook on morality and on goodness. Had they been summoned to take their places in the Procession of Life, Hawthorne the Puritan and Dostoyevsky the Russian would have recognised at once their comradeship, and they would have moved together at the trumpet call of death without any feeling of incongruity or of discord and with a full appreciation of the motives and the purposes of each other.

Columbia University.  
New York.

CLARENCE AUGUSTUS MANNING.



# OBITUARY

## SZYMON ASKENAZY

(1867-1935)

WITH the death of Professor Szymon Askenazy in June, Polish learning lost one of its most distinguished ornaments. Born in the same year as the Marshal who had passed away but a month earlier, he could look back on half a century of work in his chosen sphere of study and teaching of history, only less exciting than that of his far better known contemporary. Since his first serious study was written in his eighteenth year, Askenazy could claim exactly half a century of service of the Muse. It is significant that all he did was also service of his country.

In dealing with many men of distinction in letters or science the biographer can separate the scholar from the man, the scientist from the citizen. With Askenazy it was not so. While still a student, the budding historian found himself *volens nolens* following not two "gleams" but one: since with every year he saw the more clearly how the demands of his study and the needs of his people kept pace in a curious way. And for him from thought to action was but a step. When his mind's eye once envisaged the untilled fields of inquiry, his resolve was ready to attempt cultivation. There might be no end of obstacles, both within and without the camp. There were fears and prejudices to be overcome on all sides. But it may be shown that from the time in the nineties when almost single-handed he set about an effort to redress the balance of Polish historical investigation until he found himself 25 years later representing his rehabilitated country at Geneva, there ran through all his work a single and increasing purpose. Not until a better perspective of time has passed shall we be in the right position to appraise all he did: but one of his most eminent pupils, writing of him in the *Przegląd Współczesny* has applied to him the words Askenazy himself wrote of Sorel:—

"He was a historian in the full sense of that word, i.e. in the only wholesome sense, which is triple and yet inherently one: scientific, pedagogical and civic. Only from such a perfect union could grow that fair fruitage, one of the ripest and most splendid that the tree of human knowledge produces, namely, true history. . . . He united in his person stern thoroughness of research, unusual skill in expression, and independence of opinion on moral and cultural issues."

In this brief and inadequate sketch only three things are possible : (1) to explain in a word what is meant by the phrase "redress the balance" as used above; (2) to recount in bare outline what Askenazy attempted for himself and his pupils with that end in view; (3) to add a few words about the man himself.

(1) While Askenazy was approaching maturity, the battle was on in the two Polish universities (Cracow and Lwów) that stirred the whole nation. Greatly simplified, it meant something like this : the launching by Szujski and others on an unsuspecting people of the view that the misfortunes of the Partitions of Poland had come chiefly as the result of her own misdeeds and incompetence. Thus was reversed the position of the whole Romantic period, that an innocent person had been brutally victimised by predatory neighbours. Already, while Askenazy was at the (Russian) university in Warsaw, this new view was being roundly challenged by his distinguished teacher, Tadeusz Korzon; and it was he whom the younger man followed when he published in 1893 his first volume of "Historico-critical Studies," and his Göttingen Doctor's thesis "Die letzte polnische Königswahl" a year later. A succession of papers followed on kindred themes, later to be assembled in five volumes as "Two Centuries" and "Historical Papers."

But it was in 1900 that the now recognised "new light" showed his mettle in public. At the Congress of Historians in Cracow he announced a programme of studies of post-partition Poland—a field that no one had as yet ventured into, perhaps for two reasons. One was emotional, the other political. Here the still fresh grief at the national humiliation, there concern (let us call it fear) of the wrath of the partitioning powers—Askenazy cared for none of these things. Nor did the dislike of invading "the field of contemporary history" affect him any more. He gave two reasons for the step he proposed : (1) the need of enlightening his own nation; (2) the need of enlightening the rest of Europe. He drew attention to the volume of 19th century studies appearing in neighbouring lands, much of it concerning directly or indirectly the Polish nation. "We alone are not represented in the game!" he said in effect, and the right conclusion was drawn: *Les absents ont toujours tort!*

(2) Such was the challenge. The speaker himself set an example to others. Having crowned that same year his 18th century studies by the highly controversial *The Polish-Prussian Alliance*, in which he found justification for what the Patriots had done (combating the strictures of Kalinka before him and calling forth a reply from the veteran Korzon) he turned to the post-partition decades. In

a few years, apart from smaller studies, he gave the world *Farewell to the Century* (1901), *Prince Joseph Poniatowski, Russia and Poland*, 1815-30, and *Lukasinski*—all of them major works. At the same time, from 1902 onwards, he was advisor and editor of his pupils' studies, of which by 1919 there had appeared under his supervision eighteen volumes with the common caption *Monographs from Modern History*. In the years immediately preceding the World War he was engaged on what was to be his *magnum opus*—alas! never to be finished, *Napoleon and Poland*. Of this, parts appeared in the *Biblioteka Warszawska*, other parts came out in the later war years during the occupation.

Five years of voluntary exile gave Askenazy an opportunity to help those gathering around Sienkiewicz and Paderewski in bringing material assistance to needy Poles. So, too, they gave him a chance to put before the world a good few matters of vital interests, under the general title *Remarks*. After the war he produced a striking monograph on *Dantzic and Poland*, but other work had to stand while for three years he helped to represent the new State in the forum of the League of Nations.

A truly colossal achievement, especially during the first decade of the century. Nor was the quality of the work to suffer a bit thereby. In *The Polish-Prussian Alliance* Askenazy put his theme in the front of the picture, with the whole European scene in the background: showing how conditions obtained elsewhere in many respects similar to those in Poland, and branding the action of the three Powers as a crime against civilisation. Another kind of daring was revealed when he ventured to picture Poniatowski as the personification of the knight-errantry of the nation: strangely in line with Romantic thought. In *Lukasinski* the historian goes even further, becoming the prophet of the future. A short decade later the concept that Poland can never be herself in any union with Russia (proclaimed by the martyr patriot in his last hour) was to be translated into action by Joseph Pilsudski and his legions.

For all this the historian suffered his share. Misunderstood by many, violently combated by some, suspected by not a few, he went on his way unmoved. He wanted to get the facts and let them tell their tale. He hewed to the line as he saw it, letting the chips fall where they would. A tribute to his leadership and integrity was paid just 30 years after the first pronouncement by a younger colleague, Professor Handelsmann:—

“He was the first in the land, both as a man of science and as a pedagogue, to break through stubborn prejudices and to win for modern history an equal place in official learning.”

"As a pedagogue," yes—witness the throng of men and women of achievement whom he helped to school, and who are glad today to call him Master. Here, too, only time can reveal the proper dimensions of his services.

To the Anglo-Saxon world Askenazy really became known as a first-class historian through his contributions to the *Cambridge Modern History*. To have some of his best thoughts made accessible in English was a gratification to one, who, as he put it once to the present writer, regarded Macaulay's prose as one of the monuments of historical science.

(3) Of the man and citizen much could be said, if space permitted. Born under Russian rule of a Jewish family of means, that had resided for generations in the land, he remained throughout life a loyal adherent to the faith of his fathers: occupying a prominent seat in the Central Warsaw synagogue to the end. But ties of religion never stood in the way of his national affiliation. Whenever and wherever he won them, his convictions as a Pole became rooted very early, and were never changed. Whether as an undergraduate in Warsaw or as a professor for over twenty years in Lwów, he was throughout a Polish patriot. As a result, the confusion of the World War had no terrors for him. While so many of his countrymen were uncertain as to whether they were for Paul or Apollos, he had no difficulty at all. "I'm neither for the Prussians, or the Austrians, or the Muscovites," he declared, recalling the great words of Staszic, "I am a most devoted adherent of the Polish nation." Yet he was anything but a chauvinist. "Great nations do not live in order to hate one another: they live in order to love one another."

One personal word. The writer had the privilege of putting *Dantzig and Poland* into its English form just after the War. In discussing various slips or alterations when the time came for publication, he found the author almost a pedant in regard to *le mot juste*, and impatient of any compromise. In other words, he was jealous both for his own reputation and for scientific exactitude. The conferences were a lesson to the writer, and his one regret is that there was not occasion for more.

Countless outsiders, visiting Warsaw in recent years, as well as foreigners living there and concerned with public questions, found Askenazy always ready with information and counsel. They, too, will join his fellow Poles in the view that his going, in the words of an American poet, "has left a vacant place against the sky."

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

## BOLESŁAW LIMANOWSKI.

It was an unusually long span of history that was covered by the life of the veteran Polish Socialist leader, Bolesław Limanowski, who died on 1 February, 1935, in his hundredth year. In many respects a highly significant figure, by his extraction from a family of small gentry in Livonia he was representative of the tenacity of the Polish cultural tradition in those Eastern lands so far removed from its purely ethnographical area. His life was to be in many respects a bridge between the old Poland and the new. The element in common was the love of freedom and the struggle for national independence.

He broke off his university studies (towards the end of the fifties) in order to become a cadet in a Polish military school formed in Paris, in view of revolutionary movements then expected. Participation in patriotic activities in 1861 (in Wilno) brought him exile to the north of Russia, from which he vainly tried to escape. He used the years of banishment to study J. S. Mill whose work aroused in him a passion for sociology, of which he was to become a pioneer in Poland. Studies of Thomas More and Campanella were his further apprenticeship in social ideas. Returned from exile, he led for a time the life of a factory worker; he then took his Ph.D. degree at Lwów, but soon left for abroad, and during the ensuing forty years was active among Polish revolutionary groups alternately in Switzerland, England, France and Belgium. He became definitely a socialist in those years, but was always firm in considering the independence of Poland as the necessary counterpart to the socialist programme. In 1892 he presided over a congress in which the Polish Socialist Party (P.P.S.) was formed, the oldest Polish socialist organisation still in existence. It was only in 1907 that he was allowed to settle in Cracow.

All his revolutionary wanderings were accompanied by an intense activity as a sociologist and a popular historian. He was a prolific writer, and grappled with wide subjects, such as the history of social movements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the history of Polish democracy, the history of the Polish struggles for independence, a system of sociology, and many others. We may single out a series of monographs in which he tried to express a kind of Polish tradition of pre-Marxian socialism.

After the reconstitution of Poland as a state he was elected senator, and in 1922 opened the first session of the Senate as its oldest member.

With his white hair and beard he looked a patriarch, and was indeed a venerable figure respected in every quarter for his patriotism and for the nobility of his life. WACŁAW BOROWY.

### EMIL MŁYNARSKI. 1870-1935.

IN every age the musician has been acclaimed as an honoured member of society. Only in times of depression is his lot a thankless one. And even in hard times some have won spurs, proved their practical as well as ideal worth to society. To these belonged Młynarski, if only for the contribution he made during severe war years in Moscow to the life of his people, and during no less difficult post-war years in his own beloved Warsaw.

Born in 1870, he studied violin under Leopold Auer in St. Petersburg while still a youth, and was already at twenty-three second conductor of the symphony concerts in the Polish capital. A year later he moved to Odessa to become, until 1897, first violinist and teacher in the Imperial Russian Musical Society there. In 1898 he was back in Warsaw, winning his way as artist and director, to become in 1901 senior conductor of the symphony concerts and Director of Music in the Opera as well. This position moved him into the ranks of internationally known musicians. After three years he resigned from the Opera to devote himself to the Conservatory of Music, and in 1907 he was called to London to join men like Richter and Nikisch, who had made the Symphony Orchestra there an institution of first rank. In 1910 he moved on to Glasgow, taking charge of the Choral and Orchestra Union there, and for some years making a signal contribution to music north of the Tweed.

Just before the war he returned to Russia, to go through with his family and friends those terrible years that preceded the liberation of Poland. In 1919 he took up a formidable task of literally making bricks without straw: of rehabilitating with slender means the Warsaw Opera and Conservatory of Music, a task of which, with the help of others, he made an astonishing success. In 1929-34 came a two-year interlude of service in Philadelphia, again as conductor and as master-teacher in the famed Curtis Institute of Music. Then a return home, and further service of music with his fellows, till the end came in the spring of this year.

A full and chequered career, indeed, and one that brought both cares and rewards. Młynarski was both a maker and a producer of music, and recognition was not lacking in either case. Among his compositions are, of course, many violin pieces, notably his Concerto

in D Minor, which already in 1898 won him in Leipzig the Paderewski Prize. In addition, we note songs, one symphony and a number of operas. The symphony in F called "Polonia," as the name indicates, was a part of his offering on the altar of national sentiments and aspirations. Best known of his operas is *Summer's Night*, produced first in Warsaw in 1923, and since then recognised as a musical drama of permanent value.

Mlynarski was a notable artist, but also an active promoter of music as a factor of cultural value for his generation. None of us who enjoyed his productions in Warsaw is likely to forget their charm. He has confided to his friends that two operas had a first place in his affections—*Fidelio* and *Parsifal*. Certainly his treatment of the latter on his own stage and in his own way made a lasting impression on all.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

## GARETH JONES

GARETH VAUGHAN JONES, who fell into the hands of Chinese bandits and was murdered by them on 12 August, 1935, the day before his thirtieth birthday, was for a time a student of our London School of Studies. He came here from Trinity College, Cambridge, where, as external examiner, I had had the pleasure of helping to award him a well-deserved First Class in Russian. Though always looking even younger than his age, he had already roughed it in several countries of Europe; and his quick and clever mind, his gift of languages, his boyish enthusiasm and the peculiar attraction of his character had made him at home with people of all ranks in life. With us he began to study for a thesis on the history of the Russian press. Very soon he was caught up by Mr. Lloyd George, for whom he read the European press, which necessarily slowed down his work for us. Later he held for a time a high temporary post in the Rockefeller Publicity Department, returning thence to Mr. Lloyd George, who had earlier written of him: "I confidently predict a brilliant future for this young man." There was a tie of real affection between them, and that was what Gareth inspired in all who came to know him. He was one of those who never forgot his friends, and he took every opportunity of keeping in close touch with us. Twice he made remarkable visits to Russia, travelling freely among the workers and peasantry. He was a highly intelligent observer of all that he saw, and each time brought back information of real value, which he published in *The Times*.

He was given a brilliant opening by the principal Welsh newspaper, the *Western Mail*, which put him in touch with the most notable personalities in Wales (he was an ardent Welshman), gave him complete freedom of expression, and allowed him to travel abroad. He always succeeded in the simplest way in securing direct access to the first sources of information, for instance in Germany, at the time when the Nazi movement was fighting its way through to success, and proved himself a first class journalist. He was on an extended tour in the Far East, when his life was cut short in so tragical a way. He knew very well that he was challenging great risks, and in advance absolved the Chinese Government from any responsibility. During his imprisonment by the bandits he succeeded, as elsewhere, in engaging their respect. It now seems clear that his murder was the affair of a moment. They were being chased by a rescuing party, and, exhausted in the pursuit, he refused to ride further, and was shot down on the spot.

Gareth Jones will long remain remembered by us. His whole-hearted personality has left a complete and well-rounded record. "Whom the gods love die young"; never could I feel better the applicability of this saying than to that most lovable boy.

BERNARD PARES.

Obituary articles on the two eminent Czech composers, Joseph Suk and Otakar Ostrčil, and of Jan Rozwadowski have been unavoidably held over till the next number.

## SELECTED DOCUMENTS

### MARGINALIA PUSHKINIANA

#### *I. Pushkin as a reader of S. T. Coleridge*

WE knew until recently of two references made by Pushkin to Coleridge. One is a passing remark in an article written in 1828 ("*V zreluy slovesnosti prihodit vremya . . .*"), the other in *Notes on Cholera*, written in 1831, wherein he mentions Coleridge as an author whom he has been re-reading during his forced seclusion in Boldino in the autumn of 1830.

Apart from these, the only evidence of Pushkin's acquaintance with Coleridge resulted so far from the presence in his library of the following books:—

*The Poetical Works of Coleridge, Shelley and Keats* complete in One Volume. Published by A. & W. Galignani, No. 18, rue Vivienne, Paris, 1829.



*Specimens of the Table Talk of the late Samuel Taylor Coleridge.* London, 1835. 2 volumes.

*Letters, Conversations and Recollections of S. T. Coleridge.* London, 1836. 2 volumes.<sup>1</sup>

There is no evidence that Pushkin read any of these. It will be interesting, however, to note that on the back of the front cover of the first volume of *Table-Talk* Pushkin inscribed (in Russian) . "Bought 17 July, 1835, the day of the Demidov fête, on the anniversary of his death." Thus, a year after Coleridge's death Pushkin still remembered the date.

We are now able to submit definite proof that Pushkin's interest in, and acquaintance with, the works of the British author originated not later than 1828.

Among manuscripts bequeathed in 1915 by the Grand Duke Constantine (K.R.) to the Imperial Academy of Sciences, there is an autographic fair-copy of one of Pushkin's shorter poems—*The Upas-Tree (Anchar)*.<sup>2</sup> The text of the manuscript has not yet been published *in extenso*. N. Ismailov studied it for his article on the history of the text of the *Upas-Tree*.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, N. V. Yakovlev, in an article on Pushkin and Coleridge<sup>4</sup> (where an attempt is made to show that Coleridge's *The Improvisatore* is, perhaps, a source of Pushkin's improvisator in the *Egyptian Nights*), tells us that alongside the first and second strophes of the K.R. manuscript Pushkin noted in English the following lines :

It is a poison-tree, that  
                                pierced to the inmost  
Weeps only tears of poison.  
*Coleridge.*

Failing, for some unknown reason, to find these lines in Coleridge, Yakovlev questioned their authorship and even went so far as to throw out the suggestion that they might be by Pushkin himself.

The lines belong, of course, to Coleridge; they appear in Act I, scene i, of the drama entitled *Remorse*, written in 1797 under the title *Osorio*, and produced, and for the first time published, in 1813.

In so far as the sources of the *Upas-Tree* are concerned—a question hitherto unanswered—the quotation is, unfortunately, of no assistance : no influence of *Remorse* or of any other work of Coleridge's can be traced in the poem; the *Upas-tree* is not even named by Coleridge, the allusion

<sup>1</sup> B. L. MODZALEVSKY, *Biblioteka A. S. Pushkina*, "Pushkin i ego sovremenniki," Nos. 9-10, p. 198, Nos. 762, 760, 761.

<sup>2</sup> A. L. BEM, *Rukopisi vel. kn. Konstantina Konstantinovicha, postupivshiya na khranenie v rukopisnoe otdelenie Biblioteki Akademii Nauk, Okhranaya opis*, "Izv. Ak. Nauk," 1917, P. 1917, p. 765. The manuscript is at present in the former "Pushkinsky Dom."

<sup>3</sup> N. ISMAILOV, *Iz istorii Pushkinskogo teksta—"Anchar, Drevo yada," "Pushkin i ego sovremenniki,"* Nos. 31-32, pp. 3-14.

<sup>4</sup> N. V. YAKOVLEV, *Pushkin i Coleridge* in "Pushkin v mirovoy literature," GIZ, 1925, pp. 137-145, 370-376.

in the passage quoted by Pushkin is by way of mere metaphor. The quotation was probably meant to serve as an epigraph to the poem—an intention soon definitely abandoned by Pushkin. The mystery of the literary or other source of Pushkin's poem thus remains unsolved.

The importance of the K.R. manuscript lies elsewhere. It will be safe to say that Pushkin's knowledge of English before 1828 was fragmentary and hopelessly inadequate.<sup>5</sup> Whatever Byron and Shakespeare he read before that year, he read in French translations, with the exception, perhaps, of the first two cantos of *Don Juan*, which he may have struggled through in English with the assistance of the younger Rayevskys while staying with them in Gurzuf in 1820.

On the other hand, we have three independent witnesses asserting that Pushkin set to work to learn his English in 1828 and that after three months' hard work he mastered the language sufficiently to read by himself.<sup>6</sup>

Yakovlev has already shown that the article "*V zreloly slovesnosti prihodit vremya . . .*" belongs probably to the late autumn of 1828, and is consequently contemporary with the K.R. manuscript of the *Upas-Tree* dated "9 November, 1828, Malinniki." The fact that Coleridge's name appears in both enables us to state with confidence that the author of the *Ancient Mariner* was among those whom Pushkin read while studying English.

Where did Pushkin come across the lines from *Remorse*? The drama was first published in pamphlet-form in 1813, when it was first produced. It was then reprinted three times in that same year. (It is worth mentioning that the first three editions have the lines quoted by Pushkin standing as an epigraph to the whole play on the title-page.)<sup>7</sup> The play was next reprinted in volume II of the first collected edition of Coleridge's poetical works in 1828, and thereafter in the Galignani edition of 1829 (issued in November of that year) which Pushkin possessed.

Taking into account the date of the K.R. manuscript, Pushkin must have perused *Remorse* either in one of the four pamphlet editions of 1813

<sup>5</sup> M. TSYAVLOVSKY, *Pushkin i angliyskiy yazyk* in "Pushkin i ego sovremenniki," Nos. 17-18, pp. 48-73.

<sup>6</sup> TSYAVLOVSKY, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71: Moukhanoff, the anonymous author of an article in *Moskovsky Telegraph*, and Shevyrev.

<sup>7</sup> The title-page of the first edition bears: REMORSE / A TRAGEDY, / IN FIVE ACTS. / By S. T. COLERIDGE / Remorse is as the heart in which it grows: / If that be gentle, it drops balmy dews / Of true repentance; but if proud and gloomy, / It is a poison-tree, that pierced to the inmost / Weeps only tears of poison! / Act. I. Scene i. / London: / Printed for W. Pople, 67, Chancery Lane. / 1813 / Price three Shillings.

The pamphlet contains viii + 72 pages. The second and third editions, both published under the same imprint, and described as "considerably altered," contain each vi + 78 pages. The fourth one, published in the same year, bears the imprint of "Dick's Standard plays," London 1813.

I have to thank Mr. Gleb Struve who was kind enough to ascertain these data.

(which appears very unlikely considering the ephemeral nature of such publications and the long lapse of time between the publication and 1828), or in the three-volume edition of *Collected Works* published by Pickering in 1828, which is much more probable, if we consider the date of its publication, the second week of May, 1828.<sup>8</sup> Either case would be evidence of the uncommon interest taken by Pushkin in Coleridge.

Another literary companion of Pushkin's studies in 1828 was naturally Byron. *Poltava* was written about the same time, in the autumn of 1828, and, as is well known, is adorned with a motto from *Mazeppa*.

To the same period belongs, finally, yet another trace of Pushkin's studies of English. In notebook 2371<sup>9</sup> containing, among other things, a rough draft of the *Upas-Tree* (pages 18, 20v-21, 22v), we find another English phrase published long ago in facsimile by Shchegolev.<sup>10</sup> It appears among the drafts of the Dedication of *Poltava* and reads:

"I [have] love this sweet name."

(In view of the name of the heroine of *Poltava* and of the—questionable, it is true—addressee of the "Dedication," Maria Rayevsky-Volkonsky, the name alluded to is probably Mary or Maria.)

I have not been able so far to trace this phrase to Coleridge or any other author, but it seems to me more than likely that it is a quotation from some English author whom Pushkin was reading in the autumn of 1828 when studying English.

## II. Pushkin and V. Fontanier

The Introduction to *The Journey to Arzrum* is an explanation *pro domo sua* of the motives which prompted Pushkin in 1835 to publish the random notes jotted down in 1829.<sup>11</sup> After quoting two passages from Fontanier's book (see below), he concludes: "An accusation of ingratitude shall not be left unchallenged like mean criticism or literary abuse."

Nobody, to our knowledge, has had the curiosity to go back to Fontanier's *Voyages* referred to by Pushkin, not even Mr. M. Hoffmann in the notes to the elaborate facsimile edition of the newly-discovered manuscript of the Introduction to *The Journey to Arzrum*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *The Athenæum*, No. 29, 14 May, 1828: "List of books published during the week." For this reference I am also obliged to Mr. Gleb Struve.

<sup>9</sup> In the former Rumyantsov Museum, see Yakushkin, *Russkaya Starina*, 1884, July, pp. 42-43.

<sup>10</sup> P. E. SCHEGOLEV, *Iz rozyskaniy v oblasti biografii i teksta Pushkina i Dopolneniye* in "Pushkin i ego sovremenniki," No. 14, pp. 178, 204. Also in P. SCHEGOLEV, *Iz zhizni i tvorchestva Pushkina*, GIL, 1931, pp. 233, 245.

<sup>11</sup> Volume I of Pushkin's *Sovremenniki*, containing the *Journey to Arzrum*, appeared actually only in April, 1836, but the Introduction had been censored in September, 1835.

<sup>12</sup> Pushkin, *Puteshestvie v Arzrum vo vremya pohoda 1829 goda* (Edited and annotated by Prof. M. L. Hofmann, with an Introduction by Sergey Lifar. Paris, 1934 and 1935.)

The complete title of the book is : *Voyages en Orient, entrepris par ordre du Gouvernement Français, de 1830 à 1833, par V. Fontanier, ancien élève de l'école normale. Deuxième voyage en Anatolie. Paris, Librairie de Dumont, Palais-Royal, no 88, au Salon littéraire. MDCCCXXXIV.*<sup>13</sup>

It appears from Fontanier's account that he had been sent by the French Government in the middle of 1830 to Trebizond to reopen the Consulate there and that he spent about two years there. The book is a result of this sojourn. It will be well to point out that Fontanier did not arrive in Turkey until after the Russo-Turkish war was well over.

Both passages quoted by Pushkin appear in Ch. xviii (pp. 239 to 253), entitled "Campagne des Russes dans la Turquie d'Asie."

The second appears on pp. 240-1 in the following context (the words quoted by Pushkin are in italics) :

" L'armée russe avait fait récemment la guerre contre la Perse ; ses généraux connaissent la manière de combattre des Asiatiques, et parmi eux on comptait des Arméniens et même des mahométans. Le général en chef prince Paskevitch n'avait pas, s'il faut en croire la voix publique, de grand talens militaires, mais un admirable sangfroid, une tenacité à toute épreuve et une rare intrépidité. Son armée, après en avoir distrait les garnisons nécessaires et les troupes destinées à l'observation des frontières de la Perse, comptait à peine quinze mille hommes disponibles ; *parmi les chefs qui la commandaient on distinguait le général Mouravieff, auteur du Voyage à Khiva, qui connaissait parfaitement les mahométans dont il avait appris toutes les langues ; le prince géorgien Tsitsevazé, ancien page de l'empereur Alexandre, et l'un des officiers les plus instruits et les plus aimables de l'armée russe, le prince arménien Beboutoff, puis de grands seigneurs appartenant aux premières familles de l'Empire ; le prince Potemkine, le général Rarewsky, et enfin le plus célèbre des poètes russes, M. Pouchkin, qui avait quitté la capitale pour chanter les exploits de ses compatriotes.*

Les Turcs n'avaient point de bardes à leur suite ; mais ils firent prêcher dans toutes les mosquées la guerre contre les infidèles, et toutes les hordes de l'Asie se rassemblèrent ; . . "

The pages that follow (241 to 251) contain an account of the campaign of 1829 in Asiatic Turkey. While an example of Paskevich's personal bravery is cited, the whole campaign is represented as an unimpeded progress of the Russians on the heels of the retreating Turks. Thus, to quote Fontanier, after the capture of Ahalzih, the Turks " n'opposèrent plus aucune résistance " ; " quelques coups de fusil " enabled the Russians to get hold of Ahalkalaki ; the entry into Kars is described as " sans obstacles."

The evident object of the author in this account is to disparage the military ability of the Russian Commander-in-Chief, Paskevich. Fon-

<sup>13</sup> The book has been preserved in Pushkin's library, see B. L. Modzalevsky, *Biblioteka A. S. Pushkina* in "Pushkin i ego sovremenniki," 9-10 No. 920.

tanier concludes this account with the following passage (p. 251), wherein Pushkin's first quotation occurs :

" Tel est le résumé de la campagne des Russes en Asie : je l'ai fait avec impartialité après avoir entendu et les Turcs qui y ont pris part et les officiers de l'armée moscovite. Ce résumé ne ressemble guère, je le sais, aux brillants rapports qui nous sont parvenus il y a quelques années, mais ces rapports ont été, pour les officiers instruits, un texte inépuisable de moquerie ; et un poète distingué par son imagination a trouvé dans tant de hauts faits dont il a été témoin, non le sujet d'un poème, mais celui d'une satire."

Thereafter Fontanier quotes anecdotal reports of the most trivial incidents being transformed in Paskevich's dispatches into heroic feats and gives his own opinion in the following words : ". . . une campagne pendant laquelle l'armée russe était si peu inquiétée, qu'elle voyageait comme une caravane le fait ordinairement dans ces pays . . ."

To a reader of Fontanier's book it must necessarily have appeared that Pushkin, at first directly named and later clearly alluded to, was the author of the satire and shared Fontanier's views on the inglorious character of the campaign and the Hlestakovian nature of Paskevich's dispatches. Whatever may have been Pushkin's attitude to Paskevich—and there is no reason to assume that it was in the least favourable either to the man or to the general—such a suggestion must have been highly unpleasant to him.

The episode (recorded in Pushkin's *Diary* under 11 April, 1834)<sup>14</sup> of the article in the *Journal de Francfort*, containing a report of Lelewel's speech in Brussels with allusions to Pushkin's revolutionary poems, which was brought to Pushkin's notice by Count G. A. Stroganov, and Pushkin's reaction thereto, warrant the supposition that the publication of the *Journey to Arzrum*, with its Introduction, may have been decided upon as a measure of self-protection against any possible malevolent interpretation of Fontanier's allusions to Pushkin on Benckendorff's part.

V. GLASBERG.

#### POST SCRIPTUM

The above article was already in the press when the writer received the special volume of *Literaturnoe Nasledstvo* (No. 16-18) devoted to Pushkin. It contains an article by D. Yakubovich ("Zametki ob 'Anchare,'" pp. 869-875) on the K.R. manuscript with reproductions thereof.

Yakubovich does trace the "epigraph" to Coleridge's *Remorse*; unfortunately, Soviet Pushkinists, as a rule, are not familiar enough with

<sup>14</sup> *Dnevnik Pushkina 1833-1835*, GIZ, 1923, pp. 13-14, 152-154.

the English language and, as a result, the translation of those two lines given by Yakubovich is rather misleading :

“Есть древо яда, пронизывающее отравой все сокровенное.  
Оно плачет лишь ядовитыми слезами.”

Yakubovich refers to the unsolved problem of the literary sources of the *Upas-Tree* and throws out a fresh suggestion : In George Colman the Younger's play, *The Law of Java*, the Upas-Tree plays an important part and a soliloquy of the principal character (Act I, scene II—pages 46–7 of vol. IV of the 1824 Paris edition of G. Colman's *Dramatic Works*) contains several of the images appearing in Pushkin's *Upas-Tree*. Yet, tempting as the suggestion may be, it has to be shown more conclusively that Pushkin could know this minor English poet's play before we can talk of *The Law of Java* as a direct source of Pushkin's inspiration.

Yakubovich also mentions two other references to Coleridge in Pushkin's manuscripts.

One occurs in an unpublished list of English writers jotted down by Pushkin, the list begins with the following (in French) : “Christabel, poème par Coleridge.” Yakubovich dates it tentatively 1826, without, however, adducing any reason.

The other occurs in the album of E. N. Wulf-Vrevsky,<sup>15</sup> where a quotation from Canto VI, str. XLVI, lines 1–4 of *Eugeny Onegin* precedes the following line :

“How seldom, friend, a good great man obtain, etc.,” and the date “2 Oct., 1835, Trigrorsk.” Yakubovich, relying on the authority of I. A. Lihachev, attributes it to Coleridge. Lack of time has prevented the author from checking this attribution.

## THE “POLITICAL TESTAMENT” OF PETER THE GREAT

A GREAT deal has already been written respecting the supposititious “Will” or rather Political Testament of Peter the Great, but no one, so far as I am aware, has ever made any analysis of that portion of it which relates to Persia. Before attempting to make this analysis, I will summarise what is known of the history of this curious document.

A most significant fact is that no mention of the “Will” can be traced previous to 1812. In that year C. C. Lesur, an official in the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs, published a work entitled *Des Progrès*

<sup>15</sup> So in Hoffmann, *Iz Pushkinskih mest (ord.) Pushkin i ego sovremenniki*, Nos 19–20, 98, note 1; but see *Vremmenik Pushkinskago Doma* 1914, p. 9, where the corresponding page of the album is reproduced, and the latter is described as belonging to A. N. Wulf. The former attribution is much more likely.

*de la Puissance Russe*; in this work he quoted what purported to be a résumé of Peter the Great's political recommendations to his successors. Lesur's work has been described by E. Schuyler<sup>1</sup> as being "merely a pamphlet to justify the invasion of Russia by Napoleon."<sup>2</sup>

In 1836, F. Gaillardet, in his biography of that mysterious personage, the Chevalier (or Chevalière) d'Eon de Beaumont, published what he definitely affirmed to be a translation of the "Will" of Peter the Great.<sup>3</sup> Gaillardet stated that the Chevalier, in 1757, discovered in the archives of the Peterhof Palace the copy of the "Will" from which this translation was made. Gaillardet's version differs in certain respects from Lesur's résumé, being arranged somewhat differently, and couched in rather more elaborate language.<sup>4</sup>

If the facts are as stated by Gaillardet, it is odd that de la Fortelle, the earliest biographer of the Chevalier (1779), made no mention whatever of his discovery of the "Will." What is still more remarkable is that the Chevalier (who is said to have known no Russian) should have found a copy of Peter's "Will" at the Peterhof Palace, where there were not, I believe, any archives.

Three years after the publication of Gaillardet's biography of the Chevalier appeared Chodzko's *Histoire de la Pologne*, wherein it is stated that Peter wrote his "Will" in 1709 and revised it in 1724, the year before he died; Chodzko adds that Count Ostermann made a further revision of the "Will" in 1730.

Doubt was first cast upon the authenticity of the "Will" in 1860, by a German named Schnitzler. In 1872 an anonymous pamphlet entitled "Les Auteurs du Testament de Pierre le Grand" was published in Paris; the pamphlet contained a considerable amount of evidence in favour of the Napoleonic inspiration of the "Will," and ranked Gaillardet among the "romanciers politiques." Five years later, Tsar Alexander II, when assuring the German Ambassador, Prince Hohenlohe-Schillingfurst, that Russia had no designs on India or Constantinople, denied the existence of the "Will."<sup>5</sup>

To turn to the "Will" itself, it has been said that, whether it is authentic or not, it accurately reflects the political aims of Peter the Great; this statement is, however, only true to a limited extent.

In Article IX of Gaillardet's text, Peter is represented as advocating,

<sup>1</sup> *Peter the Great* (London, 1884), II, p. 646.

<sup>2</sup> The anonymous author of a pamphlet entitled *Les Auteurs du Testament de Pierre le Grand* (Paris, 1872), states that the Foreign Minister ordered Lesur to write this book, and adds that "Sir R. Wilson, agent du gouvernement anglais auprès de l'armée russe . . . trouva le 26 décembre, 1812, parmi les effets abandonnés par l'armée française, un grand nombre d'exemplaires du livre de M. Lesur."

<sup>3</sup> *Mémoires du Chevalier d'Eon*, pp. 173 and 174.

<sup>4</sup> E. Kruska, in his *Das Testament Peters des Grossen*, pp. 35-44, gives a comparison of the two texts.

<sup>5</sup> *Mémoires de Hohenlohe*, II, p. 183.

*inter alia*, Russian penetration to the Persian Gulf, and the re-establishment of the transit trade between East and West *via* Syria <sup>6</sup>

As regards the first point, there is nothing on record to show that Peter the Great ever seriously contemplated making a Russian "corridor" from the Caspian to the Gulf through Western Persia. It is true that Peter was extremely anxious to establish an overland trade route between Russia and India, but, as will be seen below, his intention was to open up such a route much further to the east.

Peter, with his acute intelligence, would have been one of the first to recognise the great difficulty of making a Russian "corridor" to the Persian Gulf and the impossibility of retaining it for any length of time. To the west, for the whole length of the "corridor," Turkey would have proved a very real and ever-present danger; to the east Persia (though, it is true, a negligible factor during the last few years of Peter's life) would have been a similar menace. Lastly, the predatory Kurds in the north and the equally rapacious Arab tribes in the south would have levied a heavy toll upon the caravans using the route.

It was Medvedyev's mission to Bukhara and Balkh in 1644 that first gave the rulers of Russia the idea of opening up a trade route to India through Central Asia.<sup>7</sup> It was in furtherance of this aim that Peter the Great sent the ill-fated Prince Bekovich Cherkassky to explore the possibilities of a route *via* Khiva, Bukhara and Balkh. The disaster to the Bekovich expedition in 1717 did not dispel Peter's hopes of ultimate success. When he was on board ship in the Caspian, in the course of his Persian expedition, Peter made a most significant remark to the well-known naval officer Fedor Soimonov; pointing to the mountains running parallel to the coast, Peter said: "Have you ever been in the Gulf of Astrabad? You must know then that those mountains extend to Astrabad and that from there to Balkh and Badakhshan it is only twelve days' journey with laden camels. Bukhara is the commercial centre of those parts, and on that road to India no one can interfere with us."<sup>8</sup> One is surely entitled to infer from this remark that Peter had considered and rejected a project for making the Indian trade route *via* western Persia and the Persian Gulf.

We now come to the second point, Peter's alleged recommendation that the transit trade *via* Syria should be re-established.

When Peter decided, in 1715, to send Colonel Artemy Petrovich Volynsky on a mission to Persia in order to negotiate for the conclusion of a commercial treaty with that country, he ordered Volynsky to endeavour to persuade Shah Sultan Husain and his Ministers to agree to

<sup>6</sup> An English translation, by Colonel Picot, of the *Will* is given in Sir Percy Sykes' *History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 244-246. It is to be noted, however, that Colonel Picot has omitted to translate the words "*par la Syrie*" in line 7 of Article IX; this passage should read: . . . "re-establish if it be possible *through Syria* the ancient commerce with the Levant. . . ."

<sup>7</sup> Raskolnikov, in the *Novy Vostok*, vol. IV, p. 14.

<sup>8</sup> Solovyev, *Istoria Rossii*, vol. XVIII, p. 48 (the italics are mine).



export to Europe *via* Russia the considerable quantities of raw silk which were then being sent to Western markets *via* Syria and Turkey. Volynsky was instructed to stress to the Persians the advantages afforded by river communication in Russia, as compared with the long Turkish and Syrian caravan routes. To these instructions, Peter added, in his own handwriting, that, should Volynsky fail to persuade the Persians to agree to this diversion of the silk trade, he was to do everything possible to put obstacles in the way of the Smyrna and Aleppo transit trade.<sup>9</sup>

Peter's endeavour, shortly before his death, to revive the former trade between England and Persia *via* Russia shows that he afterwards made no modification in his views in favour of the Levant transit trade; after all, what possible motive could he have had in wishing to stimulate it? On this count alone, the "Will" can be declared to be a forgery, and there is certainly much to be said in support of the contention<sup>10</sup> that the document was nothing more than a figment of Lesur's imagination, being designed, like the rest of his work, to bias European opinion against Russia. If this view is accepted, the creation of this "Will" might be considered to be due to the inspiration, if not the actual suggestion, of Napoleon.

LAURENCE LOCKHART.

### RUSSIA, GREAT BRITAIN AND ALI PASHA.

IN the Public Record Office there is a secret report,<sup>1</sup> made by J. P. Morier in 1804 to the British Foreign Office, which throws an interesting light on the attitude of Ali Pasha of Yanina, the powerful vassal of the Sultan, towards Great Britain and Russia at the time when the fear of Napoleon's schemes had led to an uneasy alliance between Turkey and Russia. The joint Turkish and Russian protectorate established in 1799 over the so-called "Ionian Islands," lying off the West coast of Ali's dominions, aroused as much anxiety in Ali's mind as the previous French occupation of the Islands in 1797, and therefore disposed him towards establishing those good relations with Great Britain which continued, with a short break, until his death in 1821.

J. P. Morier was appointed early in 1804 to be British Consul-General in Albania, the Morea, and the adjacent territories of the Ottoman Empire, with orders to impress upon the governors of those districts the indispensable expediency of employing every exertion to be prepared for resisting with effect the designs of France, and of not suffering themselves to be deceived by any appearances of the French Government denying the existence of such designs. Morier was also directed to employ every exertion to obtain the most precise information of the state of the country,

<sup>9</sup> Solovyev, *op. cit.*, vol. XVIII, p. 28.

<sup>10</sup> See Kruska, *op. cit.*, and Dr. R. Kjellén's *Die Grossmächte und die Welkriese*, p. 148.

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, F.O. 78/44, J. P. Morier to Lord Hawkesbury, 30 June, 1804.

of the military means of repelling invasion, and of the disposition of the inhabitants.

After a preliminary visit to the Morea (upon the condition of which he made some extremely valuable reports) Morier arrived at Yanina (Ali Pasha's capital) on 19 June, 1804, and shortly afterwards reported his interview with Ali as follows:—

Yanina June 30th  
1804.

MY LORD

I HAVE the honor to acquaint your Lordship that I arrived here on the 19th Nothing can exceed the attention which was shewn to me during my journey by the officers of Ali Pasha, or the friendly manner, in which I was received here by His Excellency.

On my communicating the Object of my Mission he begged of me to assure Your Lordship of his entire devotion to the Interests of His Majesty's Government He appeared rather disappointed at my not having brought him an answer to the Offer he had made through Lord Nelson, which he desires me now to renew, and he moreover specifically requested that I would represent in his name to His Majesty's Ministers the danger to which he sees the Ottoman Empire exposed by the preponderance of the Russian influence at the Porte;— He imagines the ex Venetian Islands to be now annexed to Russia and he declares that he will openly oppose any attempt They may make, if even it is sanctioned by the Porte, to occupy the Sea Ports of Prevesa, Parga, etc, on the Coast of Albania which formerly belonged to Venice. He did not scruple to insinuate that The Porte by permitting The Russians to establish Themselves on this Side wished to reduce his Power.

As His Majesty's Government have guaranteed the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, he trusts that they will oppose any attempt on the Part of Russia to violate and also that They will assist him in maintaining this Part of his Sovereign's Dominions

He requests for that Purpose, that a Supply of Powder, Cannon for the Field and for the defence of his Fortifications, Mortars Shot and Shells be sent to him at his own expence with an Officer of Engineers, Three Bombardiers of the Royals and Three Artillerymen to whom he will give any pay that will be satisfactory to them He also requested that Two or Three Cruizers may be kept near the Coast of Albania, the Commanders of which should be directed to be guided by the Information he might give them—He added that proper persons might be sent to examine his Forests and that we might cut Timber wherever we thought proper,—That the Ports were open to all Our Vessels for Supplies, That he would furnish Us with three or Four Thousand Men if we wanted Them and that such was his entire Devotion to England that if ever She quarrelled with The Porte his assistance even then would be at our disposal To these Proposals he begged that your Lordship would give an answer as soon as possible and that whether they are accepted or not he earnestly enjoins the most profound Secrecy. He also requested that if the Supply of Ammunition be granted to him it may be landed with the greatest Secrecy possible.

I could not refuse transmitting his sentiments to Your Lordship, but I at the same time expressed my doubts of the View which he attributed to Russia,

and I did not omit saying that the British Government in its Connection with any Member of the Ottoman Empire would always be true to its Engagements with the Head of that Government.

It is not for me to offer to Your Lordship my ideas of a Connection with Ali Pasha, but it appears to me My Lord that with the least Support his Power will rise upon the Ruins of that of the Sultan, over the rest of European Turkey, and will form a Bullwark there, against the hostile Views of the Christian Nations As far as I can judge from the Conversations I have had with Him he feels himself perfectly secure against the Effects of the Jealousy of his Sovereign but he foresees that the Provinces which only form part of a disjointed Empire must sooner or later fall a Prey to its powerful Neighbours and consequently his aim now is to court the Protection of some great Nation by whose influence he may obtain from Others the Acknowledgment of a degree of Independence (perhaps similar to that of the Barbary States) which he hopes may save his Power from the common Wreck of that of The Turks : And it is with a view to this Purpose that he now seeks the Friendship of Great Britain

When the French held the Ex-Venetian Islands he left nothing untrod to secure their Patronage and he has acknowledged to me that he once placed the most implicit Confidence in them But he has now entirely thrown Them off for They promised him support only as long as he was useful to Them in supplying their army with Provisions for which They to this Day have not paid him.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect

My Lord, Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant

J P. MORIER.

The friendly relations established between Ali and Great Britain through the agency of Morier were temporarily interrupted by the war between Turkey and Russia which broke out in 1806, and in which we considered ourselves bound to take the part of our ally Russia; but the reconciliation between Napoleon and Alexander I in 1807 at Tilsit (one of the effects of which was that the Ionian Islands were again handed over to France) made it pointless for us to remain at enmity with Turkey, and friendship both with Ali and with the Sultan was very shortly resumed—a friendship which proved extremely valuable after the British had taken over the Ionian Islands from France.<sup>2</sup> One of the most criticised manifestations of that friendship was the cession to Ali of the mainland town of Parga (1819), which had for centuries previous to 1797 been under the protection of Venice, and had trusted to Great Britain to continue that protection.

JOHN W. BAGGALLY.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. four letters of Ali Pasha to W M Leake, published by Prof. F. H. Marshall in *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* (Athens, 1932), pp 158ff. The supply of arms and ammunition requested by Ali in the interview with Morier were actually sent out with Leake (J. H. Marsden's *Memoir of W. M. Leake* (1864), pp. 28–31; and Prof. Marshall tells me that among the unpublished Leake Papers is an elaborate description of the seven Albanian forests suitable for the supply of timber for building ships of the line. These documents cover the period February, 1809, to February, 1810.

## SOVIET LEGISLATION (XIV)

*(Selection of Decrees and Documents)**Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).***On the Liquidation of Homelessness and Neglect of Children.**

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) have considered the question of the liquidation of homelessness and neglect of children.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) have noted that at the present time, under the conditions of continuous improvement of the material and cultural status of the toilers in towns and villages, and when the State gives large grants for the maintenance of children's homes, the presence of homeless children in the capitals and other cities of the country is to be explained by the bad work of local soviet institutions and of the Party, trade-union and Komsomol organisations in the liquidation and prevention of neglect of children and by the absence of organised participation in this matter of the soviet public bodies.—

(a) The majority of the children's homes are unsatisfactory from economic and from educational points of view;

(b) Organised struggle against child hooliganism and against criminal elements among children and young people is entirely insufficient and in many places is totally absent;

(c) Up till now, conditions have not been created under which children who, for one reason or another, have found themselves "on the street" (loss of parents or running away from home, escape from children's homes, etc.) are immediately placed in the proper establishments for children or returned to their parents;

(d) Parents and guardians who do not take proper care of their children and allow them to engage in hooliganism, theft, vice and vagabondage, are not reprimanded or prosecuted.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) have resolved :

I. ON THE IMPROVEMENT OF MAINTENANCE OF CHILDREN'S HOMES  
AND OF LABOUR COLONIES.

1. To establish the following types of institutions for children :—

(a) The People's Commissariats for Public Instruction of the allied republics should be responsible for the maintenance of children's homes of the normal type for children who are deprived of means of existence, and also children's homes supported by the parents and the children's homes for difficult children;

(b) The People's Commissariats for Health of the allied republics for that of special children's homes for those children who need prolonged medical treatment;

(c) The People's Commissariats for Social Services of the allied republics for that of special children's homes for crippled children;

(d) The People's Commissariat for Home Affairs of the USSR prisons, for that of labour colonies and receiving and distributing centres.

Children must not be kept in the receiving and distributing centres for more than one month, and strict discipline must be introduced in these centres. After the expiration of the above-mentioned time-limit the children must be sent by the centre to a corresponding children's institution, which is bound to receive them.

2. To introduce in all the children's homes and colonies, in accordance with the age of the children, a labour régime which would ensure the acquisition of labour habits by the children and the proper training for a certain trade when the children should leave the homes or colonies, by means of organisation of workshops attached to the homes or colonies, or by practical training of the children in industrial undertakings. To consider it requisite that the most proficient pupils who distinguished themselves in work and in training, should be encouraged by material rewards.

3. To instruct the People's Commissariats who are entrusted with the maintenance of institutions for children :—

(a) to designate, during the next three months, the types of trades and/or professions for which the children are to be trained, for each children's home and colony;

(b) to verify the ages of the children kept in the institutions for children and to free these institutions from overgrown boys and girls of more than 14 years of age; these boys and girls are to be sent to the Factory Training Schools, to the sovhoz schools or to industrial undertakings, the sovhozy, Machine and Tractor Stations and collective farms for work and training in the working brigades; directors of the industrial undertakings, State farms and Machine and Tractor Stations must, without any excuse, give them work and lodgings. To instruct the industrial establishments, the People's Commissariat for Agriculture and the People's Commissariat for State Farms to send children who are leaving the children's homes, to jobs in correspondence with the training they had received.

4. To allot land to all children's homes, especially in the villages and small towns, so that the pupils could work these allotments themselves (cultivation of kitchen gardens, orchards, fruit gardens, grain cultures) and ensure the development of animal breeding.

5. The general education of children kept in homes and the labour colonies is to be entrusted :—

(a) of children kept in the homes of normal type—to the ordinary

schools; the supervision over their progress and behaviour is to be carried out by the directors of the children's homes;

(b) of children kept in the homes for difficult children and of those kept in the labour colonies—to the schools established in these homes and colonies.

6. To instruct the Councils of People's Commissaries of the allied republics to work out for each type of the institutions for children, and the area and provincial Executive Committees and the Councils of People's Commissaries of the Autonomous republics—for each individual institution the normal cost of maintenance, the estimate and the measures for the supply with equipment and materials. To instruct the People's Commissariat of Finance to organise the financing of the children's homes and labour colonies in such a way as to ensure the maintenance, in accordance with the normal scheme of cost, of the actual number of children kept in the children's homes. To free all the economic operations performed by the children's homes, labour colonies and receiving centres from all taxes whatsoever.

7. To establish increased personal responsibility of the administrative and economic personnel of the institutions for children for pilfering of the material resources, escape of the pupils and concealment of such escapes. To instruct the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction of the allied republics to prepare regulations concerning the maintenance of order in the children's homes; these regulations must provide for the encouragement of the pupils' good behaviour, as well as for the punishment of offences.

8. In view of the need of raising the standard of the workers engaged in the children's homes and labour colonies :—

(a) to instruct the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction of the allied republics to check the administrative and educational personnel of the children's homes and labour colonies, and to establish the rule that these officials must be approved personally by the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction and by the provincial and area departments for Public Instruction correspondingly, and to instruct the Party provincial and area committees and the Central Committees of the National Parties to choose fully qualified Party workers for work in the institutions for children;

(b) the Schools' Department of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) is to choose out, by personal selection, 200 Communists for managerial posts in the children's homes and labour colonies;

(c) to instruct the Central Committee of the All-Union Lenin's Communist League of Youth to choose 500 active members of the League for work in the children's homes and labour colonies, as assistants in the educational work; all these members must be personally approved by the Central Committee of the All-Union Lenin's Communist League of Youth;

(d) to instruct the Central Committee of the All-Union Lenin's Communist League of Youth to prepare special regulations concerning the status of these members; it must be provided that a member appointed to such a post should stay there not less than two years;

(e) to instruct the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions and the industrial institutions to choose 300 skilled workers from factories, as managers of workshops in the children's homes and labour colonies;

(f) to instruct the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction of the allied republics to choose 500 persons out of the students graduating this year from teachers' training colleges and 125 students graduating from the high pedagogical institutes for work in the children's homes and labour colonies;

(g) to fix increased remuneration of labour (not less than they received at their last job) for the persons sent for work in the children's homes and labour colonies.

9. To organise, in the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction of the allied republics, special Boards, and in the People's Commissariats for Home Affairs of the USSR and of the allied republics—special departments, to supervise the work of the institutions for children.

10. To instruct the Central Committees of the National Communist Parties, provincial and area committees of the Party to undertake the work for encouraging workers' organisations, factories, collective farms and State farms to "adopt" children's homes and labour colonies and to form special supervisory councils composed of the representatives of such organisations, so as to ensure permanent public control over the conditions in the children's homes, as well as the necessary assistance to them. To appoint special groups of voluntary inspectors chosen from the members of the public instruction and public health sections of the town soviets, who should systematically watch over the activities of the children's homes and over the proper care and education of the children.

## II. ON THE PREVENTION OF NEGLECT OF CHILDREN.

11. To make the chairmen of the corresponding town and village soviets personally responsible for the timely care and maintenance of orphans (appointment of guardians, sending orphans to the children's homes, factories, collective farms, etc.).

12. To establish that guardians who make use of the guardianship for their personal benefit (depriving orphans of living accommodation, appropriating property left by the parents, etc.) or who leave their wards without care and necessary material assistance, should be liable to criminal prosecution. To establish special responsibility of the chairmen of the village soviets and of the guardians appointed by village soviets, if they should fail to take steps for the care and education of the orphaned children, thus making these children into vagabonds.

13. The Public Mutual Assistance Funds in the collective farms must

consider it their principal task to maintain orphaned children and children of the members who are in temporary need. To assign, out of the Reserve Fund of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR, special grants to the allied republics for rendering necessary assistance to the Public Mutual Assistance Funds in the collective farms. The Public Mutual Assistance Funds in the collective farms are entitled to receive 30 roubles for each 100 roubles spent by them on the maintenance of orphaned children and of children whose parents are in need. The amount of this special fund for the whole of the USSR in 1935 is to be fixed at 5,000,000 roubles.

14. To assign, from the Social Insurance Fund, special sums for granting, in the towns, assistance to orphans and to children whose parents are in temporary need, especially to the children of poor husbandless mothers.

### III. ON THE ORGANISATION OF THE STRUGGLE WITH CHILD HOOLIGANISM IN THE STREETS.

15. To instruct the Chief Board of the Workers' and Peasants Militia to strengthen the measures of combating child hooliganism in the streets (fights, nuisance to passers-by, joy-riding in street cars, etc.).

16. To organise sections attached to the town and district soviets of large cities, to combat the homelessness and neglect of children. These sections must consider it to be their principal task to organise public-spirited persons employed at factories, offices and house committees, for liquidation of the street hooliganism of children and young people.

17. To instruct the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction of the allied republics to receive, without fail, children who may be detained by the agents of the Commissariat for Home Affairs in those towns where there are no receiving centres and also on the railways, into the children's homes.

### IV. ON INCREASING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF PARENTS AND ON MEASURES TO COMBAT OFFENCES COMMITTED BY MINORS.

18. To give the right to the agents of the Militia to impose administrative fines upon parents up to 200 roubles for the nuisances and hooliganism committed by their children.

19. To establish the material responsibility of parents and guardians for the actions of their children if these actions are accompanied by some material damage.

20. To instruct the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction and the Militia to inform public organisations in the offices and undertakings where the parents are working, of the failure of the parents to exercise proper supervision of the behaviour of their children.

21. To liquidate the "commissions on criminal offences committed by minors," attached to the departments of public instruction.



22. In such cases when the parents fail to ensure proper supervision over the behaviour of their child, the local departments of the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction are to apply to the courts and initiate proceedings against such parents, with a view of taking away the child from them and placing it in the children's home; the expenses of its maintenance to be borne by the parents.

#### V. ON CHILDREN'S BOOKS AND FILMS.

23. To instruct the Department of Cultural and Educational Work and the Department of Press and Publishing attached to the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki), the Central Committees of the National Communist Parties and the Councils of People's Commissaries of the allied republics to strengthen the supervision over children's books and films and not to allow books and films which may produce a harmful influence on children (exploits of criminals, etc.).

The Commissions of the Party and the Soviet Control are to check systematically the execution of the present decree.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 1 June, 1935, No. 127 (5680) )

*Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki).*

#### **On the Publication and sale of Textbooks for Elementary, Secondary and High Schools.**

In its resolution of 12 February, 1933, the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) pointed out that the necessary and decisive condition of improvement in the quality of work of the schools is the existence of stabilised textbooks for all subjects of the school curriculum; these textbooks were to put an end to the existing "method" of endless "projecting" of new textbooks. The Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) condemned the wrong policy of the People's Commissariat for Public Instruction of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, the result of which policy was that the soviet schools had no stabilised textbooks, generally adopted and satisfactory from the scientific point of view.

On the basis of the above resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki), during the past period over 150 million copies of textbooks were published and sent to the schools. For giving instruction to the children of various peoples of the Soviet Union the textbooks are composed in their native languages. In 1933-35 over 85 million non-Russian textbooks were published. The elementary, secondary and high schools have received stabilised textbooks for the principal subjects of the school curriculum.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki), however, consider the situation in respect of the supply of the elementary,

secondary and high schools of the USSR with textbooks unsatisfactory. Although over 150 million copies of textbooks have been published, their number is not sufficient to meet the requirements, owing to the growth of the number of pupils and of the number of schools. The immediate responsibility for such a situation rests with the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction, which, in spite of the means that they had, did not ensure the publication of the necessary number of textbooks.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) have found that the People's Commissariat for Public Instruction of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and the Commissariats of other allied republics, owing to the irresponsible attitude they have adopted towards the publication of textbooks, had made most appalling mistakes: the directions of the Central Committee on the creation of stabilised textbooks have been systematically infringed and many textbooks have been revised annually; "admitted" and unstabilised textbooks were introduced for many subjects of the school curriculum; the composition of the textbooks is entrusted to second-rate, irresponsible persons; the textbooks, very often, are composed and published in a negligent manner; wrong definitions are admitted, the material is presented in haphazard form; the size and language of some of the textbooks are so difficult that the pupils cannot properly digest the knowledge contained therein; misprints and poor illustrations are frequent in the textbooks published. Especially unsatisfactory is the publication of translated textbooks, and of textbooks in non-Russian languages in the allied and autonomous republics and provinces.

The existing system of the distribution of textbooks introduced by the People's Commissariat for Public Instruction of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic and by the Commissariats of other allied republics is contrary to the soviet laws. The Commissariats have made the distribution of the textbooks their monopoly and did not offer them for sale; they practised a close distribution of textbooks among the pupils, unlawful collection of money from parents for the purchase of textbooks by the schools; they declared the textbooks which had been paid for by the parents, to be "socialist property" of the schools, which practice, in fact, has been the source of many unlawful acts and abuses.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) decree:—

### I. ON THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTBOOKS.

1. In order to ensure, during the academic year 1935-36, the supply of a full complement of textbooks to the pupils of elementary, secondary and high schools, to publish, during the second half of 1935, in addition to 50 million textbooks which are already in print in accordance with the plan, 52 million copies more, including: 35 million for the schools

of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, 8.6 million for the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, 2.5 million for the White-Russian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1.8 million for the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1.8 million for the Azarbaïdzhan Soviet Socialist Republic, 0.6 million for the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic, 1.3 million for the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic, 0.2 million for the Turkoman Soviet Socialist Republic, 0.2 million for the Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republic.

2. Out of 35 million copies of the textbooks to be published in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, 31 million textbooks are to be published in the Russian language, taking into consideration the requirements as to Russian textbooks in schools of autonomous republics and provinces of the RSFSR. The remaining 4 million textbooks are to be published in the corresponding non-Russian languages of the autonomous republics and provinces of the RSFSR.

3. To instruct the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction of the allied and autonomous republics, in ten days' time, and in conformity with the stipulations contained in §§ 1 and 2 of the present decree, to work out an exact scheme of additional publication of textbooks (list of the titles, amounts of issue, and the order in which the textbooks are to be published).

4. To provide, for the additional publication of textbooks, 11,000 tons of printing and writing paper of proper quality, above the plan fixed for 1935, and to instruct the State Planning Commission to distribute this paper to the allied republics in conformity with the plan of additional publication of textbooks, as fixed in the present decree. To ensure that not less than 75 per cent. of the additionally published textbooks should be issued in bindings and the remaining 25 per cent. in cardboard covers. To instruct the State Planning Commission of the USSR to supply 1,600 tons of cardboard in equal parts, during the 3rd and the 4th quarters of 1935, curtailing correspondingly the supply of cardboard to other consumers.

5. To make the People's Commissaries for Public Instruction of the allied and autonomous republics and provinces personally responsible for the additional publication of the textbooks.

6. To condemn the practice of the People's Commissariat for Public Instruction of the RSFSR and also of other Commissariats for Public Instruction which have infringed the resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) in respect of stabilised textbooks (changes in the text and presentation of the material, permission of the so-called "admitted" textbooks, etc.). To confirm the resolution of the Central Committee on stabilised textbooks, and to instruct the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction of the allied and autonomous republics and provinces to adhere strictly to this resolution. To establish that each textbook is to be approved by the People's Commissaries for

Public Instruction of the allied republics. To prohibit the Commissariats for Public Instruction to make any changes in the republished stabilised textbooks; the replacement of the existing textbooks is to be made henceforth only with the permission of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.

7. To instruct the People's Commissariat for Public Instruction of the RSFSR to send the manuscripts of the textbooks which are to be translated into non-Russian languages, to the Commissariats for Public Instruction of the allied and autonomous republics and to the provincial departments of the Commissariat for Public Instruction.

8. The Schools Department of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) is to work out, in collaboration with the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction of the allied republics, by 1 December, 1935, the programme of publication of textbooks for 1936; the programme is to take into account the necessity of the timely and complete supply of textbooks to the schools of all types and grades.

## II. ON THE SALE OF TEXTBOOKS.

1. To abolish the existing system of "closed" distribution of textbooks among the students. To instruct the Councils of People's Commissaries of the allied republics to introduce, as from 15 September, 1935, the open sale of textbooks. The sale of textbooks is to be effected through the bookshops and kiosks of the State Publishing Offices and, in the villages, through the co-operative shops and through the schools.

2. The textbooks must be sold at fixed prices. Those persons who sell textbooks at higher prices or who speculate in textbooks, are to be prosecuted as criminals.

3. To establish that bookshops and kiosks should buy and re-sell the second-hand textbooks at the reduced prices.

4. Textbooks which are bought by schools for supplying them to the students during the academic year 1935-36, and also old textbooks published in 1933 and 1934 which belong to the schools, are to be sold, before 15 September, to the students in these schools; accounts with parents and students who have advanced money for the purchase of textbooks or have paid for them, must be finally settled. Textbooks which remain unsold by the schools, are to be surrendered to the trading organisations for sale. To cancel the Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the RSFSR of 15 April, 1933, and the orders of the People's Commissariat for Public Instruction of the RSFSR and of other People's Commissariats in respect of collection of public and private advances and money for the purchase of textbooks.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) instruct the Party and Soviet organisations to render every assistance to the

departments of Public Instruction in the most important matter of publication of stabilised textbooks and to exercise constant control over the composition and publication of textbooks and over the organisation of their sales.

Vice-Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,

V. CHUBAR.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki),

I. STALIN.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 8 August, 1935, No. 184 (5737).)

## CHRONICLE

### UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

#### *Foreign Affairs*

A TRADE AGREEMENT between the USSR and the United States was signed in Moscow on 13 July by M. Litvinov and the American Ambassador, Mr. Bullitt, according to which the American Government extended to the USSR for one year the tariff reductions made in all trade agreements with other countries except that with Cuba. The Soviet Government undertook on their side to increase substantially their amount of purchases in the United States, which the Soviet Ambassador assured them would amount to \$30,000,000 during the year. No mention was made in the Agreement of the question of debts and credits, on which the negotiations broke down last January.

Belgium recognised the Soviet Government *de jure*, and diplomatic relations between the two countries were established on 12 July. A closer *rapprochement* with the Little Entente was a feature of the period. A Soviet military mission visited Czechoslovakia, where together with French, Yugoslav and Roumanian colleagues they were present at big army manoeuvres and were entertained by the Minister of National Defence. They also paid a detailed visit to the Skoda munition works. A regular air service between Prague and the USSR was established via Roumania in order to avoid Poland. Through railway communication was opened between the USSR and Roumania over the restored bridge across the Dniester, and the occasion provided a mutual demonstration of friendship.

The attitude of the Soviet Government in the Italo-Abyssinian crisis was from the outset one of unequivocal support of the League Covenant. The Soviet press condemned Italy's action as one of "unqualified and open aggression" for purposes of imperialistic colonisation—a policy

entirely alien to the principles of the Soviet Union and deserving the condemnation of all nations striving for peace. M. Litvinov took an active part in the deliberations both of the League Council and of the Assembly on the subject. While emphasising the Soviet Government's friendly relations with Italy, with which it had no quarrel and which was one of the Union's best customers, he announced firmly that in the present crisis the Soviet Government was inspired solely by loyalty to the principles of the League, which it had joined in order to work for peace. The Soviet Government was, moreover, in principle opposed to the system of colonies, mandates and spheres of influence and to everything savouring of imperialistic expansion. The Soviet delegates voted in favour of sanctions. At the meeting of the Sanctions Committee on 19 October, M. Litvinov criticised the moderation of the sanctions to be applied as too limited and inadequate. He also deplored the lack of unanimity among the members of the League and suggested that the League's powers of exercising pressure on its recalcitrant members should be dependent not on sanctions by "voluntary contribution," but on common obligations compulsory for all.

In the Far East relations with Japan were marked by the usual exchange of Notes and counter-Notes of protest against violations of territory, of which each government accused the other. The latest incidents occurred in October, when according to Soviet sources, detachments of Japanese and Manchukuo soldiers penetrated across the Soviet frontier and attacked Soviet guards with rifle and machine-gun fire, killing and wounding several. In its reply to the Soviet Note of protest, the Japanese Government denied all responsibility for the events, due, it said, to the "vagueness" of the frontier, and urged the necessity of setting up a commission for its proper delimitation. The Soviet Government replied that the boundaries had been clearly set by treaties with China which Manchukuo had promised to respect, and reminded the Japanese Government that so far no reply had been given to the Soviet proposal to establish a mixed commission to deal with frontier incidents.

A Trade Agreement and various protocols and conventions were signed in August between the Soviet and Iran Governments in Teheran.

#### *Internal Affairs*

For the third year in succession the harvest has been good and is said to exceed that of last year. The figures of the yield are not yet published, but are estimated to reach 840,000,000 centners actually gathered in. Owing to a greatly increased number of combines and other agricultural machinery, work was, generally speaking, carried out within more normal time limits in most branches of farming, though threshing apparently has been much delayed. To stimulate the energy of the peasants, various concessions have been made to them. Thus, by a decree of 29 July the Government cancelled all civic disabilities resulting from penalties for counter-revolutionary crimes and premeditated failure to carry out

obligations, if such peasants have since been useful collective-farm workers. Another decree proclaimed an amnesty to persons imprisoned in 1932 and 1933 for crimes against "socialist property," and all trials of this kind were to be stopped. The area for winter crops was fixed at 37,785,000 hectares, only slightly exceeding last year's figure, but with a substantial increase in the area under wheat. Sowing, though protracted, was carried out more in season in many areas.

Grain deliveries to the State, as well as repayment in kind of all seed loans and other obligations, were completed a month earlier than last year.

An important development was the abolition on 1 October of ration cards for meat, fish, fats, sugar, potatoes and certain other foodstuffs. These are now sold in retail shops to all citizens alike at prices fixed midway between the old ration prices and those of the open market, and graded according to zone. To compensate workers for the loss of cheap food-cards, the price of bread, flour and cereals was lowered. Nevertheless, and in spite of an increase in wages, for some time at least the budget of the industrial workers is bound to feel the strain. The abolition of food-cards, in the opinion of the authorities, will act as an incentive to the workers to raise their output and thus increase their earnings. A decided advantage of the reform is in that it abolishes the privileged position of the industrial workers as compared with the rest of the population. It remains to be seen whether the peasants will be able to obtain higher prices for the produce delivered by them to the State, as so far the Government has reaped high profits from its sale in the State retail shops.

Officers' rank, from lieutenant to colonel, with seniority, very much on the same pattern as in the old Imperial army, was reintroduced in the Red Army, Navy and Air Force by decree of 22 September. The rank of commander, of various grades, was substituted for that of general in the old army, and that of "Marshal of the Soviet Union" created as a personal distinction for special merit, to be conferred on high commanding officers. M. Voroshilov, Commissary of War, was the first to receive this dignity, together with five other military leaders. Similar ranks were introduced in the former OGPU, now known as the State Security Department, attached to the Commissariat of the Interior.

Army manœuvres on a large scale took place in September in the south-western districts of Ukraine. Special French, Italian and Czechoslovak military missions were present, accompanied by their respective military attachés. Later the members of these missions visited Moscow as the guests of the Soviet Government.

A series of new laws was published dealing with the protection of deserted and vagrant children, whose numbers run into hundreds of thousands and among whom disease and crime are prevalent. It was found out that many of these juvenile criminals were running wild because they had been abandoned by their fathers, who refused to pay alimony or could not be traced. Besides the opening of new children's homes and

reformatories, the payment of alimony is to be more strictly enforced and deliberate default by the fathers punished by imprisonment. During 1934 over 200,000 cases of wilful neglect were tried by the courts of the Russian Republic alone. The necessity of strengthening family ties was advocated in the press, and new divorce laws were published, by which it was no longer possible to divorce without previous notice to the other partner, who was summoned also to appear in court. Should he or she fail to do so and no written communication be established within a period of six months, the divorce would then become valid. Various reforms were also introduced in the schools, all of them on the old "bourgeois" pattern, such as examinations, marks, disciplinary measures, the institution of "directors," inspectors, class and form masters and mistresses. All schoolchildren were put into uniform, the cut of which was to be not only useful, but "smart." Attention should be paid to their manners, and respect towards parents, school authorities and elders in general impressed upon them.

The 15th World Congress of Physiologists was held in Leningrad in August, at which 400 delegates from all countries were present. The foreign guests were greatly impressed by the progress and discoveries made by Russian science under Prof. Pavlov, who, at the closing meeting, was honoured by all present and received from Prof. Badger the title of "Princeps physiologorum mundi."

The 7th Congress of the Communist International (Comintern) met in Moscow after a six years' interval. 510 delegates, representing 65 Communist parties, were present. The programme for the immediate future was "war against fascism," for which cooperation with Socialist and even bourgeois organisations was admissible. Work for the overthrow of bourgeois governments was to be continued, but on the whole the Congress lacked the usual inflammatory outbursts. Dimitrov, the Bulgarian Communist of Reichstag fame, was elected Secretary-General of the Central Committee, a new post corresponding to that of Stalin in the USSR Communist party. M. Stalin was undoubtedly the central figure of the assembly and was given a tremendous ovation at the closing meeting.

## REVIEWS

### PRESIDENT MASARYK

*T. G. Masaryk: 1850-1886.* By Zdeněk Nejedlý. 4 vols. Prague (Melantrich), 1930, 1932, 1935. 320 + 401 + 315 + 321 pp.

Books on Masaryk are already very numerous and their number is increasing rapidly. The Bibliography in the recent supplement of Otto's Encyclopædia (*Ottův Slovník Naučný nové doby*, No. 146, pp. 116-8) enumerates no less than 157 items in book form, but, unfortunately, only



a very small part of this library can be considered as a genuine contribution to the interpretation of Masaryk's work and personality. A number of valuable studies on Masaryk as philosopher were, however, published in recent years. the short studies of J. B. Kozák (*Masaryk filosof*, 1925, and *Masaryk jako etik a náboženský myslitel*, M. as moral philosopher and religious thinker, 1931), supplemented by his new excellent article in Otto's Encyclopædia (cf. above), the penetrating analysis of J. L. Hromádka, the Protestant theologian (1931), and the second volume of the "Masaryk-Festschrift," edited by B. Jakowenko (Bonn, 1930), to mention only the most important contributions. But, curiously enough, there is no fuller biography of Masaryk since Jan Herben's rather sketchy account (Prague, 1926-8), and no full study of his activities not only as a writer, but also as a politician and practical leader, a man of action who influenced and changed the life of his nation in almost all fields of human endeavour: in philosophy and scholarship, in politics, in religion, in education, and even in art and morals. Professor Zdeněk Nejedlý's biography will, there is reason to think, supply this need on a truly monumental scale. The four volumes hitherto published, though containing no less than 1,360 pages, cover only the period up to 1886, the year of the great controversy over the forged MSS. of Králové Dvůr and Zelená Hora, but they show sufficiently Nejedlý's wonderful command of all accessible material, his open-minded and sincere handling of all questions, not excluding the most private and difficult, and his own not uncritical point of view. Nejedlý's book should really be called "Masaryk and his Times," as he does not only give a full biography of his hero, based on contemporary evidence, and analyse every one of his writings, but sketches also the historical background very fully and, incidentally, sheds a flood of light on Czech intellectual history during the time. Sometimes the digressions on contemporary events and persons seem to be a little out of proportion, and their direct bearing on Masaryk's development rather slight, but everybody in Czechoslovakia must be grateful to Mr. Nejedlý's attempts to survey, e.g. the literary movements in Moravia during the seventies, the early history of the MSS. controversy or the history of the newly-opened Czech university. Too much space seems to have been allotted to some points familiar to many educated readers, such as Protestantism, Unitarianism or Hume's philosophy, but we must keep in mind that Professor Nejedlý writes for a wide public in Czechoslovakia which needs this even elementary information. But there is really no reason to quarrel with the abundance of riches displayed by Mr. Nejedlý, as they are always presented very deftly and freshly.

A more controversial question is raised by Nejedlý's general conception of Masaryk's work and historical position. He thinks of Masaryk mainly as a politician and claims that we cannot understand him properly from his writings only, as all his books were written in answer to certain situations, in close connection with some practical purpose. Masaryk is not a philosopher on the throne, Nejedlý asserts. Masaryk himself in an

early lecture (quoted in vol. IV, p. 268) rejects Plato's ideal of the philosopher as ruler as "completely mistaken," and recently insisted that he was always "more a politician than a philosopher" (*cf.* O. Kraus in *Masarykův sborník* II, 53). This, of course, does not mean that Masaryk did not perform great services to philosophy just as frequently as mathematicians, scientists, historians and poets have advanced the cause of philosophy even more than academical philosophers. All Masaryk's books were written in order to make people do something. He did not create a coherent philosophical system, simply because he never wanted to create one. Nejedlý shows in the course of his book very well how even such early papers as those on "Plato as a Patriot" (1876), on "Theory and Practice" (1876), and "On Progress, Evolution and Enlightenment" (1877), have a definite practical purpose in mind and anticipate the doctrines of the later Masaryk in all essential points. While this fundamental contention seems to be well proved by Mr. Nejedlý, his view of Masaryk's historical position seems to me more doubtful. Masaryk, according to Nejedlý, never was a real revolutionary (even when he used the methods of revolution during the war), nor was he ever a Socialist in the Marxian sense of the term, though he stood frequently on the side of Socialism and early recognised the towering importance of the social question. Masaryk is to Nejedlý a politician of the great crisis of bourgeois society, the great defender of the heritage of the 19th century, of democracy and humanitarianism. "I came not to destroy, but to fulfil the law," Nejedlý quotes appropriately as a motto to his conception of Masaryk which so far has certainly some truth in it. But one feels that Nejedlý stands himself at the opposite pole, and sometimes his Marxian dogmatism becomes rather obstrusive, as when he objects to Masaryk's choice of "Suicide" as a theme too individualistic and regrets his avoidance of the labour question in this early book (III, 94). The Marxist interpretation of the history of thought leads sometimes to positively wrong conclusions, as when he discusses Hume as a philosopher of the saturated and even decadent English bourgeoisie (III, 121-2), though Hume lived in Scotland during a time when the industrial revolution had only just begun in his native country. But with these few exceptions Nejedlý's analysis is perfectly correct and acceptable, even if we do not agree with his apocalyptic visions of the fate of Western civilisation, which he is pleased to call "bourgeois."

But the main strength of Nejedlý's book is in the enormous wealth of detail which he supplies on many hitherto more or less obscure points: on Masaryk's social background, on his early struggles, on his development, on such questions as his knowledge of written Czech, on his early national feelings and early contacts with Czech society, on his early writings and his lectures drawn from contemporary notes of students, etc., etc. Many legends are, incidentally, exploded or rectified, e.g. his proletarian origins, his apprenticeship to a blacksmith, his terrible financial straits; many dates are put right and many details are unearthed

with a skill the more admirable as Nejedlý had not access to all private documents and no official support.

One of the most interesting features in Mr. Nejedlý's work is his full treatment of Masaryk's early relations to Anglo-American civilisation.

While at Brno, in 1868 or 9, he read, curiously enough, Cardinal Wiseman's novel *Fabiola*, apparently in Czech translation, an interesting testimony to his zealous catholicism at that time. Then the controversy on Darwinism reached him, and philosophical interests were awakened which led to more systematic reading when he was at the gymnasium at Vienna in 1869-72. Then he must have learned some English, as he quotes Byron ("When shall I meet Thee after long years") in a curious letter to a girl as early as in 1870 (III, 305), and an anecdote on his continuing to talk English to some fellow-students after a gun had gone off can be placed in the year 1872 (I, 218). But the greatest incentive to learn English came apparently from reading Lange's *Geschichte des Materialismus*, where he found the first account of English empiricism and realised that "as a budding philosopher he could not afford to miss the English masterpieces" (from the Curriculum vitæ, 1876, quoted I, 212). Naturally as a student of philosophy at Vienna University (1872-6) his knowledge of English philosophy increased almost inevitably. He certainly knew something of Bacon and Locke, though little of Hume and Berkeley, he discussed Darwinism, the topic of the hour, read Buckle with great interest and quotes him, alongside with Byron, on the immortality of the soul (in 1876, I, 280-1), as well as on the writing of history (Theory, etc.). But by far the most influential English philosopher was John Stuart Mill, as Mill was impressed on him by two of his most important teachers, by Theodor Gomperz, the author of *Griechische Denker*, and translator of Mill's collected works into German, and by Franz Brentano, who corresponded with Mill. (A point not mentioned by Nejedlý. Mill's letters are in the Archives of the "Brentano Society" at Prague.) As early as 1875 Masaryk wanted to write on the "Subjection of Women," and offered an article unsuccessfully to a Prague review (II, 190); he admired the "Logic" and he simply loved to quote Mill's description of right nationalism from the "Logic" (Book VI, ch. X, 5) as a "principle of sympathy, not of hostility; of union, not of separation." The article on "Progress, Evolution and Enlightenment" (1877) shows a very fair acquaintance with the development of the idea of progress, also in English philosophy and with the literature of Darwinism. Compared to his interest in English philosophy his knowledge of English *belles lettres* was slight. He was still enthusiastic about Byron's *Childe Harold* (letter quoted I, 266), and he enjoyed Thomas Moore's pseudo-oriental *Lalla Rookh* in 1877. He liked Dickens's *David Copperfield*, and, curiously enough, a sentimental novel *A Life for a Life*, by Mrs. D. M. Craik (II, 344-5), evidences that his literary taste remained rather primitively romantic and immature.

At Leipzig, in 1877, Masaryk met an American girl, Miss Charlotte

Garrigue, who was to become his wife in 1878. It was a strange intellectual companionship in the beginning, when Masaryk suggested reading with her Mill's *Subjection of Women* and Buckle's *History of Civilisation* (II, 352) instead of the Byron suggested by their German friend. Masaryk and Miss Garrigue exchanged their copies of Buckle when they parted for the first time (II, 377). The marriage with an American of strong Unitarian traditions inevitably intensified Masaryk's interest in things English. He went to New York to fetch his bride early in 1878. But he stayed only a fortnight in the country, and had no time nor opportunity to see much of it. But his first book on *Suicide as a social phenomenon*, written late in 1878 (though published only in 1881) after his return from America, already contains some very acute analyses of the state of religion and society in England, Scotland and the United States. As a young Privatdozent of the University of Vienna (1879-1882) he read the first five chapters of the first book of Buckle's *History* with his students in 1880, and the sixth book of Mill's "Logic" in 1882. But in spite of these positivistic interests his religious convictions seemed to have deepened, as is shown by the conclusion of the book on suicide with its advocacy of a New Religion which would give the same sense of security as Catholicism, and especially by his conversion to Calvinism in 1880, when Masaryk even signed the Apostolic Creed. An American Methodist preacher, Henry Schauffler, seems to have influenced the decision. Masaryk as a new and ardent Protestant, who even contemplated for a time the career of a preacher and missionary, took part in the great celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the Toleration Patent of Joseph II held at Klobouky, Moravia, in 1881. This celebration was attended by many clergymen from England and Scotland, e.g. by James Macdonald, who wrote a glowing account in his *Glances of Bohemia, Past and Present* (Edinburgh, 1882), and by Dr. J. M. Lang, of Glasgow, the father of the present Primate.

But Masaryk's religious fervour seems to have cooled off very soon, apparently under the shock of reading David Hume. (This connection is obscured in Nejedlý's account, as he treats of Hume *before* the conversion, though chronologically the sequence is exactly reverse). Hume's name must have been already familiar to Masaryk for a long time, as he writes as early as 1875 of a plan to translate something from Hume into Czech (II, 188). But only late in 1881 does he seem to have studied Hume thoroughly, and then the impression seems to have been overwhelming. Hume's scepticism shook the foundations of his belief, though he found arguments against his most destructive tendencies in the calculus of probability, later expounded in a little pamphlet (not published till 1883). But the form of Hume's writings and their general spirit of criticism left a permanent impression on Masaryk's mind. Hume obviously determined his later development for many years to come; the early lectures given at the University of Prague are entirely silent on the point of metaphysics and religion, and only in much later years did Masaryk find a way to

idealistic philosophy, to Kant and to Plato, and back to religion. The only immediate outcome of his interest in Hume was a translation of the *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, not into Czech, but into German (finished early in 1882, published only in 1883). As a Privatdozent in Vienna, Masaryk also wrote a review of Alexander Bain's book on *Education as a Science* (London, 1879) for a Czech learned review (*Pædagogium*, 1880), as he was interested in Bain's psychological approach and his use of the classification of sciences for pedagogical purposes.

So when Masaryk came to Prague in 1882 to lecture on philosophy at the newly-opened Czech University he came there with a background entirely different from that of his older colleagues. They were all followers of Herbart, and were all narrowly German in their philosophical outlook, in spite of their nationalism. Masaryk came there simply soaked in English empiricism and French positivism. Characteristically he chose a topic close to his heart for his inaugural lecture: *Hume and his scepticism* (pronounced 16 October, 1882), a revelation for students who hitherto were supposed to follow wholesale the incontrovertible truths retailed by their professors. Masaryk continued to stress English philosophy in his early lectures, he quoted freely from Spencer, though criticising his organic conception of society, he dissected Malthus's views on population, and referred to Lubbock and Wallace. In 1883 he had a seminar on Bacon's *De augmentis*, in 1885 a seminar on Hume's *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, and he lectured on Hume's *Philosophy of Religion* in 1885. Masaryk was on the commission which elected J. V. Sládek, the poet and translator of Shakespeare, to a lectureship in English in 1882, and in his lectures he defended long before Otto Jespersen's *Progress in Language* English as an uninflected language against the highly inflected languages which then were considered something essentially nobler and more perfect. Here, the story which I have extracted from Nejedlý and in part supplemented, breaks off. But the later volumes of this great work will enable us to trace Masaryk's further philosophical development in full detail. Incidentally, I hope, Mr. Nejedlý will rectify his exaggerated opinions on Masaryk's chaotic philosophical development. Even the few facts quoted on his relations to English philosophy show a clear logical evolution of his thought, which seems to me determined by philosophical motives as well as by practical considerations.

It would be ungracious to stress some few doubtful points in the whole range of Nejedlý's monograph. But it seems to me that the account of Hume's philosophy is not altogether successful and that a few misstatements can be found just in some points concerning English matters. It is obviously wrong to speak of a widening gulf between English and German philosophy during the 80's, just when the traditional differences were obliterated or diminished by the growth of German empiricism on the one hand, and Oxford idealism on the other (*cf.*, I, 255). Milton, Newton, Locke, Darwin and Dickens cannot be quoted as examples of Unitarianism as Nejedlý does (II, 372)! Nor did Buckle ever write on *English* history

properly speaking, as Nejedlý seems to think (III, 121-3). But these are small points in a work of enormous learning, great research and much shrewd criticism. We can only wish that Professor Nejedlý will be able to produce new volumes at an increased rate, which would be perfectly possible if he would concentrate more on Masaryk in preference to his times. The completion of his work would represent a unique achievement not only in Czech biography, hitherto rather poorly equipped, but in general intellectual biography, as a plastic picture of a man whose greatness can only increase with the passage of time.

RENÉ WELLEK.

### COUNT KOKOVTSSEV

*Out of my Past.* (Memoirs of Count Kokovtsev.) Edited by Dr. H. H. Fisher. Hoover War Publications, No. Six. Stanford University Press. 615 pp.

THIS is an English edition, due to the enterprise of the admirable Russian School at Stanford University, of the Memoirs of Count V. N. Kokovtsev published in Russian in Paris in 1933 under the title *Iz moego Proshlago*, and reviewed here in our No. 37.<sup>1</sup> That review was written in some haste and was not at all adequate, as I think there can be no question that Count Kokovtsev's memoirs are the most important first source of a personal kind yet published on the inner policy of Russia in the ten years preceding the Great War.

Count Kokovtsev, as Minister of Finance for the whole of that period and Prime Minister for the last quarter of it, was himself second to no one in the creation of the exceptional prosperity of Russia at that time, and the record of the Imperial finances contained in the book is, therefore, of the very first interest, but, quite apart from that, this book, which is one of outstanding frankness and honesty, gives the best picture so far obtainable of Nicholas II in his best years and at his best in his dealings with his immense responsibility as Tsar of Russia. The author had the habit of writing down immediately on his return the actual words of each of his official audiences with the Emperor, in which all the more important affairs of the Empire were intimately discussed, and by good fortune, when writing the book in exile, he still possessed all the principal notes which he had compiled. Nicholas II is seen in his pages as a man of exceptional simplicity and personal charm. The second of these qualities, and often the first, come out strikingly in every record of personal contact with him, down to that of soldiers who were on guard over him in his detention in the fatal house of Ipatyev at Ekaterinburg. But Count Kokovtsev gives us also what is much less common and accessible only to those who had intimate contact with the Tsar—a picture of his quick and ready grasp of essentials, his exceptionally good memory and a readiness for conviction in matters which he had failed to understand.

<sup>1</sup> *Slavonic Review*, vol. XIII, No. 37, page 208.

Alas ! on the other side there stands out the fatal weakness of will. Time after time, we come on such expressions as : " You were right, and I was wrong." In the last pathetic official audience, when Kokovtsev has most unfairly been dismissed from office, the Emperor kisses and embraces him, with the words : " Friends part like this " ; yet, of course, the fatal decision is not reversed, and it was in substance due to no other cause than Kokovtsev's sturdy refusal to see the infamous Rasputin in any other light than that of common sense.

It was thus to Rasputin that the dismissal was due. The Emperor had more than a year previously sent him for an opinion on him to his Prime Minister, of whom he was sincerely fond, and Kokovtsev, who had in earlier life held a prominent post in the inspection of prisons, had reported that this was the typical Siberian convict, only without the broad arrow. Shortly afterwards, when he was received at the palace at Livadia in Crimea for his report as Prime Minister, the Empress jerked out a hand sideways for him to take, and engaged at once in hurried conversation with his next neighbour in the file, a person of no particular importance, and retired as quickly as possible on the plea of extreme fatigue.

It was then that Kokovtsev's dismissal became inevitable, though he gives in this book a very interesting analysis of the other persons and causes that brought it about. The most important disclosure relates to Nicholas Maklakov, Minister of the Interior, the reactionary brother of the brilliant Liberal orator of the Duma. Maklakov was definitely working for a restoration of the full autocracy. Kokovtsev, though typically the honest official, was always, like Stolypin, for a full acceptance of the Tsar's promises contained in his celebrated " constitutional " manifesto of 30 October, 1905, and definitely enjoyed his collaboration with the Budget Committee of the Duma, which, as the best guarantee of financial publicity, did so much to bring about the confidence of the foreign business world in the financial administration of Russia during this period. Kokovtsev was an excellent speaker, lucid and interesting, and he did secure both the good will and the help of the Duma. Nicholas Maklakov, on the other hand, was constantly urging the Emperor to reassert his absolute autocracy.

One detail of exceptional interest can be added to this part of the story, which, as I have ascertained from Count Kokovtsev himself, was unknown to him. After his dismissal, at the beginning of July (N.S.), 1914, the Emperor suddenly convened his Cabinet and suggested a full restoration of the autocracy. The then Minister of Justice, Shcheglevitov, who as a complete reactionary had stood in the way of Kokovtsev's Duma policy, did have the courage to represent to the sovereign that on legal grounds such a change was inadmissible, and the Emperor dropped the subject.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See Shcheglevitov's evidence before the Special Commission of the Provisional Government on the antecedents of the Revolution, *Padenie Monarkhii*, vol. II, p. 437.

I have often thought how much difference there might have been in the fate of Russia if Kokovtsev had not been finally dismissed on 12 February, 1914. His successor, Goremykin, an old and almost doddering bureaucrat of over seventy, was chosen for no other reason than that he regarded himself as a sort of chief butler, a passive instrument of the sovereign to implement any orders that he might receive. If Kokovtsev, and not Goremykin had been the Prime Minister in the fatal conflict between Tsar and Duma in the summer of 1915, when even without him the decision almost went the right way, would he not, with the exceptional personal confidence of the Emperor which he enjoyed, have been exactly the right man to steer Russia through this the most fateful of all her political crises.

In one way Kokovtsev was almost partly responsible for the actual creation of the Duma, and here is another incident of first-class importance of which the only trustworthy account is to be found in this book. In 1905, when the Tsar is wobbling in the throes of a revolution, Kokovtsev, then Minister of Finance, receives a visit from M. Netzlin, representative of a group of French bankers prepared to discuss the launching of a big loan to make good the gaps in Russian credit created by the Japanese War. Kokovtsev, with some difficulty, obtains for him an audience with the Emperor, and Netzlin emphasises the importance to foreign confidence of some sign that the sovereign of Russia is in harmony with his people. Netzlin returns radiant from the audience; but, to everyone's surprise, the newspapers publish the next day a rescript from the Tsar mentioning the progress of unrest in the country and the necessity of combating such a movement by every means at the command of the Government. Both Kokovtsev and Witte expressed their regret to the Emperor, and shortly afterwards appeared a second rescript to Bulygin, instructing him to work out suggestions for the establishment of a national assembly.

Personally, this work has throughout the charm and dignity of unbreakable honesty. It is a record of all sorts of impressive scenes. Two of the most prominent statesmen of this period, the Marquis Ito and Peter Stolypin, were both not only assassinated under the eyes of Kokovtsev, but in each case practically fell into his arms. "Couldn't you take me with you?" were the last words of Stolypin as he was saying goodbye to the departing Kokovtsev at the moment when the fatal bullet was to strike him in the theatre at Kiev. But most impressive of all is the magnificent record at the end of the book of Kokovtsev's conversation with the head of the Bolshevik political police, Uritsky. Kokovtsev is a prisoner in the hands of Uritsky, who announces to him the preparation for a public trial of Nicholas, which, as a matter of fact, later, partly owing to the uncertain military position at Ekaterinburg, was replaced by his murder and that of his family. Here, as in his audience with the Emperor, Kokovtsev reproduces the actual words. The student of the book must read them for himself. I cannot imagine any more fearless or calm defence by a loyal servant of a deposed sovereign.

BERNARD PARES.



*The Russian Labour Movement.* From Peter the Great to Lenin. By S. P. Turin. P. S. King & Son. 9s.

THIS book is described in the sub-title as "a history of the Russian labour movement with special reference to Trade Unionism." But its chief value lies in the information which it imparts concerning the origin and pre-revolutionary activities of trade unionism in Russia. Much of this information will be new to English readers, and some of it has not been published in Russia. The author draws freely upon his own intimate experiences as one of the founders of the First Moscow Trades Council. Consequently, that part which deals with trade unionism before the Revolution is excellent, and certainly fills a gap in English literature on the subject. But the same cannot be said of the treatment of trade unionism subsequent to 1917. Here much is omitted which is important. No account, for example, is given of the prolonged and embittered controversy among Soviet leaders which preceded the decision to prepare the way for the incorporation of the unions in the State. This decision was historic, for it settled once and for all the fate of trade unionism under a government that aspired to be a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Inadequate also is the treatment of the labour movement in general. As in the case of trade unionism, earlier phases are dealt with more satisfactorily than later ones. Even so, there are conspicuous omissions. Hardly anything at all is said of the activities of the revolutionary parties whose association with the labour movement had a decisive influence upon the destiny of Russia. Mr. Turin is content merely to record the fact that this influence existed. Early in his book he mentions that from the beginning the revolutionary movement in Russia was conceived as a Socialist movement, and that it could not be anything else but revolutionary; and towards the end he expresses this impressive view: "Without close connection with the social-revolutionary and social-democratic organisations the Russian people would not have been able to win the liberties proclaimed by the first Revolution of 1905, and to achieve in 1917 a complete liberation of the Russian peasantry and of industrial workmen from the ugly forms of primitive capitalistic exploitation and from the yoke of an autocratic government imbued with the ideas of German militarism and Eastern oligarchy." Having said this much, the author should have given some information as to the intervention of the revolutionary parties in the labour movement. His treatment of the movement after the Revolution is very brief and, in some respects, casual. For this and other reasons which have been stated the title and sub-title of his book are misleading; a truer description would have been: "Some Notes on the Russian Labour Movement."

It may be mentioned that Mr. Turin has rendered a notable service to knowledge by tracing the origin of the Soviets back to the *starostas*, an institution which originated when the Russians were still serfs, and which "was the quintessence of the whole Russian Labour Movement." Hence significance is given to the note on which he ends: "The Congress of

Soviets as a State Power is greatly influenced and overshadowed by the Communist party. Have they solved the problem of 'we' and 'they'—the problem upon the right solution of which depends the future of the Russian people? "We" are the ruled; "they" the rulers; the two groups into which the Russian people have been divided for ages.

LANCELOT LAWTON.

### POLAND AND PILSUDSKI

*Poland.* By E. J. Patterson. Arrowsmith, Mod. States Series, 1934. Pp. 152. 3s. 6d.

*Pilsudski, Marshal of Poland.* By E. J. Patterson. Arrowsmith, 1935. Pp. 144. 5s.

THESE two little books, with which a younger expert on *res polonicae* makes his bow, really belong together. The more general one, providing a sort of background for its mate, must be considered first. It is to be highly commended as a handbook, is in fact the kind of book the reviewer would have liked to produce himself. Into the limits of space permitted the author has crowded more essential facts and fewer slips of judgment than most of us who are acquainted with the pitfalls of Polish history would have thought possible. The book has another virtue, too—that of balance, and of two sorts. The remoter period of the story is given just enough space to state the major issues, while half the book deals with the last fifteen years. So, too, in regard to the views expressed, where one can so easily err either on the side of feeling or proceed without it altogether. No one can appreciate Polish history who has only intellect at his disposal; but everyone who gives way to sentiment will be in hot water all the time. Notably in dealing with the Partitions, but none the less when he faces the splits in opinion of the emigration, the terrible dilemma of the World War, or even the "line" taken by Polish politics since the restoration. Right through, Mr Patterson has shown both restraint and courage, and that augurs well.

Twice in reading the book, and I went through it at a sitting, I thought I had caught him out. First when he sketched the tenor of events in the Russian and Prussian "parts" after 1815, without taking up the Austrian one; only to find the whole thing put in its right setting a few pages later on. Again, when on page 93 he passed over the critical years 1923–26 without a mention of the work of Grabski or Skrzynski; only to find that he made this good, if rather inadequately, from page 125 onwards. True, I think he might have said a bit more on this subject somewhere.

And now, after praising, I must turn to criticism, or at least comment. There are defects of a minor nature, which vex the observant reader. On page 23 Russia is spoken of as having an "Eastern" frontier, where surely western is meant. Then in a single and only paragraph, at the bottom of page 58, the author seems to me to express himself badly. Having said that the Allied statesmen in Paris "recognised the National

Committee of Dmowski as the government of Poland," he goes straight on to tell us the truth "Fortunately the Allies did not take that step." May I add that civil war in Poland could hardly have resulted in any case; though the fear of just that thing kept the folk in Paris from letting Haller's army get through to their native land until April. Some day the inside history of those trying months of tension between the real administration in Warsaw and the National Committee in Paris will be written. There is no analogy with the case of Czechoslovakia, for whose cause the work of Masaryk and Beneš stands unique.

Next—in view of the number of meanings the name "Lithuania" can have, the phrase "the question of Lithuania" on page 63 is more likely than not to mislead the average reader. Further, the number of "out-voters" (as given on page 106) taking part in the Upper Silesian plebiscite was 190,000 and not 100,000. This last is doubtless a misprint, which brings me to sad reflections. The proof-reading of the book leaves much to be desired. I have found a dozen slips, most of them proper names—it is true; but just these, being new to most readers, should be watched with double diligence. On page 9 "Przemysl" has an "e" on the end; on page 33 Staszic has a "g" at the end, on page 67 Zbrucz has "g" twice for the "c." Again, on page 37, Wawrzyniak has "a" instead of "r"; on the next page Slowacki has "h" for "k"; on page 46 Jędrzejow lacks the second "e"; on page 56 Lubomirski has the wrong initial (that of his Christian name!), while Ostrowski is without the "i." Finally, on page 62 Dluski is written Dzuski, and on page 94 Premier Bartel is without an "e." This is too much.

In conclusion, a word about the maps—they are a real help. The two on the inside cover are for orientation, the one on communications being invaluable. Too bad that the new "cut-off" Warsaw-Radom-Miechów-Cracow could not be shown, as it is the spinal cord of the republic. (It is not even sketched in, on the same map at the back of the "Pilsudski" volume, published a year later.) The reader should put it in with a pencil in his own copy. Finally, all will welcome the Frontispiece, as showing the crime of the Partitions in graphic fashion. The list of dates is useful, as is the full index. One could have wished for a little more information as to books. The author might have included Mr. Harley's *Poland Past and Present*, Skrzynski's *Poland and Peace*, Miss Gardner's *Poland, A Study in National Idealism*, and perhaps my own *Stanislas Konarski*, as giving the best available background culturally of the Partitions period.

And now for *Pilsudski*, which could appear just at the right moment; when the Polish nation and the world were fresh to the loss of a very distinguished personality. From the *Poland* volume the reader can guess already the sort of thing Mr. Patterson is going to say, and in the main he will not be disappointed. So far as it goes, the second work is first class; but in my judgment the author has just failed to take advantage of a great

opportunity. The first half of *Pilsudski* is just right, the latter part fades out—better said, it does not rise to the occasion.

We already had two books on the Marshal. Mr. Landau's, written in Mr. Landau's own style, for the present reviewer too much *à la* Ludwig; and Mr. Gillie's far more informing work, giving us the story of Pilsudski himself, with a fine commentary. Unfortunately, it brings us really only up to 1923, and probably the greatest work the Marshal did came after that time. Now it is just here that Mr. Patterson does not come to our help. Let me explain what I mean, under two headings.

It is quite true that the Marshal objected to the "frame" of the 1921 Constitution, and "went out of it," as so finely depicted in Czermański's great cartoon. But the real thing he could not abide in the rehabilitated Poland was the relics of pre-war parties—from the days of Vienna, Berlin and St. Petersburg. He was quite right in this, since the whole psychology of that time was the reverse of what the new age needed. From May, 1926, onward, Pilsudski therefore set himself to break to pieces all those parties, and he just about succeeded. Hardships there were no doubt, and "railroading" of situations as in 1930; but the realist observer will admit that soft measures were unlikely to get anywhere. At the same time there was building going on, too—the B.B. will get more praise than blame from posterity; especially now that its leader, M. Slawek, has been the first to agree to dissolving it (November, 1935) when its work was accomplished.

Now for the other contribution of the Marshal, his recognition of the fact that all too soon he would leave this world and that younger men would have to take up the burden. From the start, as Mr. Patterson rightly insists, he has been the tutor of his people; but in an especial way he has been the trainer of his successors. Not by means of indoctrinating them, but by making them recognise responsibility, and fit themselves to bear it. That is a great achievement, and I dare to say that no other living Pole could have done it. Only one of Pilsudski's contemporaries had the same qualities of winning loyalty as he, and that one has stood mostly outside politics.

Now my regret is that of these two things Mr. Patterson has not given us a proper picture. Not much space was necessary, but no account of Pilsudski's incomparable achievement is complete without it. To appreciate this, is to see why the Marshal was not only the tutor of his nation, but the anchor of it as well. I have used this phrase more than once, and wish to do it here again. By a curious lapse, the *New York Times* wrote in a May editorial that the Marshal was the Founder of the Polish nation. Nothing could be farther from the truth—of course, "State" was meant, which is a very different thing. Whether even that is true need not be argued here. What does count is that we should realise just why Marshal Pilsudski was able practically to complete his task before going; and so not only to become *bene meritis* of his own people, but of the whole continent of Europe.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

*Artists in Uniform.* A Study of Literature and Bureaucratism. By Max Eastman. London, George Allen and Unwin Limited. Pp. viii+261+vi. 7s. 6d. net.

MR. EASTMAN'S book, which appeared in the late autumn of 1934, is a new and rather spirited, I should even say violent, contribution to the study of the much debated problem of "creative freedom" under the Communist dictatorship. The whole controversy is of importance, inasmuch as there is a considerable and influential section of public opinion in Western Europe and America, which maintains that the Soviet régime of proletarian dictatorship does not encroach upon artists' freedom, and which tends to oppose in this respect the USSR to "Facist" countries. In reality, the whole controversy is beside the point, for no honest Communist in Russia and no thoroughgoing and sincere friend of the Soviets outside it can deny that, under the régime of Communist dictatorship, there is, can and must be no freedom for the artist. To begin with, who will dare to deny the fact of the existence in the Soviet Union of a preventive censorship such as does not exist anywhere else? The whole problem has been recently summed up in a most lucid and admirable way by a compatriot of Mr. Eastman, Mr. William Henry Chamberlin in his remarkable book *Russia's Iron Age*.<sup>1</sup> Writing as an impartial and sagacious observer who spent over ten years in the Soviet Union, Mr. Chamberlin says:—

"One problem which is of the very essence of genuine cultural life, of scientific and artistic progress, has not been solved. This is the problem of intellectual liberty, which means for the writer and the artist the right to follow his creative bent free from state dictation; for the historian the right to describe events as they actually occurred; for the economist and the engineer the right to express without fear of reprisals their honest opinions of this or that governmental measure; for the scientist the right to pursue experiments without being afraid that, if they turn out badly, he may be hailed before some irresponsible Gay-Pay-Oo tribunal to answer to some fantastic charge of sabotage."

Mr. Chamberlin gives in his book an equally lucid definition of the essential difference between Tsarist and Soviet censorship:

"The Tsarist censorship was purely negative and did not affect an author who was content to leave political themes alone. . . . Very different is the situation today. Not only is open criticism of the existing régime, of course, forbidden, but the author is expected to strike a positive note, to show that all is working out for the best in the Soviet world."

The situation is here presented in a nutshell, and Mr. Eastman's book, at its best, gives a valuable illustration of it. He writes, as he himself says, from the point of view of one who "is loyal to the Soviet

<sup>1</sup> See the review of it in the last number of *The Slavonic Review*.

Union but opposed to the Stalin leadership." He even admits that he had some serious doubts about the publication of his book "in view of the reactionary world-tendency of the moment." Upon its appearance it aroused a storm of indignation in all the pro-Soviet circles. It is openly controversial, provocative, sometimes deliberately violent in tone. It tells the friends of the Soviets in America and Europe many unpleasant home truths. It contains some valuable documents illustrating the abject subordination of literature to its Communist drill-sergeants during the period when all literature was placed at the service of the Five-Year Plan (1929-32). His chapters on "The Framing of Eugene Zamayatin," "Romanov's Recantation," "The Silence of Isaac Babyel," "The Humiliation of Boris Pilnyak" and "Polonsky's Persecution" will make interesting and illuminating reading for any unprejudiced foreign reader who simply knows nothing about those things.

Mr. Eastman's principal fault—and a grave one—lies in his failure to discriminate, in his tendency to use no colour but black in describing the happenings in Russia after Lenin's death and Trotsky's disgrace. In his anti-Stalinist zeal he distorts the perspective and thus vitiates even what there is of value in his account. His "Trotskyism" (in which he goes so far as to assert that Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* "is the only Russian prose work of the decade which lays a sure claim to immortality") leads him to ignore that some of the best works in Soviet literature, bearing the imprint of relative freedom from coercion, appeared in the period 1924-28 (Fedin's *Cities and Years*, Leonov's *Thief*, Olesha's *Envy*, Babel's *Red Cavalry*), and that it was only after 1928 that the partisans of the forcible "proletarianisation" of literature got the upper hand and began to strike right and left at their enemies. Mr. Eastman's view of the so-called "revolution" of 23 April, 1932, which marked a new swing-off to the Right after the Five-Year Plan period, is also coloured by his narrow Trotskyism. Without myself wishing to overrate the importance of that "revolution" (its fruits are still to be seen), I cannot help feeling that Mr. Eastman underrates it; to do otherwise would be prejudicial to his main thesis, which may be shortly summed up as "everything went all right so long as Lenin lived and Trotsky was in power, and all went wrong under Stalin."

The second and shorter part of Mr. Eastman's book deals with Marxian aesthetics, and is a plea of a Socialist for individualism in art. As a supplement to his book, Mr. Eastman gives the late Soviet critic Polonsky's article on "Lenin's Views of Art and Culture."

One of the annoying features of the book is a lack of any system in the transliteration of Russian names—it is high time that the publishers saw to the eradication of that evil. Those who happen to know of Andrey Bely, say from D. S. Mirsky's *Contemporary Russian Literature* will fail to recognise him in Mr. Eastman's "Byelie."

GLEB STRUVE.

25-*Літня Уччылєтської Хромadı.* (Twenty-five Years of "Utchytelska Hromada," or "The Association of Ukrainian Secondary and University Teachers in Lwow.") A Collection of Articles, with an English Summary of the Ukrainian Text. Lwow, 1935. Pp. 264.

THIS is a rather belated but excellent summary, in a very unassuming way, of the gigantic work done by the members of the teaching profession, for the uplifting of the Ukrainian people, particularly for those on the territory of the former Austrian Empire. It must be understood that the teachers and the clergy were the sole educators of the Ukrainian people; and they were at the same time their leaders, since the Ukrainians had practically no "upper class" to take over the leadership in political life during the 19th century.

The book is a collection of independent articles on subjects closely connected with the history of the Association, and also the very varied social and cultural work which the teachers were expected to accomplish. It gives an ample answer to the question asked in the foreword of the book: "To what extent do the University professors and secondary teachers contribute to the development of the Ukrainian school system, the furtherance of the education of the Ukrainian community and the broadening and increase of its culture and learning? How do they fulfil their duty towards the present and the future destiny of their people?"

Omelan Terletsky surveys the whole history and activities of the Teachers' Association since its foundation. Vladimir Kmitsykievych, in his rather short sketch, gives the history of the Ukrainian High School Teachers' Association in Bukovina. Dr. Yaroslav Hordynsky deals with the literary and scientific work of the Ukrainian High School Teachers and University Professors in Galicia during the 19th and 20th centuries: his article is by far the longest in the collection and historically the most interesting. H. Myketey writes on the international relations of the Ukrainian Teachers' Association. Dr. Ivan Bryk's article is wholly devoted to the teachers' work in the oldest educational institution in Galicia, "Prosvita" (Enlightenment). There are several articles on text-books, contributed by Ukrainian pedagogues; one is by the late *doyen* of the Ukrainian teachers profession, Julian Romanchuk, formerly leader of the Ukrainian group in the Austrian Reichsrat.

Several articles deal with matters relating to the Ukrainian secondary schools and teachers outside Poland. Mr. Svyatoslav Lakusta writing on those of Roumania; Professors S. Siropolko and V. Simovytych on those of Czechoslovakia; and Mr. Stephan Poviy on the special position in Podkarpatska Rus. Mr. M. Kumka and Dr. S. Demydchuk provide short notes on the Ukrainian schools of Canada and the United States.

The book, carefully prepared and edited, contains valuable material for students of Ukrainian educational problems of the last two centuries.

V. J. KISILEVSKY.

*Balkan Holiday.* By David Footman. Heinemann. 10s. 6d. net.

A WELL-KNOWN political writer has recently described Mr. Footman as "the Somerset Maugham of the Balkans," on the strength of a collection of sprightly, if somewhat mordant, sketches entitled *Half-Way East*. They were mainly concerned with mediocre and *dépaysés* Englishmen whose lot had been cast in the Balkans, and whom I should have preferred, from the point of view of British prestige abroad, to see consigned to a kindly oblivion. The present volume is to my mind far superior. It has the same caustic humour, the same eye for scandalous possibilities, just suggested and then tantalisingly withdrawn from the reader's grasp: it has the same directness and impressionist vigour, and it is written in a clear, succinct, racy English which it is a pleasure to read. It seems to have been etched with some very hard instrument: there is no superfluous shading, and every line contributes to the general pattern of the book. Moreover, his landscapes and his people are almost equally vivid—the Albanian merchant, the Turkish country gentleman, the Montenegrins who are all heroes, the Slovene pedant with his dyspeptic wife, the Scots who spent six years at the Trepča mines without discovering *šljivovica*, the Belgrade barman nicknamed "Rothermere," and so on. Mr. Footman has something refreshing to say on many subjects—on frogs and mud, on the anecdotal bore, on nightlife in Belgrade, on graft, on Hungarian snobbery, on the building boom, to select at random. Every now and then he becomes quite serious, and in a few paragraphs or pages gives us as good a summary as can be found anywhere, of the essential underlying realities of the Macedonian question, Hungarian revisionism or Croat grievances. His book leaves the reader with an appetite for more.

R. W. S. W.

The retirement of President Masaryk should draw special attention to Emil Ludwig's *Gespräche mit Masaryk: Denker und Staatsmann* (Amsterdam, Querido-Verlag, 1935), written with great skill, charm and perception. It appears to have been conceived as in some sense an atonement for his earlier book of conversations with Mussolini (which forms in many respects the most penetrating, and also the most sympathetic study of the Duce). The present volume is well worthy to stand on its own very considerable merits, but the two, read in conjunction, offer a most fascinating psychological contrast: for indeed no two men in contemporary Europe stand farther apart than Mussolini, the authoritarian and Masaryk the democrat.

Czechoslovakia has again deserved well of Europe. After following for seventeen years the leadership of her greatest son, she has had the wisdom to elect as his successor his closest colleague in the work of liberation and a man held in the highest honour at Geneva and in most European capitals. A readable account of his career—not, it is true, based upon original research or personal acquaintance, but in some ways all the more interesting because it consists of impressions acquired at a distance—will be found in *Beneš, Statesman of Central Europe*, by Pierre Crabitès (Routledge, 1935, 12s. 6d. net.)

R. W. S. W.



# GERMAN TRADE WITH THE SOVIET UNION

## I

### GERMANY—PIONEER IN TRADE WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

“BUSINESS with Soviet Russia is difficult. It requires time, it is costly and vexatious. It does not belong to the easy and agreeable kinds of business. Initiation and execution of business transactions require special knowledge and—nerves. The psychological element plays a greater rôle in the trade with Soviet Russia than in the trade with any other country.”

In these terms the central German business organisation for the trade with the Soviet Union summarised, in reviewing the results of the year 1934, the wide and varied experience of its members during the 15 years of trade relations with that country.<sup>1</sup> In 1935 a special opportunity was offered for a retrospective review of Soviet-German trade relations. This was a “jubilee year,” inasmuch as ten years expired on 12 October, 1935, since the conclusion, in 1925, of the trade agreements with the USSR. These agreements not only provided a legal basis for Germany’s trade with the Soviet Union, but also served, in many instances, as a model for other countries which entered into similar agreements, and were confronted with the delicate and difficult problem of adjusting their own commercial interests to those of a Communist State with a complete monopoly of foreign trade.

Germany’s claim to the pioneer part in opening up the channels for the capitalist world’s trade with USSR has always been readily recognised by the Soviets. This pioneer rôle was not only limited to the fact that, in her first agreements with USSR, Germany resolutely brushed aside certain legal and moral misgivings which it took other countries considerable more time to overcome. Extension of relatively long-term commercial credits to the USSR, and the guaranteeing of these credits by the State, were the “revolutionising” measures which opened up new possibilities in the trade with the Soviet Union. Ten years later Germany (regardless of the sweeping political changes to which she had been subjected in the meantime) once more took the bold initiative of granting the Soviet Government a 200-million marks bank credit for five years (by the agreement of 9 April, 1935)—a step so far only followed by Czechoslovakia.

In the history of Russia’s post-war trade relations with the “capitalist world,” Germany not only played an outstanding rôle as

<sup>1</sup> Das Russlandsgeschaeft im Rahmen unserer Wirtschaftspolitik, in *Die Ostwirtschaft*, 1934, No. 12, p. 177.

far as the volume and intensity of her trade with USSR was concerned, but her relations with the Soviet Union were also conspicuous for the elaborate and complicated character of the rules and regulations laid down, and of the machinery which was set up on the German side to handle this trade.

An idea of the extensive character and the intricacy of these provisions can be given by referring to the fact that one of the best German commentaries on the agreement of 12 October, 1925, occupies no less than 372 pages in small print.<sup>2</sup> During the following years the special question of terms and conditions for business transactions between Germany and the Soviet Union (especially for the delivery of German goods) were a matter of continuous negotiations, and were laid down lately in a special agreement, signed 20 March, 1935.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, the organs which were responsible on both sides for current business transactions have also reached a greater degree of development and perfection than in any other country. All business transactions of the USSR in Germany were from the beginning centralised in the "Soviet Trade Delegation," established as a part of the Soviet Embassy in Berlin and enjoying extraterritorial rights.<sup>4</sup> This body, which for a time had a personnel considerably over 1,000 and an annual budget of many million marks, was from the outset the sole and recognised representative of the Commissariat for Foreign Trade in Moscow, in all its dealings with German manufacturers and exporters.

From the beginning, German business men became aware of the great handicap which they were up against when dealing as individuals with the Soviet Monopoly of foreign trade. With remarkable perseverance they endeavoured to outweigh at least some of the advantages which the Soviet Government possessed in its monopoly of foreign trade by setting up an organ which would co-ordinate the efforts of scattered German industrialists, and thus increase their bargaining power in their dealings with Moscow. Such an organ was available in the shape of the "Russian Committee of German Business" (Russland-Ausschuss der deutschen Wirtschaft), closely associated with the central organisation of German industry,

<sup>2</sup> O. Mersmann-Soest und Paul Wohl, *Die deutsch-russischen Verträge vom 12 Oktober, 1925*. Berlin, 1926.

<sup>3</sup> Krahe, *Allgemeine Lieferbedingungen für Lieferungen aus Deutschland nach der USSR*. Berlin, 1935

<sup>4</sup> The legal status of the Soviet Trade Delegation was defined for the first time in Art. 12 of the Provisional Agreement of 6 May, 1921, and in greater detail in Arts. 3-6 of the main Agreement of 12 October, 1925.

the "Reichsverband der deutschen Industrie" (now after the reorganisation of German industrial representation under the National-Socialist régime known under the new name of "Reichsgruppe der deutschen Industrie"). This committee publishes a monthly organ, *Die Ostwirtschaft*, specially devoted to a discussion of all current problems of Germany's trade with the Soviet Union and the border States of the former Russian Empire (Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania). It contains a wealth of information in general as well as on the intricate technical problems of Soviet-German trade. It is paralleled by a similar fortnightly publication of the Soviet Trade Delegation in Berlin, the *Sowjetwirtschaft und Aussenhandel*, which appears since 1921.

For some time the Soviet Trade Delegation refused to recognise the "Russland-Ausschuss" as a collective body representing the interests of German business in its dealings with Russia, and insisted upon dealing exclusively with individual manufacturers and exporters. However, in the course of time the Russian Committee, without ever endeavouring to assume any trading functions similar to those performed by the respective Soviet organs, became a decisive factor in Soviet-German trade relations. Not only did it act in an advisory capacity in regard to all important steps taken by the German Government, but some of the agreements laying down the terms and conditions of Soviet-German trade were formally concluded between the Soviet Trade Delegation and the "Russian Committee."

Apart from the "Russian Committee" of German industry whose main object is to represent German business in general negotiations with the Soviet Trade Delegation and other Soviet authorities there were also created a number of special public, semi-public and private agencies which were to handle the extremely complicated financial side of the affair. Their functions included the granting of government guarantees for sales to the Soviets, the discounting of Soviet acceptances and other formalities attaching to this business which presents so many difficulties and peculiarities compared with private trade with any foreign country.

Among these agencies the most important is the "IFAGO," an abbreviation for *Industriefinanzierungs-Aktiengesellschaft Ost*, a company which deals as the financial intermediary between the Soviet Trade Delegation and other Soviet purchasing agencies, on the one hand, and German manufacturers and exporters on the other. It arranges the financing and re-discount of bills in accordance with the terms and conditions set forth in the various credit arrangements between the German and the Soviet governments.

A special "*Interministerieller Ausschuss*" (Interdepartmental Committee) was formed to consider applications of German firms for State guarantees for their sales to the Soviets. A special organisation, virtually controlled by the Reich—the Deutsche Revisions- und Treuhand-Aktiengesellschaft—handles all the preparatory formalities for the granting of such guarantees so that, in fact, the Interdepartmental Committee merely gives the final formal assent. The Hermes Versicherungsgesellschaft—a credit insurance company that has also come under the virtual control of the Reich, handles credit insurance risks in connection with smaller orders and credits not exceeding 12 months.

Finally, the "*Russian Credit Consortiums*" of German banks also play an important rôle in arranging the rediscount (with the assistance and under the actual leadership of the Reichsbank) of Soviet bills. These consortiums are formed from time to time in order to deal with a specified amount of Soviet-German business under one of the subsequent agreements. Thus, the latest one, the "*Kreditkonsortium Russland 12*" was formed under the auspices of the IFAGO in June, 1935, with the object to handle the Rm. 200,000,000 worth of orders to be placed under the last credit agreement of 9 April, 1935. This latest consortium is headed by the Deutsche Bank and the Dresdner Bank and comprises, besides, 14 other banks and private bankers.<sup>5</sup>

The scope of this brief study does not permit to give even an outline of the interconnection and working of this complicated machinery of German-Soviet trade. Complete technical details, with texts of regulations, etc., can be found in the various issues of the magazine *Die Ostwirtschaft* for the last ten years.

The numerous trade and credit agreements between the Soviet and the German governments, and minor agreements concluded between the respective official bodies in both countries, established the legal norms and financial and other conditions on which the activities of this machinery were based. The original framework was provided by the treaty of 12 October, 1925, already referred to, which consisted of seven separate agreements on trade, shipping, railroad transport, taxes, arbitration, etc.

The so-called "*Pyatakov agreement*" of 14 April, 1931, was

<sup>5</sup> These banks are : Allgemeine Deutsche Credit-Anstalt, Leipzig ; Gebr. Arnhold, Dresden ; H. Aufhäuser, München ; Berliner Handelsgesellschaft, Berlin ; Simon Hirschland, Essen ; A. Levy, Köln, Mendelssohn & Co., Berlin ; Merck, Finck & Co., München ; Sal. Oppenheim, jr. & Cie, Köln ; Reichs-Kredit-Gesellschaft Aktiengesellschaft, Berlin ; Sächsische Staatsbank, Dresden ; M. M. Warburg & Co., Hamburg.

mainly responsible for the spectacular upswing of German exports to Russia during 1931 and 1932. It granted the Soviets special credit facilities for Rm. 300,000,000 of "additional" orders, consisting mostly of industrial equipment. All transactions were divided into three main groups, the credits granted being for 14, 21 and 29 months, respectively. Interest charges were fixed at 2 per cent. above the Reichsbank's rediscount rate. The "Pyatakov agreement" was followed up by the "Rahmenlieferungsabkommen" of 15 June, 1932, which contained some minor amendments of the former agreement, but did not fix any lump sum for orders to be placed by the Soviet Government.

## II

### CREDIT AGREEMENT OF 9 APRIL, 1935

After a period of decline and stagnation of Soviet-German trade during the years 1933 and 1934 an attempt to revive these relations was made by the *Credit Agreement of 9 April, 1935*.

This agreement, which was concluded after lengthy and difficult negotiations, not only provided a new basis for "additional" Soviet orders during the following year. It deserves special attention from a broader viewpoint as the first agreement of a foreign State with the Soviet Union which granted a *bank credit of five years* for its purchases abroad.

The complete text of this agreement has never been made public, but an authentic summary published by the *Ostwirtschaft*<sup>6</sup> furnishes sufficient information regarding its main points. The first one contains provisions regarding the payment of old debts by the Soviet Government during the year 1935. It has been agreed that the Soviet Union will, as in the preceding years, pay a considerable part of the amount due in gold and foreign exchange. The balance (about Rm. 100,000,000) is to be paid in raw materials and other goods which are of vital importance to Germany and are enumerated in a special list. The most important commodities included in this list are mineral oils, lumber, manganese ore, platinum, apathite (a variety of phosphate now mined in large quantities on the Kola peninsula), flax, hemp, furs, bristles and asbestos. As has been the practice during the last few years, all Soviet imports into Germany will be paid for in reichsmarks, which the Soviet Trade Delegation in Berlin can dispose of freely within Germany. The competent import control boards (in all 25) established under Dr. Schacht's

<sup>6</sup> 1935, No. 4/5, pp. 61-63.

"New Plan" that became effective in September, 1934, will control these imports in regard to both quantities and prices and will issue the respective import licenses.

Soviet purchases in Germany are divided into two categories. It is assumed, in the first instance, that the Soviet Government will place orders for Rm. 60,000,000 (about £4,800,000) which are supposed to represent "current business." Apart from purchases of German goods, this amount is to include the chartering of German vessels, other freight payments and sums paid in consideration of "technical assistance" by German firms. Contracts for these goods and services are to be placed between 1 April and 31 December, 1935. Payment is to be made either in cash or in bills, the length of credit not to exceed the limits fixed in the agreement of 15 June, 1932 (maximum 28 months). The prices should be "reasonable," and the Reich's guarantee in respect of these orders will cover 60 per cent. of the invoice value. Simultaneously, the agreement of 15 June is extended to 9 April, 1936. The interest charge is to be 2 per cent. above the Reichsbank's rediscount rate without any limits in either direction. As the bank's rate is 4 per cent. at present, the cost of the credits to the Soviets is 6 per cent. per annum.

The second part of the agreement pertains to the placing with German firms of "additional" orders in the amount of Rm. 200,000,000 (about £16,000,000) with an average length of credit of five years. As in the former case, it will carry interest at 2 per cent. over the current rediscount rate of the Reichsbank. These orders are to consist exclusively of "investment goods," i.e. of machinery, industrial equipment and rolling stock. The orders are to be placed within one year, i.e. not later than 31 March, 1935. The Soviet Government has agreed that 75 per cent. of all orders should be placed before 31 December, 1935. As regards financing, the agreement provides that the Soviet Trade Delegation is to hand its bills to the "Russian Credit Consortium 12," these bills to be made out individually for every transaction. Against these bills the Consortium will advance the necessary funds which will enable the Trade Delegation to pay cash to the manufacturer for the entire amount.

The question arises in this connection whether the April agreement can be considered as the first "cash credit" obtained by the USSR from a foreign government, in contrast with the previous merchandise credits which the Soviet Government has secured for a considerable number of years in Germany and in other countries.

A careful scrutiny of the provisions of this agreement and of the complementary details for payments made under it does not seem

to bear out this contention. It will, therefore, be more correct to say that "manufacturers' credits" have been superseded by "bank credits. It will be "observed, in particular, that the necessary funds are only advanced by the IFAGO to the Trade Delegation for the purpose of paying the invoices of German manufacturers against specific orders. At no time is the Trade Delegation entitled to dispose freely of these sums. The five years' bills of the Trade Delegation and of other Soviet import agencies are not eligible for rediscount with the Reichsbank and are merely held as collateral security by the IFAGO. It is the German manufacturer who still has to provide the latter with 18 to 22 (the duration of the credit varies from  $4\frac{1}{2}$  to  $5\frac{1}{2}$  years) blank quarterly finance bills or "Fluessigmachungsziehungen," which are then successively discounted by the IFAGO with the banks—members of the Consortium.

It is further important to bear in mind that the cash payment of the Soviet Delegation to the German manufacturer, which is made possible by the "Credit consortium," does not by any means relieve the latter of all liability in case the Soviet Government should in five years fail to meet its engagements in respect of the bills which serve as collateral for the credit. Only 70 per cent. of these manufacturers' bills is guaranteed by the Reich, but he will still be held responsible, in case of the buyer's default, for the remaining 30 per cent. It is understood that this element of uncertainty, which still attaches to the entire transaction under the April agreement of 1935, has exercised a deterring effect on many manufacturers and has, among other reasons, been responsible for the slow realisation of this agreement.

Thus, both the "cash payment" to the manufacturer and the "cash credit" to the Soviet Government are rather of a symbolic nature. The essential difference of the new agreement from its predecessors is that the manufacturer is relieved by the IFAGO of all immediate concern regarding the financing of his sale and the rediscount of his bills.

During the seven months which have elapsed since the signature of this agreement, "current orders" have so far been considerably behind the stipulated time schedules. A certain revival of Soviet purchases was only noticeable during September, so that so far (till the middle of November) the Soviet Union had placed "current orders" for Rm. 25,000,000 and "additional orders," which fall under the five years' credit, for about Rm. 80,000,000. Considering that the Soviets had promised to place 75 per cent. of the total amount (Rm. 200,000,000) not later than 31 December, 1935, they will have

to place orders for Rm. 70,000,000 before the end of the year. The Soviet trade organisations have urged in justification of this delay that the German firms have been quoting prices which were considerably higher than the respective "world market prices."

In reply to these reproaches, the Germans asserted<sup>7</sup> that the expression "reasonable prices," used in the agreement, does not necessarily mean that these prices should, under no circumstances, exceed world prices. In the first instance, they argued, in regard to machinery, which forms the bulk of these new orders, there is no such thing as "world prices." On the other hand, they urged that the Soviet organs, which place orders in Germany, are not justified in demanding that German manufacturers should adjust their prices to lower gold prices quoted by their English competitors after the devaluation of the pound sterling. The Soviet Union is paying for its purchases in Germany not in English pounds, but in reichsmarks which represent the proceeds from the sale of their own goods in Germany. For these sales the Soviet Union usually obtains the German inland prices, although German importers are endeavouring to keep the prices they pay for Soviet goods in line with world prices. One of the chief export articles of the Soviet Union to Germany is lumber. It is well known that the German lumber prices are considerably higher than those ruling in England and other countries, so that the Soviet Union obtains higher prices for its lumber sold in Germany. It is therefore represented as only fair if the Germans demand that the Soviet Union should pay German inland prices for its own purchases in Germany.

### III

#### MAIN TRENDS OF SOVIET-GERMAN TRADE IN 1925-1935

The elaborate machinery set up by Germany for the handling of her trade with USSR, and her numerous successive trade and credit agreements with the Soviet Government, provided the legal framework and the background for the development of Soviet-German trade during the last ten years. During this period this trade passed through several different stages. In fact, the amplitude of oscillations in German-Soviet trade has been remarkable. The spectacular rise in German exports up to the middle of 1931 was followed by an equally abrupt fall in the following years. Germany, which in 1932 occupied the first place in the import trade of the USSR and supplied as much as 46 per cent. of its import requirements, was driven back to the third place in the first nine months of 1935 (Great Britain

<sup>7</sup> *Die Ostwirtschaft*, 1935, Nos. 4-5, p. 61.



occupying the first, and U.S.A. the second place). At the same time the German share in total Soviet imports fell to 8 per cent.<sup>8</sup>

The rise and fall of Soviet-German trade was determined in these years by two main factors of which one was closely connected with the isolated economy of the Soviet Union, while the other was an immediate result of the world crisis which broke out in 1929-1930.

The first Five Year Plan, with its tremendous demand for foreign industrial equipment—a demand which was powerfully supported by German credits—gave a strong impetus to Germany's exports to Russia. The large Soviet orders placed in the years 1931 and 1932 were particularly welcome to German industry, because they came at a time when Germany's export trade to other countries was already rapidly declining as a result of the world depression. The specific character of the Soviet demand during this period was further responsible for the fact that machinery and other industrial equipment constituted an abnormally high part of Germany's total exports to Soviet Russia. The German machinery industry was the main beneficiary of this short-lived "boom" in Soviet-German trade. German machinery exports to Soviet Russia constituted 8.1 per cent. of the country's total machinery exports in 1930. This percentage rose to 18.2 in 1931 and to 30.5 in 1932. For certain specific items, such as metal-working machinery, Russia took in this year an even higher percentage of total German exports. Subsequently, this percentage fell to 17.4 in 1933 and 5.0 in 1934.

Another factor of great importance in Soviet-German trade was the outbreak of the world depression, which completely upset the export plans of Moscow, on which its purchases in the foregoing years and the timing of its credit maturities were based. Therefore, the sharp decline both in volume and value of Soviet exports compelled Moscow to undertake a drastic curtailment of its programme of foreign orders. In fact, the contraction of Soviet imports during these years was probably greater than in any "capitalist" country affected by the world depression. Total imports of the USSR declined from the peak figure of 1,105,000,000 roubles in 1931 to 232,430,000 roubles in 1934.

Another significant change in Soviet-German trade took place during these years. While Germany was rapidly losing ground in supplying the Soviet Union with machinery and other goods, she

<sup>8</sup> For an analysis of recent trends in the foreign trade of USSR see "The Prospects of British and American Trade with the Soviet Union," Monograph, No. 7/8, published by the School of Slavonic and East-European Studies in the University of London. London, 1935, pp. 4-9.

was not only holding her own but even strengthening her positions in Soviet export trade. Her share of Soviet exports rose from 15·7 per cent. in 1931 to 23·5 per cent. in 1934.

These divergent trends in German exports to Russia and imports from that country were responsible for reversing Germany's trade balance with the USSR. Up to 1933 this balance had been in favour of Germany. Since the end of 1933 Russia had a steadily increasing active balance with Germany. As will be shown in the following sections, this fact proved of paramount importance for the development of Soviet-German trade and credit relations in the following years.

#### IV

##### CREDIT RELATIONS BETWEEN GERMANY AND THE SOVIET UNION

Germany was not only the pioneer in granting commercial credits to the Soviet Union. She also went farther than any other "capitalist" country in regard to both the amounts and the length of these credits, and German credits always constituted the bulk of Soviet Russia's foreign indebtedness. In fact, during the last five years, the curve of the USSR debts to Germany ran practically parallel to the curve of its total indebtedness.

The latest figures divulged by the Soviet Government itself on Russia's total debts incurred in connection with foreign trade transactions, are those contained in a recent article by A. Rosengolz, Soviet Commissary of Foreign Trade.<sup>9</sup> These figures demonstrate the remarkable change that has taken place in this respect, especially during the last three years. In 1933 the foreign commercial debts of the Soviet Union reached an all-time maximum of 1,400,000,000 roubles.<sup>10</sup> On 1 October, 1935, they were reduced to 139,000,000 roubles, and by the end of this year they will not, according to Rosengolz, exceed 100 to 120,000,000 roubles.

Three factors were mainly responsible for this sharp reduction in the Soviet Union's foreign indebtedness.

A favourable balance of trade since 1933 permitted the Soviet Government to repay an increasing part of its foreign debts by

<sup>9</sup> A. Rosengolz, "USSR—the most credit-worthy country," in *Pravda*, 7 November, 1935.

<sup>10</sup> It is of interest that this figure exceeds by 200,000,000 roubles the highest estimate of Russia's total indebtedness made in 1932 by German experts on Soviet-German trade and Russian financial conditions. See H. Kraemer, "Die deutsch-russischen Wirtschaftsbeziehungen," in *Die Ostwirtschaft*, 1932, No. 3, p. 33.

exports of merchandise. The changes in Russia's trade balance during the last five years were as follows :—

							Roubles
1931	...	...	...	...	...	...	— 293,000,000
1932	...	..	...	...	...	..	— 129,000,000
1933	...	...	...	...	...	...	+ 147,000,000
1934	...	...	...	...	...	...	+ 186,000,000
1935 (nine months)	...	...	...	...	...	...	+ 84,000,000

Rosengolz estimates that the export surplus in the Soviet Union's foreign trade for the whole year 1935 will be 120,000,000 roubles. Thus, the active trade balance for the last three years will amount, roughly, to 450,000,000 roubles.

The second factor is the substantial rise in the output of the Russian gold mines during the last few years. Rosengolz follows the lead established by the Soviet Government in not disclosing the exact figures of Russia's present gold production. The only statement he makes in this respect in his article is that "the *increase* in the Soviet gold output now exceeds 100,000,000 roubles per annum." Without questioning the remarkable rise of Russia's gold production during the last few years, there can be little doubt that this statement is an exaggeration.

Another important source from which the Soviet Government has been able to extract during the last five years a considerable amount of gold and foreign currency is the "Torgsin" organisation, the "stores for foreigners," which were only selling against gold, silver or foreign currency. The fact, however, that they were offering at reasonable prices goods which were almost unobtainable, or were only sold at exorbitant prices in the State "commercial shops" (against roubles), made the Torgsin stores a most efficient instrument in extracting the last and scant reserves of gold and silver still hoarded by the population. This system also successfully induced Russians and foreigners abroad to use this medium for the remittance of funds to their destitute relatives and friends in Russia, and thus also made the "Torgsin" a channel for the inflow of foreign currency from other countries. In his article, Rosengolz makes for the first time the striking revelation that during the four years of its existence the "Torgsin" has been successful in "mobilising" *within Russia* gold and foreign currency reserves to the amount of 270,000,000 roubles. This figure, which is considerably above current estimates, does not, apparently, include the substantial foreign remittances made during the four years of the Torgsin's existence. In the absence of any authentic information on this

subject, it is difficult to make even a guess as to their total amount. Informed opinion believes, however, that they must have exceeded 40,000,000 roubles per annum. According to a decree issued in November, 1935, the "Torgsin" organisation is to be dissolved on 1 February, 1936. This step, which is taken in connection with the "devaluation" of the rouble and the reform of the entire Soviet retail trade organisation, may also be due to the fact that the internal hoards of gold and silver have been practically depleted.

The Soviet foreign trade statistics do not publish the quantities of gold and silver obtained from all these various sources which were exported from the USSR. It can be assumed, however, that these quantities were practically identical with the Soviet Union's exports of gold and silver to Germany, since shipments to other countries were insignificant. The value of gold and silver imported into Germany from the Soviet Union from 1 January, 1931, to 1 October, 1935, is given by the German customs statistics at Rm. 863,000,000 or, approximately, 400,000,000 roubles.

A favourable trade balance and growing gold exports have also produced important changes in Soviet Russia's balance of payments. Rosengolz claims that for the first time during the 18 years of its existence the Soviet Union will not only have an active trade balance, but also an active balance of payments. He states that in 1935 the Soviet Union's foreign payments will be balanced not only without exports of gold (German statistics registered imports of gold from Soviet Russia of Rm. 14,600,000 during the first nine months of 1935, against Rm. 194,170,000 during the whole of 1934), but that the year will even be closed with a small surplus of gold.

The Soviet indebtedness to Germany declined in the same proportion as total foreign debts of the USSR. As a result of the large credits granted by Germany under the Pyatakov and subsequent agreements in 1931 and 1932, the Soviet debts to Germany reached a maximum of Rm. 1,200,000,000 at the beginning of 1933. Towards the end of that year they declined to Rm. 750,000,000 and fell further to Rm. 270,000,000 at the end of 1934. According to the latest available data, the balance left on 1 January, 1936, and repayable in the coming year is only Rm. 60,000,000.<sup>11</sup>

Though in general the Soviet Government has duly honoured its obligations towards individual German manufacturers and exporters, Germany's credit relations with the Soviet Union had to pass through a rather critical stage at the beginning of 1933. The main facts of this significant episode in German-Soviet trade relations are worth

<sup>11</sup> *Die Ostwirtschaft*, 1935, No. 11, p. 170

mentioning. The difficulties that arose at the time were only overcome owing to resolute "relief action" of the German Government in February, 1933, soon after the institution of the new Nazi régime.

The year 1933 brought a cumulation of maturities of the large credits granted during the preceding two years. This coincided with an aggravation of Russian export difficulties in connection with that year's famine and a general disorganisation of Russian economic life, as a result of the overstrain of the first Five Year Plan.

The total amount of payments due by the Soviet Government to Germany in 1933 was estimated at the beginning of the year at Rm. 650,000,000. Against this amount, Rm. 300,000,000 were to be paid in exports of Soviet merchandise, and Rm. 150,000,000 in gold and in foreign exchange, representing the proceeds of Soviet exports to other countries. In order to assist the Soviets in meeting their current engagements and prevent an open default, the German Government also gave, though reluctantly, its assent to the use of "blocked marks" by the Soviets for part of their payments—namely, to the amount of Rm. 60,000,000. As these marks could be purchased by the Soviet Government at a considerable discount, this meant a substantial saving in meeting at least part of its obligations towards Germany.

These three items together—exports of merchandise, gold and blocked marks—could still only provide some Rm. 510,000,000, leaving a balance of Rm. 140,000,000 which the Soviets would presumably be unable to honour. To meet this emergency, the German Government arranged for a bank credit of Rm. 140,000,000. This interim credit was known as the "Ueberbrückungskredit," and was intended to "bridge over" the gap between current maturities and the Soviet Government's temporary inability to meet these payments. The credit was to supply the Soviet Government with the necessary funds for meeting their obligations in regard to German manufacturers, and was granted as an advance against future shipments of Soviet merchandise by two banking consortiums, one headed by the Deutsche Bank (for Rm. 50,000,000), and the other by the Dresdner Bank (for Rm. 90,000,000). The credit was opened for a period of 12 months "on normal commercial terms." In view of the obvious anxiety produced by this somewhat unusual step in certain circles, the organ of the German industry for Russian trade, in commenting on this transaction, found it necessary to emphasise that "the German firms participating in Russian trade are convinced that any doubts in regard to the ability and the willingness of Russia to pay were unjustified. They are convinced that Russia

is anxious to meet her foreign obligations in the same correct manner as heretofore."

Subsequently, the increase of the Soviet Union's gold output and the drastic curtailment of new orders placed in Germany concurred in relieving the situation. Nevertheless, till the beginning of 1934 the position remained so strained that a new agreement of 20 March, 1934, provided for a further extension, for a period of 14 months, of Rm. 110,000,000 out of the original total of Rm. 140,000,000. However, owing to the steadily improving situation, the Soviet Government in August, 1934, renounced its option for an extension of the entire credit in regard to Rm. 25,000,000 and only availed itself of the right to extend the old credit to the amount of Rm. 85,000,000.

On 25 September, 1935, the Soviet Government paid the last instalment of Rm. 10,000,000 against this credit. The total amount paid in 1935 to the two banking consortiums was Rm. 85,000,000.

Two special features in the financing of Soviet-German trade during the last three years deserve special attention. They are, firstly, the rôle played by gold shipments in rapidly reducing the Soviets' commercial debts to Germany and, secondly, the effects of German payments in reichsmarks for imported Russian goods.

The Soviets' gold shipments to Germany acquired for the first time greater significance and became a regular feature in the Soviet-German balance of payments in 1931. Prior to that year, Soviet Russia exported a considerable amount of gold to Germany in 1928 (Rm. 335,000,000), but at the time this remained rather an isolated episode and it was not till 1931 that these gold shipments acquired a regular character.

During the five years, 1931-1935 (up to 1 October, 1935), imports of Soviet gold had an aggregate of Rm. 820,095,000, and those of silver Rm. 53,861,000, or, in all, Rm. 873,956,000 (about £70,000,000 at the present rate of exchange). The following are the figures of fine gold imports only from USSR to Germany:—

						Million Rm,
1931	...	...	...	...	...	247·4
1932	...	...	...	...	...	194·2
1933	...	...	...	...	...	163·9
1934	...	...	...	...	...	200·0
1935 (nine months)	...	...	...	...	...	14·6
Total ...						820·1

The small quantity of gold registered in 1935 was imported during the first quarter. Since then regular imports of Soviet gold have ceased owing to the Soviet Union's large favourable trade balance, which permitted it to meet current payments by exports of merchandise only.

This constant flow of gold from the East was certainly most welcome to Germany. It acquired particular importance and value in the years 1933 and 1934 when, owing to an adverse balance of payments and the complete collapse of German foreign credit, the gold reserve of the Reichsbank fell to a minimum which only amounted to 2 to 3 per cent. of its note circulation. In this predicament imports from Soviet Russia at least permitted the Reichsbank to maintain its gold holdings at a bare minimum as a "manœuvring reserve" for meeting its most urgent requirements. The importance of these Soviet shipments from this point of view may be gathered from the following figures showing Germany's imports of Russian gold during the last three years, and the total of the Reichsbank's gold reserve at the end of the respective years :—

		Imports of gold from USSR into Germany Million Rm.	Reichsbank gold reserve at the end of the year Million Rm.
1932	...	194·2	920
1933	...	163·9	396
1934	...	200·0	84

Thus, in 1934 gold imports from the Soviet Union exceeded more than twice the entire gold holdings of the Reichsbank at the end of that year and must, therefore, have been of material assistance in preventing the bank from being depleted of its last operating reserve.

During the latter part of 1934, and for some considerable time in 1935, imports from the Soviet Union occupied a *de facto*, if not *de jure*, privileged position within the German system of foreign exchange control which was initiated by the establishment of "import control boards" for the chief raw materials in the spring of 1934, and was subsequently carried to perfection by the introduction of Dr. Schacht's "New Plan" in September, 1934.

To understand this privileged position of Soviet imports, it is necessary to bear in mind that under various agreements between the Soviet Trade Delegation in Berlin and the relevant German authorities all payments for Soviet merchandise were to be effected in reichsmarks, while the Trade Delegation was to use the mark balances thus accumulating for the repayment of credits and for current Soviet purchases in Germany. No official permits or

"Devisenbescheinigungen," which were required under the New Plan from German importers in order to make payments for goods of any other origin, were necessary for the imports of Soviet merchandise. Therefore, a manufacturer who was short of raw materials and had failed to obtain the necessary permit for purchases in foreign currency, could still buy them from Russia, provided, of course, that country was able to supply them. In fact, the paradoxical situation arose that the Soviet Union, with its monopoly of foreign trade, became, at least temporarily, the only country with which, viewed from the German angle, a certain degree of "free trade" was still possible.

On the other hand, Soviet foreign trade organisations did not hesitate to take due advantage of this peculiar situation and of their own monopoly by asking higher prices from the Germans than those which they were able to obtain in Great Britain and other "free" markets of the world. The German buyers had to accept these prices, because Russia was the only country from which they could cover their requirements without a "foreign exchange permit." This practice was naturally the cause of strong complaints on the part of German buyers. The bulletin of the "Russian Committee" of German Business published in October, 1934, quoted some specific cases of exorbitant prices charged by the Soviet Trade Delegation in Berlin.<sup>12</sup> According to this source, these prices exceeded those ruling at the same time in world markets as follows:—

		Per cent.			Per cent.
Timber	...	8-10	Sheep casings	...	40-45
Iron Ore	...	10	Honey and wax	...	60-70
Manganese Ore	...	18	Hides and skins	...	30-50
Bristles	...	25	Animal hair	...	80-90
Beef casings	...	10-24	Goat hair	...	135

It has been asserted that the Soviet Government availed itself of these amazing price differentials and tried to make an extra profit by importing into Germany some of these goods of other than Russian origin. It had, of course, to pay for these additional supplies in foreign currency in third markets, but it could use the handsome profit made in reichsmarks on reselling these goods to the Germans for its current payments in that country. In order to meet this emergency and to plug this legal loophole, the German Government issued a decree in August, 1934, making all Soviet imports contingent upon presentation of certificates of origin.

Quite apart, however, from this alleged abuse, the "free"

<sup>12</sup> *Die Ostwirtschaft*, 1934, No. 10, p. 146.



imports of Soviet merchandise against marks threatened to upset some of the main purposes of the strict regulation of foreign trade introduced by Dr. Schacht's "New Plan." While Germany wanted, in the first instance, to use all available reserves of foreign exchange for the imports of raw materials, the Soviet authorities were forcing German buyers to buy finished goods instead of the respective raw materials (e.g. rugs instead of animal hair).<sup>13</sup> Therefore, the German Government found it necessary to make imports of Soviet goods, like those of any other origin, contingent on a presentation of a permit issued by one of the 25 import control boards established under the "New Plan."

## V

### PROSPECTS OF SOVIET-GERMAN TRADE—POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC

What is the outlook for the further development of trade relations between Germany and the Soviet Union after the unprecedented rise of 1931-1932, the heavy fall of the subsequent two years, and the slight revival at the end of 1935?

In an attempt to forecast the future of this trade it is only natural to consider first of all the political factor, which has always played such a prominent part in the economic relations of the USSR with capitalist countries. In the case of Germany and Soviet Russia, a consideration of this factor appears all the more necessary in view of the radically antagonistic character of the political systems now established in these two countries.

It would, in fact, be only natural to expect that the assumption of power by Adolf Hitler and his party, and the victory of a régime whose main object was to suppress even the last vestiges of Communism in Germany, might have led, if not to a rupture of economic relations, then at least to such tensions as would make normal commercial intercourse a matter of impossibility. This was, however, by no means the case. On the contrary, the new German Government has on several occasions emphasised its desire and intention to maintain and even, if possible, to expand Germany's trade relations with the Soviet Union.

It is of interest to note that the new German régime never considered it incompatible with its general political ideology in domestic affairs to maintain and intensify its commercial relations with a country which in so many respects is its political antipode. Moreover, a special argument has been advanced in support of a continua-

<sup>13</sup> *Die Ostwirtschaft*, 1934, Nos. 7/8, p. 102.

tion of these relations. In his speeches during the last three years, Adolf Hitler has repeatedly pointed out that, notwithstanding the abyss which exists between the political régimes of Germany and Russia, close economic relations are both feasible and desirable. It has further been pointed out in support of this attitude that, in contrast with the republican régime in Germany prior to 30 January, 1933, the present strong German State could maintain these relations with Communist Russia without any risk of "contamination," which would have presented a serious risk for a "weaker" government.

Commenting, on the tenth anniversary of the agreements of October, 1925, on trade relations between the Third Reich and the USSR, a leading Nazi economic weekly wrote as follows: "As clearly demonstrated by the economic agreements concluded during the last three years, the National-Socialist State attaches the greatest importance to the development of peaceful economic relations, based on mutual advantage, with the Soviet Union."<sup>14</sup>

The new German Government has, no doubt, given convincing proofs of its earnest desire to preserve and expand its trade relations with Soviet Russia. It will be recalled that it was this Government which (in February, 1933), offered its support to the Soviet Union at a moment when this latter experienced serious financial difficulties in regard to its German obligations, and when a formal default was ominously looming in the background. If a greater proof were still needed of the desire of the present German Government to defend its positions in the trade with Soviet Russia, this could hardly have been provided in a more convincing manner than by the credit agreement of 9 April, 1935. Apart from a similar initiative taken shortly before by the Swedish Government (but defeated in the Swedish Parliament), this was the first time that a "capitalist" State agreed to grant the USSR a five years' bank credit, as distinct from the merchandise credits which were granted previously, and for much shorter periods, by Germany and other countries.

As regards the attitude of Soviet Russia to the new political régime in Germany, it has often been suggested that the decline and stagnation of Soviet purchases in that country since 1933 were due to an "economic boycott" on the part of the Soviet Government. To express a definite opinion on this subject is rather difficult, because those who in Moscow are responsible for the conduct of Russia's monopolised foreign trade have not the habit, nor do they need, to disclose the motives and calculations by which they are guided in distributing current orders among the various countries.

<sup>14</sup> *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft*, 1935, No. 30, p. 965.

All that an unbiased observer can say in this respect is that, in the past, certain of their actions were not guided exclusively by commercial considerations and that a certain tendency was noticeable to "penalise" some countries in the distribution of orders and to try to capture their goodwill in other cases. In any case, the Soviet authorities can easily divert orders and business from one particular country, even without proclaiming any sort of formal "boycott."

In regard to the particular point which we are here considering, it is necessary to take into account the two following facts. In the first instance, the contraction of Soviet orders placed in Germany was to a considerable extent the consequence of the general curtailment of imports by the Soviet Government. On the other hand, in contrast with the vehement political attacks of Soviet leaders and of the Moscow press on Nazi Germany, the advisability and even desirability of continuing trade relations with that country has never been openly questioned.

On the contrary, the "pioneer services"—past and present—of Germany in paving the road for the Soviet Union's trade relations with the "capitalist world" have always been readily acknowledged. The most authoritative statement to this effect that has been made lately, is to be found in the report on Soviet Russia's foreign trade and foreign credits read by A. Rosengolz, Commissary for Foreign Trade, before the 7th Soviet Congress held in Moscow in January, 1935. The section dealing with Russia's trade with Germany reads as follows:—

"During a number of years we have maintained with Germany very close commercial relations. It can be said that among the capitalist countries Germany has shown the greatest initiative in extending economic relations with the Soviet Union. It is possible, therefore, that Germany's knowledge of the Soviet market will help to find new ways to meet our requirements in regard to new orders."<sup>15</sup> The latter part of this statement obviously referred to the negotiations with Germany which were then under way, and which resulted in the conclusion of the agreement of April, 1935.

The Soviet Trade Delegation in Berlin strikes a similar note when commenting, in its magazine published in German, on the anniversary of the October agreements of 1925. It also stresses the pioneer rôle of Germany and expresses the hope that the new Rm. 200 million credit will lead to a revival of trade relations between the two countries.<sup>16</sup>

As far as one is entitled to judge by these facts and utterances,

<sup>15</sup> Quoted from *Za Industrialisaziyu*, 1 February, 1935.

<sup>16</sup> *Sowjetwirtschaft und Aussenhandel*, 1935, Nos. 19/20, pp. 2-3.

political antagonism between Communist USSR and Nazi Germany does not seem to present any insurmountable obstacles to the maintenance, and even to an extension, of trade relations between the two countries. It is necessary, therefore, to consider the prospects of Soviet-German trade as far as it is determined by commercial and financial factors.

Both in Germany and in the Soviet Union the anniversary of the agreements of 1925 offered a pretext for a renewed discussion of the past, present and future of Soviet-German trade. In the November issue of *Ostwirtschaft*, Major F. Tschunke, manager of the "Russian Committee" of German Industry, takes this opportunity to acknowledge the advantages which Germany has derived from her trade with Russia during the past ten years.<sup>17</sup> Since the signature of the agreements of 1925, German industry has booked and executed Soviet orders for an amount of Rm. 3,750,000,000 (about £300,000,000). Of this amount approximately Rm. 1,330,000,000 have been paid in gold and silver. All payments were made within the specified time limits.

On the other hand, Major Tschunke proceeds, the Soviet Union has found in Germany an important market for the sale of its products. Purchases of machinery and of other industrial equipment on favourable credit terms materially helped the Soviet Government in the realisation of its ambitious industrialisation plans. The concessions made by Germany in this respect were instrumental in assisting the Soviet Union in securing equally favourable terms from other countries as well.

An entirely new situation has, however, now been produced in Soviet-German trade since the bulk of old credits has been repaid and since the trade balance between the two countries has turned in favour of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the 200,000,000 marks for which orders will presumably be placed till 31 March, 1936, under the credit agreement of April, 1935, will not fall due till 1941. Considering that Germany is firmly determined only to buy from foreign countries as much as they buy from herself and, besides, to purchase only from those countries which place orders with her own industry, the future basis of Soviet-German trade, at least during the next five years, must be sought in the principles of reciprocity and of "balanced trade."

The Germans claim that, considered from this viewpoint, the present commercial relations between Germany and USSR present

<sup>17</sup> Rückblick und Ausblick auf das Russlandgeschäft, *Die Ostwirtschaft*, 1935, No. 11, pp. 169-170.

an anomaly. For the last few years Germany has occupied the first place among the buyers of Soviet export goods, but she only holds the fourth place as a supplier of the Soviet Union. They further question the statement of Rosengolz made in his article in *Pravda* that Russia could find other markets for her raw materials. The range of Russian products, which are at present sold in the German market, is a much wider one than that of those sold in Great Britain. In regard to a number of Russian export articles, exports to Germany constitute 40 to 80 per cent. of total exports. It would probably be impossible to find a market for most of these products outside Germany, unless at a heavy sacrifice in regard to prices. The only possible solution, therefore, is that the Soviet Union should use the marks which she realises in Germany from the sale of her raw materials for purchases of German machinery and other goods.

These utterances of representatives of German industrial interests find their corollary in a "jubilee article" published in the organ of the Berlin Soviet Trade Delegation,<sup>18</sup> which also states that the agreements of 1925 "have proved a useful and effective instrument in reviving and developing trade relations between the two countries." The article states that this is not in contradiction with the recent decline in Soviet-German trade, and that the recent Soviet-German agreement, regarding the 200 million credit, "can be considered as an attempt to bring new life into this trade."

In endeavouring to forecast the future of Soviet-German trade relations it would, in any case, be quite safe to say that in the next few years the volume of this trade will not be determined by German credits to the same extent as before. In the first instance, the Soviet Union is not any more so dependent on foreign credits for satisfying its immediate requirements as during the period of the first Five Year Plan. On the other hand, if it needs credits at all, it is not likely to depend on German credits alone, since a number of other countries will be ready to meet its demands in this respect (although they might not be willing to go as far as Germany and Czechoslovakia with their five-year credits).

Furthermore, one of the prospective main trends of Soviet foreign trade is that Russia will in future probably pay for a greater part of her purchases in gold and reduce the portion paid for by exports of merchandise. The improved gold situation, and the necessity to allot a greater portion of current production for the domestic market, are the main causes of this change. This implies that the Soviet

<sup>18</sup> "Zum zehnjährigen Bestehen des Vertrages vom 12 Oktober, 1925," in *Sowjetwirtschaft und Aussenhandel*, 1935, Nos 19/20, p. 2.

Government is likely to be more independent in choosing the "best markets" for its purchases, that it will have a somewhat greater freedom in determining the direction of its purchases.

Nevertheless, the assertions of Soviet economists that Russia has reached a degree of economic self-sufficiency which makes her almost independent of foreign supplies, be it machinery or industrial raw materials, goes decidedly far beyond the mark. It is common knowledge that the qualitative indices of her industry are still lagging ominously behind all quantitative achievements, and perhaps the time is not too far off when, in order to maintain industrial production at its present level, new large machinery orders will have to be placed abroad in order to replace the equipment bought during the Five Year Plan. It is an open secret that the wear and tear of these machines is appalling.

What part of this anticipated demand will be covered in Germany will primarily depend on two factors: (1) whether the Soviet Union will be able to find other markets for her raw materials now exported to that country; (2) whether she will be able to use the proceeds of these sales in other countries or will be forced to spend them in Germany. The latter question may be considered as purely hypothetical, since Germany's present financial plight will force her to maintain her rigid foreign exchange regulations for a long time to come, and since her Government is set on a policy of "balanced trade" with individual countries. It should be noted, however, that certain trends in the German economic situation may serve to divert Soviet orders from Germany. In the first instance, the high level of German export prices (as far as they are not compensated by higher prices realised by the Soviets for their own sales in Germany) may have a deterrent effect on Soviet purchases. In particular, German machinery manufacturers may be reluctant to make price concessions as long as the present "domestic boom" based on public works and rearmament orders, continues.

To sum up: a moderate revival of Soviet-German trade appears likely to the extent to which the USSR may not be able to divert to other markets its export goods now sold in Germany, and inasmuch as it will be forced to spend the proceeds of these sales in that country. But, barring unforeseen circumstances, the dominating position of Germany in the trade with the USSR such as she occupied by the middle of the last decade, is not likely to recur.

W. HÖFFDING.

Berlin, November, 1935.

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# THE SLAVONIC

## AND EAST EUROPEAN

# REVIEW.

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### THE ROSE AND THE CROSS

*Translated from the Russian by* INGEBORG E. SMITH and  
GEORGE RAPALL NOYES

#### TRANSLATORS' NOTE

Alexander Blok (1880-1921) was the leader of the symbolist school in Russian poetry. *The Rose and the Cross* (1913) is among his most mature works and is perhaps the finest romantic drama in Russian literature.

The present translation follows the original in its mingling of prose and verse, and of rhymed verse with unrhymed verse. The notes at the close are by the author, not the translators, but they have been slightly modified and corrected.

#### CHARACTERS

COUNT ARCHIMBAUT, *lord of a castle in Languedoc.*

CHAPLAIN.

DOCTOR.

COOK.

FIRST KNIGHT.

SECOND KNIGHT.

ALISCAN, *a page.*

BERTRAN, *known as "Sir Hapless," warden of the castle.*

GAÉTAN, *lord of Troménec, a troubère*

FISHERMAN.

IZORA, *wife of Count Archimbaut.*

ALISA, *her lady-in-waiting.*

KNIGHTS, VASSALS, GUESTS, LADIES OF THE COURT, SCULLIONS AND  
OTHER SERVANTS, PEASANT GIRLS, MINSTRELS AND JONGLEURS.

The action takes place at the beginning of the 13th century. The first, third and fourth acts are laid in Languedoc, the second in Brittany.

## ACT I

## SCENE I

*The courtyard of the castle. Twilight.*

BERTRAN (*sings dully*) :—

“ Everywhere battle and bale,  
 What fate awaits thee at last ?  
 Hoist to the mast thy rough sail,  
 Don thine invincible mail  
 With the sign of the Cross on thy breast.”  
 Strange is that song of the sea—  
 Of the Cross gleaming high o’er the storm. . . .  
 Its meaning is dark and uncertain,  
 Beyond the small wit of a knight.  
 Too feeble my voice, and too broken,  
 To sing the mysterious song.  
 Failure is ever my portion !  
 The song of my treasured Izora  
 I cannot repeat as of old. . . .

And thou, old apple tree bole,  
 Torn by the fierce winter storms !  
 Eager thy thirst for the spring . . .  
 When the warm winds breathe, and the castle wall  
 Is covered with tenderest green. . . .  
 How then wilt thou reply to the spring,  
 How answer the brooks and the songbirds ?  
 Only two pallid twigs wilt thou then stretch forth  
 To the breeze, washed clean in the rain,  
 Ah, thou storm-tortured apple-tree bole !

So thou too, unfortunate Bertran,  
 Ill-favoured, the butt of their laughter !  
 When the feasts and the tourneys begin,  
 And the horns of the hunters ring out . . .  
 And the minstrels once more touch her heart  
 With the mystical song of the sea . . .  
 How then wilt thou reply to the spring ?  
 With the tumult of love-without-hope ?

Ah, love, thou art heavy as lead !  
 Nothing but pain dost thou bring,  
 Of gladness in thee there is naught !  
 What does the strange song presage ?  
 " The heart's immutable law  
 Is Gladness-in-Suffering alone ! "  
 How can suffering happiness be ?  
 " O Gladness-in-Suffering, thou art  
 Anguish and infinite pain ! "

ALISA (*at the window*) : Who is there, singing and mumbling ?

BERTRAN : The castle warden.

ALISA : Ah, so it is you, Sir Hapless ! I beg of you, leave the window !

My lady is not well ; your song disturbs her.

BERTRAN : I go.

## SCENE 2

### *A Passage in the Castle*

ALISA : Holy father, how you frightened me !

CHAPLAIN : I did not wish to frighten you, most beautiful lady.

ALISA : Surely you are expecting the Count ?

CHAPLAIN : Nay, not the Count.

ALISA : Or that the page should deliver to the Countess . . .

CHAPLAIN : Neither the Count, nor the Countess, nor the page. . . .

You are not very penetrating, my beauty. . . .

ALISA : Holy father, I lose my way amid riddles. . . .

CHAPLAIN (*embracing her*) : The matter is more simple than you think, dear Alisa. . . .

ALISA : But your dignity, your age. . . .

CHAPLAIN : Well, I myself know all about that, little rogue. . . .

You will not refuse a small gift, darling Alisa. . . .

ALISA : Someone is coming hither . . . Let me go or I shall cry out !

CHAPLAIN (*fleeing*) : Saint James ! Very well, I shall remember this against you. . . .

ALISCAN : Who is whispering here in the darkness ?

ALISA : 'Tis I, my handsome page. . . . I am afraid. . . . I fancied that someone might be here. . . .

ALISCAN : Without a doubt, Alisa. Just now his Reverence slipped through this door. . . .

ALISA : The odious old man !

ALISCAN : What has he done to you ?

ALISA : He attempted my honour. . . . Ah, Aliscan, I am losing consciousness. . . . I fall. . . . Help me ! . . .

ALISCAN : What can I do ? You must complain to the Count !

ALISA : And you will help me, my handsome page ?

ALISCAN : I do not even comprehend what you are saying, lady-in-waiting.—Lead me to your mistress. She awaits the sound of my lute.

### SCENE 3

#### *Izora's Chamber*

IZORA (*hums*) :

“ Down swirls the snow. . . .

On whirls eternity. . .

Dreams of a blessed shore. . . . ”

I can remember no further. . . . Strange song ! “ Gladness-in-Suffering . . . the heart's immutable law. . . . ” Help me to remember, Alisa !

ALISA : How can I help you, my lady, when even the doctor does not help ?

DOCTOR : All means have been tried, but have not brought relief to the patient. None the less, I continue to assert, in accordance with Galen and Hippocrates, that the illness is called melancholia. . . .

IZORA : Leave me, doctor. You are of no help, anyhow. (*The doctor goes out.*) “ The heart's immutable law. . . . ” To love and to wait. . . . “ Gladness-in-Suffering. . . . ” Yes, even suffering is joy with one's beloved ! . . . Is it not so, Alisa ?

ALISA (*looking at Aliscan*) : Ay, my lady ; I too think that that is true.

IZORA : Boredom, boredom, Alisa !—Hand me the chessboard—Page, a song !

ALISCAN : Shall I sing today a song that is sung at the court of Arras ?

IZORA : Sing whatever you wish.

ALISCAN (*sings*) :

“ Day of gladness, hour of rapture,

'Tis the tender spring.

On thy window I come tapping

With a precious ring.

O'er the sweet and fragrant valley  
Faintly breathes the rose. . . .  
Philomel on thee, enamoured,  
Happiness bestows . . . .  
Aaliz, O Rose, O hearken,  
Hear the nightingale . . . .  
All the Holy Land I'll proffer  
If my love prevail. . . ."

ALISA : It is your move, my lady.

IZORA (*plays the queen*) : Alas !

ALISA : Again are you pensively musing ?  
Of a languid song the strains are so sweet. . . .

IZORA : What manner of song is that ?

ALISCAN : Could I but know the true cause of your sorrow. . . .

IZORA : I myself do not know.

ALISCAN : Truly, you are not the same. . . .  
What is the gray nightingale to the rose  
that is fairest of roses ? . . . .

IZORA : How charmingly thou canst speak !  
Verily a fairy has taught thee  
To tell the true meaning of love !

ALISCAN : Again you scornfully mock me. . . .  
What fairy but you have I known ?

IZORA : What are flattering speeches to me ?  
Am I a bright butterfly ?  
Bitter to me are thy words—  
Bitter to me their sweet honey.

ALISA : Check to the queen and the king !

IZORA : God be praised !  
Enough of this wearisome game !—  
But how, my page with the raven locks,  
May I relieve thy deep woe ?

ALISCAN : Remember our games in days past !  
Remember how in fair spring  
We two in the meadow green  
In dancing gay and carefree  
Passed the glad days of our youth. . . .

IZORA : Page, ah, forget not—thy lady am I !

ALISA : She is ill, Aliscan.

IZORA (*hums*):

“ The heart’s immutable law. . . .  
Gladness-in-Suffering. . . .”

ALISCAN: You are repeating a song  
Sung by a hired buffoon.

IZORA: Ay!—Yet the song was not his. . . .

ALISCAN: Some wretched, deplorable fisher  
From Brittany strange and remote  
Composed the mysterious song. . . .

IZORA: Page, thou art jealous?—  
Be at ease . . . the singer I know not.—  
Ah, who knows but that time will return,  
When, perchance, on the fresh, verdant meadow  
Once again we shall find the old gladness! . . .  
Nay! . . . For now all is hateful, repulsive. . . .  
Such a life is not waking—nor sleep! (*Goes out.*)

ALISCAN: She is positively going mad. . . .

ALISA: I think that she is already so. . . . To prefer anyone  
to you! . . . Who can it be? . . .

ALISCAN: And we shall have to be bored the whole winter  
through. . . .

ALISA: Are you sad, my handsome page?

ALISCAN: She will not come hither?

ALISA: Nay, at this hour, as you know, she always dreams . . .  
and sees visions. . . . At this hour no one will come hither.  
(*Embraces ALISCAN.*)

#### SCENE 4

##### *The COUNT’S Chamber*

COUNT: I swear by St. James of Compostela, they drive me mad!  
Thou knowest, Otto scarcely breathes!

CHAPLAIN: Your Grace, I see no reason for your agitation. Send  
out a new detachment of knights, and the disobedient serfs will be  
destroyed.

COUNT: A short while ago did they not crush poor Clari with their  
cudgels?

CHAPLAIN: But you have vassals better than Otto and Clari.  
Besides, they say, Count Simon de Montfort is already coming  
from Paris to help us put down the heretics. . . .

- COUNT : When will de Montfort arrive? . . . Call Bertran !  
 (BERTRAN *enters*) Well, what news?
- BERTRAN : Bad news, your Grace. For in Toulouse, they say,  
 Count Raymond has equipped his troops. . .
- COUNT : Assassin !
- CHAPLAIN : And a seducer, besides : five wives—and not a single  
 legitimate son. . . .
- BERTRAN : Beneath their banner Monséгур. . . .
- COUNT : My neighbour !
- BERTRAN : He gave his solemn oath to their new bishop,  
 And squandered his possessions on the beggars. . . .
- COUNT : The scoundrel ! He it is who wounded Clari !
- BERTRAN : I doubt it, sir. Our foes these people are,  
 But, for all that, they read the Gospel too,  
 And though a knight be foreign, they'll not kill him  
 By stealth. . . .
- COUNT : These ruffians are all of a kind !  
 The peasantry with cudgels, and the rulers,  
 Forgetting God, our Father, and the Pope—  
 And their most wretched, tattered vassals. . . .
- BERTRAN : But . . .
- COUNT : Be silent ! Thou art of the self-same breed  
 As all the rest, unfortunates and cowards,  
 Whom braver knights unhorse without endeavour  
 Upon the first encounter. . . .
- BERTRAN : Please your Grace,  
 De Montfort, I am told, is now in Lyons. . . .
- COUNT : And thinkest thou for us that will suffice?
- BERTRAN : Full well you know my readiness to serve  
 Your lady kind, and you. . . .
- COUNT : How now, my knight,  
 Sir Hapless ! Prove thee worthy to be called  
 A knight and not a coward.—Be thou off  
 This very night, and learn how close indeed  
 Is Simon's valiant army !
- BERTRAN : Be it so !
- COUNT : But take good care to bring us better tidings  
 And caw no more about some new mischance.—  
 Away ! (BERTRAN *goes out*.)
- CHAPLAIN : The truth's the truth ! He is no knight, only a crow in  
 knightly plumes. . . .
- COUNT : Venerable confessor, my head is in a whirl. . . .

CHAPLAIN : Eh, do not be disturbed, your Grace. We shall come to terms with those diabolical weavers. It would be better to turn your attention to what is happening in the castle. . . .

COUNT : Treachery ?

CHAPLAIN : Nay . . . but . . .

COUNT : Speak !

CHAPLAIN : *Isora, coniunx vestra, aliquantulum male sobria est.*

COUNT : I don't understand that at all ! Speak like a human being !

CHAPLAIN : Your Grace's spouse. . . .

COUNT : My wife !

CHAPLAIN : On the table by her bed lies the romance of Floris——

COUNT : What of that ?

CHAPLAIN : ——and Blancheffleur . . . instead of the prayer book.

And do you know that romances are written by the enemies of Holy Church ?

COUNT : Rebels !

CHAPLAIN : Well, yes. The pretender pope is honoured by the men who kill your knights. And the men who kill your knights are praised by the authors of romances. . . .

COUNT : As I said before—they are all one gang !

CHAPLAIN : And all this your wife is being taught by her lady-in-waiting. . . .

COUNT : Damnation ! Had I but known of this before !

CHAPLAIN : Calm yourself, your Grace. She is coming hither.

Question her, making no sign that you know aught. (*ALISA comes in.*)

ALISA : Your Lordship, my lady is ill. . . .

COUNT : So ! Has she been thus long ?

ALISA : Since this morning she has taken no food. . . .

CHAPLAIN : You hear, your Grace !

COUNT : You called the doctor ?

ALISA : The doctor said that her illness was due to melancholia, but where there is an excess of melancholia the body is corrupted and the judgment is easily lost. . . .

COUNT : Help us, Saint James !

ALISA : The lady is greatly bored by day, and by night she tosses about, bites the pillows, and repeats a certain name. . . .

COUNT : Whose name ?

ALISA : I have never been able to distinguish. . . . It seems as if she mumbled : “ The Wanderer.”

COUNT : “ The Wanderer ? ”



ALISA : That is the name of the knight . . . the composer of the song. . . .

CHAPLAIN : There you see, your Grace : the romance begets a song, the song begets a knight, and the knight begets . . .

ALISA : My lady cannot forget a certain song from the time when the *jongleurs* sang here. . . .

COUNT : Of what do they sing?

CHAPLAIN : That is easy to tell : of the nightingale and the rose.

ALISA : Nay, of the rose and the nightingale there is no mention.

I do not understand the song at all, although the lady has repeated it more than once. . . .

COUNT : In that case, perchance she has gone mad !

ALISA : I too have entertained that thought, your Lordship.

COUNT : Traitors ! Call the doctor hither ! (*The DOCTOR comes in.*)

What is the matter with my wife?

DOCTOR : *Melancholia regnat.* . . .

COUNT : A thousand curses ! They all speak Latin when my wife is concerned !

DOCTOR : Your Grace, your wife is subject to melancholia, which is cold, dry, and bitter. The sway of melancholia lasts from the ides of October to the ides of February.

COUNT : St. James ! But you see it is already February outside !

DOCTOR : There is nothing to do—we must wait yet awhile, your Grace. Soon her blood will begin to increase ; and when the blood has increased too much, we shall let it out through the nose, as the ancient sages Galen and Hippocrates advise. . . .

CHAPLAIN : Herein is hidden an allegory. . . .

COUNT : St. James ! I myself am losing my understanding ! Holy father, what shall I do now?

CHAPLAIN : Rely on me, your Grace ; I shall give you good advice.

DOCTOR : *Idem—melancholia regnat.* . . .

COUNT : Doctor, you'll come to the gallows !

## SCENE 5

### IZORA'S Chamber

ALISA : My lady, take care, for the love of God. The Count is disturbed ; it seems he surmises something—they are watching us. Your illness is winter weariness, nothing more.

IZORA : Nay, for my heart feels the spring.  
But now in my seventeenth year,  
Through my heart blows a wind damp and chill :  
Just so did the fog bring death

To the apple tree outside the casement. . . .  
 See the line of its old, blackened branches  
 Against the wet sky, like a cross. . . .  
 My heart, like the apple tree, weeps. . . .  
 "Gladness-in-Suffering. . . .  
 The heart's immutable law." . . .

ALISA : All this Sir Hapless mumbled to you. But believe me, the  
 spring will restore your health and gladness. . . .

IZORA : Oh, hear me, Alisa !  
 Only last night  
 I dreamed a most curious dream. . . .  
 'Twas as if I were asleep in the moonlight  
 And heard the soft lapping of waves,  
 And countless perfumes unfamiliar  
 Were wafted to me on the breeze. . . .  
 In a trice, from out of the earth,  
 As though from the shadowy tomb,  
 Before me arose a strange horseman—a knight. . . .  
 Ringlets far brighter than flax  
 Were flowing down over his shoulders. . . .  
 My heart, how it beat—how it beat. . . .  
 And in rapture I fell on my knees,  
 Crying out, "O, thou unknown guest !  
 — Let me but hear thy true name !" . . .  
 Naught did he answer. . . .  
 Though touch this fair vision I dared not,  
 I prayed to him strangely and sweetly !  
 And lo, a black Rose—far blacker than blood—  
 Burned on his shimmering breast. . . .  
 — "Wanderer ! Stranger !" I cried. . . .  
 And I heard a strange sound—saw a light,  
 And awakened in tears. . . .  
 But still do I hear the same song,  
 Yet not the song sung by the minstrel. . . .  
 Didst thou see the rent in the pillow,  
 Torn by my teeth !  
 And my shift I have torn on the shoulder !  
 Hearest thou how my heart beats ? . . .  
 In my ears—still this song evermore. . . .  
 "Gladness-in-Suffering. . . ."  
 Nay but I cannot repeat it ! . . .

ALISA : Soft, in the name of all the saints ! Someone is here. . . .

CHAPLAIN (*opening the door*) : And those are the dreams you've been dreaming ! I shall tell all to the Count ! You'll have sufficient time for the reading of romances in the Round Tower ! (*He goes out.*)

IZORA : What did he say ?

ALISA : He threatened imprisonment. . . .

IZORA : Saint Vidian ! What can we do now ?

ALISA : I know not . . . but wait . . . and submit. . . .

IZORA : Curses !—I shall tear out their hearts !—Not in vain does Spanish blood flow through my mother's veins !

ALISA : Soft, my lady. . . . Someone is below the casement. . . .

IZORA (*looking out of the window*) : Bertran !—Knight ! Come in !  
But take care !

ALISA (*weeping*) : What help is to be had from that scarecrow. . . .  
We are lost ! . . .

BERTRAN (*coming in*) :—Gentle lady, how best can I serve you ?

IZORA (*ingratiatingly*) :

Ah, perhaps you'd fulfil

A request—a mere trifle—my knight ?

BERTRAN (*astonished*) :

All that lies in my power is yours. . . .

Do but order it—do not beseech me. . . .

But how can I ?

The Count sends me northward. . . .

IZORA : Northward !

BERTRAN : Ay. Ere morning come.

IZORA : Gentle knight, would you show your devotion ?

BERTRAN : The question is vain. . . .

IZORA : Time waits for no one !

With durance vile I am threatened. . . .

BERTRAN : Afflict not my heart

With the cruel confession. . . .

IZORA : You are the warden.

Know you the Round Tower well ?

BERTRAN : I know it of old.

“ The Tower of the Comfortless Widow.”

IZORA : And there is a secret staircase ?

BERTRAN : Ay ! In a corner, concealed by a slab. . . .

Long ago for escape it was built. . . .

IZORA : Oh, hasten !

Every instant is precious to me !

- There's a knight . . . there's a song. . . .  
 And the song will not leave me at rest. . . .
- BERTRAN : My lady, that song I know !
- IZORA : You know it !——  
 Ah, then you must find me the singer,  
 Though the journey should take you  
 Through regions of snow and of mist !  
 " The Wanderer "—such is his name. . . .  
 His breast with a black Rose emblazoned.  
 He appeared to me thus in a dream !
- BERTRAN : My lady, the errand you name  
 Resembles a fable for children. . . .  
 But—not in vain has life spitefully used me :  
 I know how in childish dreams  
 Lies meaning more deep than we know !  
 Your prayer I shall heed and perform—or I perish:  
 The Wanderer shall kneel at your feet !
- IZORA : But swear that thou wilt be silent for ever  
 Of all that here has been spoken !
- BERTRAN : By what shall I swear ? . . .  
 But must I take oath ? . . .  
 I would swear by the Rose——  
 You are fairer than roses. . . .
- IZORA (*astonished*) :  
 Ah ! Even you have learned to use fine words?—  
 Nay, swear a greater oath !
- BERTRAN : 'Tis not meet a poor knight  
 Should swear a great oath. . . .
- IZORA (*mercilessly*) :  
 But swear—you must swear !
- BERTRAN : I swear that living I shall not return,  
 If I fail in my search for the Knight ! . . .  
 Eternal faith to my Lady I swear !
- IZORA (*with curiosity*) :  
 Who is your Lady, Knight ?
- BERTRAN : Her dear name I dare not pronounce. . . .
- IZORA : I can command you to speak. . . .
- BERTRAN : Pray give me leave to depart. . . .
- IZORA (*slyly*) : Nay, nay . . . only her name. . . .  
 (BERTRAN *bends his knee.*)

Bertran, my vassal, arise !  
Now in truth I believe thee.

*(Goes away from him.)*

Ah, how strong, how resplendent is love !  
Even to this poor creature,  
Lowly, grotesque, and misshapen,  
It grants the clean faith of a knight. .

BERTRAN *(to himself)* :

Alas, unfortunate scarecrow !  
Quickly go—do not wait, do not hope.  
Serve thou another's deep passion.

*(The COUNT comes in, jangling a rusty key.)*

COUNT : Not a word, traitress ! I know all !

*(To BERTRAN)*

Why art thou here ?

ALISA : Your Grace, he forced himself upon us !

COUNT : Good-for-nothing ! Here on the spot I would slay thee,  
wert thou not so pathetic ! Monster ! Dog !—What a fine taste  
for a lady-in-waiting !

ALISA : Your Lordship . . .

COUNT : Silence ! Low creature ! And so this is how you busy  
yourself instead of looking after her ! You will share the fate of  
your mistress ! *(To IZORA.)* Do you wish to return to your  
Martres-Tolosanes ? For all my pains you pay me in gold of  
Toulouse !

IZORA : My master, I obey.

COUNT : Well you know 'tis useless to oppose me ! And now, make  
haste—into the Tower of the Comfortless Widow ! And may  
Saint James of Compostela help you to mend your ways !—Be off !

*(IZORA and ALISA go out.)*

And thou, unfortunate scarecrow, canst only caw like a raven and  
pursue ladies-in-waiting ! Thou hast no doubt forgotten my  
errand !

BERTRAN : This very night I ride as you command.

COUNT : Find out all ! I shall wait a month—two months ! Then  
if thou bring news as bad as before—thou shalt lose thy head !  
If thou bring me good news of Count de Montfort—then I will  
forgive thee, Sir Hapless ! *(Goes out after IZORA.)*

BERTRAN : Deceiver most beautiful,  
 Though I die, yet still must I help her.  
 Whate'er awaits—ride on ! To the North, into  
 night !

(*He goes out.*)

## ACT II

### SCENE I

*On the Seashore.*

BERTRAN (*on horseback*) : To what joyless land have I strayed ?  
 The snow blinds my eyes, the wind whistles in my ears ! Simple-  
 ton ! But no matter—forward, my weary steed ! (*He disappears*  
*behind a rock.*)

GAËTAN (*sings*) :

“ Ah, trust not the folly of love !  
 After gladness comes pain !  
 After gladness comes pain ! ”

FISHERMAN (*sings*) :

“ Sleep not, O king, sleep not, Gradlon ;  
 To the bottom of the sea has thy city gone !  
 And fair Ker-is lies under the water—  
 This is the curse of thy faithless daughter ! ”

GAËTAN : “ This is the curse of thy faithless daughter ! ” What ho,  
 fisherman !

FISHERMAN : The power of the Cross be with us ! In this snow one  
 can see nothing ! First there was a knight, and now 'tis thou !  
 I thought it was my voice echoing amid the cliffs. Or art thou an  
 apparition ?

GAËTAN : Thou shoutest at me ; nevertheless thou singest my song.

FISHERMAN : How can it be thy song ? Thou art a madman,  
 perchance ? This song is sung in Plougasnou and in Plouézec,  
 and even here in Plouguerneau.

GAËTAN : But where was the city of Ker-is ?

FISHERMAN : Oh, they say it was not far from here. Seest thou  
 that heap of stones on the shore ?

GAËTAN : I see it. Straight ahead is a lion, and to the left is a  
 horse. . . .

FISHERMAN : There is no horse at all, but only rocks, and among  
 the rocks is a mill. Thither, in summer, the fattest crabs swim.  
 And on Christmas Eve, they say, Saint Gwénolé walks there.—  
 But from what place does God bring thee ?

GAÉTAN : I am from Troménec.

FISHERMAN : Troménec?—I did not catch the word.

GAÉTAN : Thou knowest that Aber-Vrach is not far from here?

FISHERMAN : Ay, true; the monastery. . . .

GAÉTAN : Then, past the monastery garden—toward the well, from the well—over the hill, to the first houses of Landéda. . . .

FISHERMAN : Who does not know Landéda ! We always go there on a holiday. . . .

GAÉTAN : Turn left before coming to the church, go along the field, and soon Troménec will be at hand.

FISHERMAN : That castle is called Troménec?

GAÉTAN : Ay, to be sure.

FISHERMAN : And so that is Troménec. . . . And a queer fellow he must be, the lord there !

GAÉTAN : Why thinkest thou so?

FISHERMAN : Not I alone, but all; they say that he himself tends his flock; but his whole flock numbers only three cocks. He lives poorly—it must be that he is a miser. Other knights feast and take part in tourneys, but this one, they say, wanders about and tells legends. . . . But what hast thou to do there?

GAÉTAN : I must confess, fisherman, that I myself am lord of Troménec.

FISHERMAN : The power of the Cross be with us ! Think not, seigneur, that I said it in mockery; strange things happen in this land. . . .

GAÉTAN : That is true, fisherman. On my breast is the Cross, and the Cross is not given to men that they may sport with it. . . .

FISHERMAN : The Cross is on your breast, but I could not see it at once. . . . Ah, sire, the law is not written for the rich. . . .

BERTRAN (*returning*) : Again the same stone !—Who is there? Hail, vagabond !

GAÉTAN : Do not shout at people needlessly. Who are thou?

BERTRAN : A knight.

GAÉTAN : And I am a lord.

BERTRAN : Somehow thou dost not resemble a lord

GAÉTAN : I'll show thee 'tis the truth ! Come, draw thy sword !  
(*They fight.*)

FISHERMAN (*running away*) : God save us ! These knights are always fighting !

BERTRAN : Thy jousting is poor, seigneur ! Beg for quarter, or I shall cut off thy head !

GAÉTAN (*taking off his helmet*) : I ask quarter. Thou seest I am old.

BERTRAN : It was not worth the blunting of my sword, old man !—  
 Promise to fulfil what I shall ask of thee.

GAÉTAN : I like thy ways and thy words, and I will fulfil whatsoever  
 thou wilt ask. Refuse not to rest in my castle at Troménec.

BERTRAN : I thank thee. I am not weary, but my steed is exhausted  
 from the long way.

## SCENE 2

*Court of Troménec.*

GAÉTAN : . . . And the aged king fell asleep.  
 Then his deceitful daughter  
 Secretly stole the great key—  
 To her lover opened the door. . . .  
 But the door was part of the dyke,  
 And the rushing ocean burst through. . . .  
 Thus was Ker-is engulfed,  
 And the aged king met his doom. . . .

BERTRAN : But where was this city Ker-is?

GAÉTAN : Yonder, among those black rocks. . . .  
 Hear me further : A curse unto her !  
 For this folly Saint Gwénnolé  
 Into a sea nymph transformed her. . . .  
 And now, when the ocean roars,  
 With her wet comb the wicked Morgana  
 Combs the pale gold of her curls. . . .  
 She sings, but the voice of the fay  
 Is sad as the lapping of waves. . . .

BERTRAN : Strange do I find thee, my knight !  
 Of sirens, ay, and of kings,  
 Of cities under the sea  
 Goodly the tale thou hast told !  
 But I know not—what of thyself ?  
 I dreamed not, when jousting with thee,  
 That under thy helmet of steel  
 Were curls with the gray gleam of silver.  
 'Tis true, thou art weak,  
 But like a rash boy thou strivest ;  
 'Tis true, though thy head be white,  
 More vibrant than trumpets thy voice,  
 And thy glance has the fire of youth !

GAÉTAN : Nor did I think that among thy dark locks  
 So many gray threads were concealed !



- Haply, thy life has been harsh?  
 Yet, though thy voice  
 Be unhappy and dull,  
 Thy face and thy bearing, my guest,  
 Are wondrously pleasing to me!
- BERTRAN : Thanks for thy favour.  
 Ay, truly, both sorrow and want  
 Were ever my portion in life.  
 And thus my sad heart was touched  
 By the kindly words thou hast said.  
 Bertran am I, of Toulouse. . . .  
 A name so dim and obscure  
 Will be without meaning for thee.  
 Surely thou hast been rich and renowned?  
 By thy speech and thy bearing a knight . . .  
 Thou hast fought for the Grave of our Lord!  
 Ay, the Cross must have gleamed on thy breast. . .
- GAÉTAN : Nay, I too am a knight without fame—  
 To the Holy Land ne'er have I sailed,  
 Though a Wanderer I may appear. . . .  
 But why dost thou gaze at me, friend?
- BERTRAN : Tell me—ah, tell me thy name.
- GAÉTAN : Gaétan am I called.  
 From Armorica fair do I spring. . . .  
 And behold—there is all my domain :  
 Just at dawn, in my own Troménec  
 The earliest cocks start to crow . . .  
 Then others—and there, past the hills,  
 Will be more, and still more—last of all,  
 The cock at the convent will crow. . . .  
 And I, aroused by their call,  
 Hear through the mists of my land  
 How the cool showers sift down,  
 And the thundering ocean calls. . . .  
 Once again thou frownest at me ! . . .
- BERTRAN : Hearing thy marvellous words,  
 I bethought me once more of my task. . . .  
 Come then, Seigneur de Troménec,  
 Shall we not tell one another  
 The tale of our lives? . . . This our bond,  
 Newly forged by the ringing of steel,  
 Let us strengthen with words !

- GAÉTAN : More, more than friend,—  
 Ay, thy brother  
 Would I be called !  
 I pray thee, begin with thy tale !
- BERTRAN : Gaétan, mournful,  
 Mournful indeed is my story.  
 A weaver's son of Toulouse,  
 I fell into servitude early.  
 As meed for long years at the castle  
 To my belt the Count buckled a sword. . . .  
 But once, in the course of a tourney  
 By the dastardly blow of a swordsman  
 I was struck down and unhorsed . . .  
 A lubberly giant, who bore on his shield  
 A dolphin, had trod on my breast. . . .  
 But my lady waved her lace kerchief—  
 And they had mercy on me. . . .  
 Ah, how I burned then with shame and with wrath !  
 Ah, how I begged them to pierce my heart through !  
 But the dastards must needs spare my life. . . .
- GAÉTAN : Inglorious moment !  
 Bravest knights are not honoured !
- BERTRAN : Since that hour none deigns to salute me,  
 And every man laughs in my face. . . .  
 She, too, is laughing, I know—  
 Even she, seated high at her casement. . . .  
 But fair words, or a shadow of greeting  
 Only from her have I known. . . .  
 As a weed from the rose, so far from her am I. . . .  
 Ah, could the wit of a knight  
 But fathom the secrets of woman !
- GAÉTAN : Brother, sad is thy tale . . .  
 Stupid, yea, villainous men !  
 I myself have just felt  
 The flame of thy mighty blows !—  
 But how didst thou come to us, pray ?
- BERTRAN : Two duties have I to perform :  
 I must learn whether Simon de Montfort  
 Will soon help us quell the revolt. . . .
- GAÉTAN : Even here they speak of de Montfort,  
 But were they to call upon me  
 I would never enlist 'neath their banner. . . .

- BERTRAN : Brother, then thou believest  
There flows in the veins of us both  
The most holy blood of fair France? . . .  
The cruel de Montfort, with the same sword  
He wielded to cut down the pagan,  
Now spills the blood of his brothers. . . .  
What banner then wilt thou choose?
- GAÉTAN : Banner for me there is none.  
I shall abide in my home.
- BERTRAN : For thee it is easy to speak,  
But I am the servant of others. . . .  
What can I do, the poor warden  
Of a castle stately and rich?  
Albeit I need not take part  
In raids against destitute peasants. . . .
- GAÉTAN : Thou must abandon that land !
- BERTRAN : Abandon it ! Nay, thou hast failed of my meaning !  
E'en as thou, I mistrust this campaign. . . .  
The sword of de Montfort is not in God's hand. . . .  
But thinkest thou I can betray  
The lord I have served all my life?  
Treachery—even toward evil—  
Treachery still doth remain !  
Where my heart is, there will I die !  
Not in vain did they name me " Sir Hapless."
- GAÉTAN : Art thou bound, then, to servitude always?  
Heavy must be  
Thy chains on this earth. . . .  
Ne'er have I worn them. . . .  
Is thy other errand as irksome?
- BERTRAN : Mayhap I have wandered astray in your mists,  
Having turned from the road to Toulouse !—  
'Tis the part of a knight  
To cherish his lady's secret.  
I will not give thee reply.
- GAÉTAN : Perplexing to me are thy words. . . .
- BERTRAN : I burn with impatience  
To hear a story from thee !  
Strange is the feeling  
Thy glance and thy voice  
Awaken in me !  
In omens I ne'er have had faith,

- But now 'tis as if  
 Thou wert sent here to me  
 As reward for my journeying far !
- GAÉTAN : Then hear !—I am old,  
 And my life may be lonely,  
 Yet thrice wondrous and lovely is life !
- BERTRAN : Ay—and thrice changeable, too !
- GAÉTAN : By an azure lake my young mother  
 In the late evening mist long ago  
 Strayed away from my cradle. . . .  
 A fay then carried me off  
 To her palace deep in the lake  
 And in gloomy captivity reared me . . .  
 And with a garland of roses  
 Adorned the curls on my brow. . . .
- BERTRAN : Again thou art telling me legends. . . .
- GAÉTAN : But cannot a legend have truth ?
- BERTRAN : Ay, truth may be found in legends. . . .  
 Forgive me, my wit is but simple and poor. . . .  
 Haply thy marvellous words  
 Hide a meaning obscure unto me. . . .  
 Further, I beg thee. . . .
- GAÉTAN : Then hear me !  
 A knight I would be. . . .  
 Long, long did the fay embrace me,  
 Wrap me close in her hair, and weep long. . . .  
 I know not what fate  
 She divined as she bent o'er her distaff. . . .  
 And she whispered : " Now must thou go  
 Into a world of rain,  
 Into a world of mist. . . .  
 For there leads the thread of the Fates " . . .
- BERTRAN (*listening attentively*) :  
 Where leads the thread of the Fates ?
- GAÉTAN : And again she whispered to me :  
 " Delight, and the world's boundless rapture  
 I will instil in thy heart !  
 Heed thou the song of the ocean,  
 Make the bright heavens thy glass !  
 To men thou wilt be a mere name !  
 Mayhap thou wilt move

- The heart of some maid upon earth,  
But none shall have power to disturb  
The heart in thy breast—  
That belongs solely to me. . . .  
A Wanderer, thou, through the world !  
And this is to be thy portion—  
Gladness-in-Suffering thy lot ! ”
- BERTRAN : “ Gladness-in-Suffering ! ”  
What can it mean ?
- GAÉTAN : “ ’Tis the heart’s immutable law.”  
These were the words of the fay,  
And through her tears she repeated :  
“ Thine be the Wanderer’s way !  
What fate awaits thee at last ?  
Don thine invincible mail  
With the sign of the Cross on thy breast ! ”  
On my breast I emblazoned the Cross,  
And entered this dark misty world. . . .
- BERTRAN : Enough !  
In such legends  
I cannot believe !  
Thy tale is most like to a song !
- GAÉTAN : Ever, my Bertran, thou doubttest !  
Ay, minstrels and fishermen, too,  
And everywhere singing my song,  
Singing the song of my life. . . .
- BERTRAN : Strange to believe !  
Is this madness or truth ?  
Ah, bright is the joy  
O’erflowing my heart. . . .  
Is that sweet song all thine own ?
- GAÉTAN : Ay, and full many another !
- BERTRAN : Thou art the Wanderer, then ?
- GAÉTAN : Thus did the fay ever call me.
- BERTRAN : To me thou art dearer than treasure,  
My brother—ay, dearer than life !  
’Tis thou, ’tis thou alone  
Whom through snowy mist I have sought !  
Awake, thou unhappy Bertran !  
This mad, lovely song  
Fits not our sad, cruel life ! . . .

- GAÉTAN : But if thou art happy,  
Why then dost thou weep,  
O guest of my heart ?
- BERTRAN : Forgive, ah, forgive me, my friend !  
So oft has this life laid me low,  
Even joy I must welcome with tears ! . . .  
First was the joy of encountering thee,  
Whom in this world I had ne'er thought to find !  
Next was the joy—pray forgive me this, friend !—  
Of beholding thee well past thy youth :  
Thus may Izora lend ear to the song  
Unperturbed by man's base outward beauty,  
Giving heed to naught else but thy song !

## SCENE 3

*The seashore. GAÉTAN and BERTRAN on horseback.*

- GAÉTAN : From here the buried city is not far.  
Canst thou not hear the sound of bells ?
- BERTRAN : I hear  
The song of thundering waves.
- GAÉTAN : Seest thou not  
The pearly vestments of Saint Gwénnolé  
Drift o'er the water ?
- BERTRAN : Grayish mist I see  
Disperse and vanish.
- GAÉTAN : Seest thou now  
Bright roses playing on the sparkling waves ?
- BERTRAN : Ay, 'tis the sun ascending through the mist.
- GAÉTAN : Nay, 'tis the glitter of the siren's scales . . .  
Morgana darts among the waves. . . . Behold :  
Above her head the good saint bears a Cross !
- BERTRAN : Once more the mists grow dense.
- GAÉTAN : Dost thou hear sighs ?  
Ah, now the faithless siren sings her song. . . .
- BERTRAN : The sad voice of the sea alone I hear . . .  
But stay not, friend ! Through rain and mist,  
ride on !

## ACT III

## SCENE I

*The Count's room.*

- COUNT : And thus, with thine own eyes, thou didst behold  
The army of his Holiness?
- BERTRAN : E'en so.
- COUNT : And thou hast seen de Montfort's oriflamme?
- BERTRAN : A silver lion in a crimson field !  
Four tufts comprise the tail. And all the four  
Are caught in one large knot.
- COUNT : Ah, great Saint James,  
Receive our praise !
- BERTRAN : They are in fair Béziers . . .  
E'en now they burn the city, sparing naught,  
And kill the peaceful burghers. " Cut down all ! "  
The Legate said, " The Lord will know his own ! "
- COUNT : Ay, 'tis their due.—  
Brave warriors, all ! And now  
De Montfort is not far !
- BERTRAN : On toward Toulouse  
His road lies straight, your Grace.
- COUNT : Bertran, a word !  
Commendably hast thou fulfilled thy task !  
Demand thy guerdon ! I have pardoned thee !
- BERTRAN : May I entreat thy favour for another ?
- COUNT : Whate'er thou wilt !
- BERTRAN : Your Grace, upon the morrow  
Fair May begins. In all the countryside  
'Tis long our wont to meet the spring with song.  
Ah, would e'en you might honour this bright  
day ! . . .
- COUNT : Why dost thou vex me ? Such was my intent !
- BERTRAN : With me, your Grace, there comes a brave trouvère  
Who brings with him full many a lovely song. . . .
- COUNT : With music thou hast thought to cheer our hearts ?  
I' faith, a votary of song am I !
- BERTRAN : Set free once more thy beautiful young Countess,  
Who languishes in yon tall tower. . . .
- COUNT : What ?
- 'Tis evident thou speakest of my wife ?
- BERTRAN : You gave your word. . . .

COUNT :           Ay, true,—and aught I promise  
                       Will ne'er be set aside.—How didst thou think  
                       To crave this boon?

BERTRAN :                       That first fair day of spring,  
                       Your Grace well knows, begins another year.  
                       No shade must darken it, nor pain, nor fear.

## SCENE 2

*The castle kitchen. Scullions are playing pranks.*

COOK : They say he even takes the key of the tower to bed with him. Since then no one of us dares to speak a word aloud.

DOCTOR : And have you seen what he has on his head?—Just like the devil in the picture. It is two months since he had his hair cut. When he smiles he bares his teeth like a dog. He trusts no one except his Reverence. But speaking between ourselves, the holy father . . .

COOK : Sh. . . Sh. . . Here even the walls have ears.—And you too be still, you madcaps!—Well, it's ready now. What else?

DOCTOR : Now sprinkle a bit of willow bark. . . .

CHAPLAIN (*comes in*) : By the Saints, what sort of pie is this? For whom is it?

COOK : For her Grace, the Countess Izora.

CHAPLAIN : Stop, enough. . . . Why are you intruding here, doctor?

DOCTOR : A little *salix alba* . . . for the melancholia . . .

CHAPLAIN : What's that—poison?

DOCTOR : A simple purgative, your Reverence. . . .

CHAPLAIN : Let me taste it.

ALISCAN (*comes in*) : Your Reverence, I have been looking for you everywhere.

CHAPLAIN (*munching*) : What do you want of me, young man?

ALISCAN : I am standing watch tonight. . . . (*He slyly slips a note to the Cook.*) Put the note in the pie and you'll get a ducat.

CHAPLAIN : And did you take the purifying bath?

ALISCAN : I did, your Reverence.

CHAPLAIN : And how long did you fast?

ALISCAN : Two months, your Reverence.

CHAPLAIN : Go to the chapel, young man; tomorrow after mass you will be consecrated as a knight.

ALISCAN : I am ready.



COOK : It is ready, your Reverence.

DOCTOR : And did you add the bark ?

CHAPLAIN : Cover the dish and carry it after me.

## SCENE 3

*The Tower of the Comfortless Widow.*

IZORA : Merciful God ! 'Twould be easier to be the slave girl of an Armenian, better to carry stones and drag timber !—Alisa ! Come hither !

ALISA : What do you wish, my lady ?

IZORA : I am dying of loneliness, Alisa.

ALISA : Be patient. The fury of any dragon can be assuaged by meekness.

IZORA : I know all thy words of solace by heart. Come, let us rather have a game.

ALISA : At chess, or at draughts ?

IZORA : Nay. . . . Let us make believe : I am hearing mass and he is disguised as a cleric ; it is dark in the church. . . . The rogue follows me. . . . The cleric approaches with the prayer book. . . . Here, give me a book !

ALISA : Here is the romance of Floris.

IZORA : Come near, as he would . . . that's right. What does he whisper, while I am kissing the prayer book ?

ALISA : Of course, he will sigh first of all. . . .

IZORA : See, I am kissing the prayer book. . . . He has said, " Ah." What must I answer ?

ALISA : At first you must answer cautiously ; for instance : " What ails you, knight ? "

IZORA : Very well. . . . " What ails you, knight ? "—Then what does he say ?

ALISA : He says : " I am dying."

IZORA (*getting into the spirit of the rôle*) : " Of what ? "

ALISA : " Of love."

IZORA : " You love ? Whom ? . . . "

ALISA : " You."

IZORA (*lowering her eyes*) : " What can I do ? "

ALISA : " Restore me."

IZORA : " How ? "

ALISA : " By cunning."

IZORA : " I rely on you. . . . "

ALISA : " I am ready."

IZORA : " For what? "

ALISA : " I shall come . . . "

IZORA : " Whither? "

ALISA : " To the Tower of the Comfortless Widow . . . "

IZORA : " How? "

ALISA : " By the secret passage. "

IZORA : " When? " (*Knock at the door.*)

ALISA : The Count !

IZORA (*carried away by her enthusiasm*) : " When? When? "—  
Heavens ! He has heard all ! (*She flees. The COUNT and the  
CHAPLAIN come in.*)

COUNT : Give me the pie ! (*Takes off the cover.*) Where is the top  
of the pie ?

CHAPLAIN : I ate it, being solicitous for your honour.

COUNT : Traitor ! How is my honour involved ?

CHAPLAIN : In the first place, they sometimes put poison in pies.  
In the second place, food can serve as a means for the transmission  
of notes. . . .

COUNT : Holy father ! Thou art more farsighted than I ! Forgive  
me for insulting thee !—Where is my spouse ?

ALISA : She is finishing her evening prayers.

COUNT : Let her pray—and may Saint James help her !

ALISA : Your Lordship, how you look ! What a change in two  
months !

COUNT : I know what I am doing. . . . It is better to hide a young  
wife in a secure place than to waste time and trouble in vain. . . .  
How does she feel ?

ALISA : Day by day she loses sleep and appetite.

COUNT : I suppose she is again dreaming of someone ?

ALISA : Just last evening . . . a knight. . . .

COUNT : Again !

ALISA : Beautiful as Saint Hubert. . . .

COUNT : A curse on him !

ALISA : And besides, his features resembled yours. . . .

COUNT : Mine !—That is good. Evidently matters are progressing  
favourably, if she is beginning to dream such dreams !

ALISA : My lady has but one modest wish that she dare not confess  
to you. . . .

COUNT : Speak and fear not ! Archimbaut is generous !

ALISA : The admonitions of the holy father have helped her. . . .  
She would like to pray in the church. . . . We were just speaking  
of this. . . .

COUNT : Art thou pleased, holy father?

CHAPLAIN : If my humble prayer has helped the erring child. . . .

IZORA (*comes in*) :

My sovereign is here . . . .

COUNT : Ah, by Saint James !

What splendid tresses !—Any other spouse  
Had sheared them long ago !—Come, do not  
weep. . . .

'Twas but a jest. . . .

IZORA : What have I done to you

That you torment me in this wretched cell?

COUNT : But have you not been reading loose romances?

Have lordly knights not haunted you in dreams?

IZORA : An hundredfold have I atoned my sins. . . .

So weak am I . . . Ah, would that I could die. . . .

COUNT : You asked to worship in the church?

IZORA : The church?

(ALISA gives her a sign.)

Ah, yes . . . The prayer book I would gladly  
kiss. . . .

COUNT : This small request has pleased me.

IZORA (*weeping*) : Ah, most cruelly

Am I defamed !

COUNT : Tomorrow it is May——

The first spring day, that ushers in the year.

You know this?

IZORA : What to me is May?

COUNT : Ah, wait,

I know a way to make your sad heart glad.

Meanwhile, your supper waits. That pie, I vow,

Is tastily prepared : 'twill bring about

A better and a gentler frame of mind !

(*He goes out with the CHAPLAIN.*)

IZORA : Foul monster ! Every word he speaks is false !

ALISA : E'en so, he seemed more cordial than of late. . . .

IZORA (*looking at the rose in the casement*) :

Even thus was the flow'ret

He wore on his breast !

And yesterday's pale bud

Today is dark as blood !

- Tomorrow 'twill fade,  
And with it, my life. . . .
- ALISA : Adorn your hair with a rose. . . .
- IZORA : But why should I make myself fair?  
All have betrayed me, all have deceived me,  
Even the scarecrow enamoured of me !  
Of what use the secret passage  
To a messenger wretched as he ?
- ALISA : It may be he soon will return. . . .
- IZORA : 'Tis hopeless !  
But come, let us sup, Alisa ! Open the pie. . . .
- ALISA (*opens the pie*) : Ah !
- IZORA : What is it ?—What hidest thou there ?
- ALISA : It is naught. . . .
- IZORA (*snatching the note*) : Give it me ! He is come, at last !
- ALISA : My lady . . .
- IZORA (*reads*) : " Lady, whose lips are brighter than roses, whose  
voice is sweeter than the song of the nightingale, give me a sign.  
I shall await the rising of the moon." . . . Oh, how delightful  
is the language of his love !—But what sign does he await ?
- ALISA : Bear in mind . . . this is not for you. . . .
- IZORA : Is this a dream, or is it happiness ? . . . Honest Bertran !  
. . . . Or is it all a dream ? . . . — Alisa, thou shalt have silken  
tissues, precious stones . . . and the most handsome page. . . .  
Saint Vidian ! What sign may it be ?

## SCENE 4

*A thicket of roses.*

- BERTRAN : Abide thou here this night, among the roses.  
None will molest thee, friend.
- GAÉTAN : Thou'rt sure tomorrow  
I sing before the king ?
- BERTRAN : Before the Count,—  
Was that thy meaning ?
- GAÉTAN : Is she not the daughter  
Of King Gradlon ?
- BERTRAN : Nay—those are fairy tales !  
No princess she, but daughter of a sempstress  
Of *Martres de Toulouse*.
- GAÉTAN : A sempstress' daughter !  
But nathless she destroyed the aged Count !

- BERTRAN : Not so. He wished her ill and shut her fast  
In yon tall tower.
- GAÉTAN : Now all is clear to me !  
A maid with golden tresses I must free  
From harsh restraint !
- BERTRAN : Nay, she is dark. Her braids  
Are blacker than the night.
- GAÉTAN : But ne'ertheless  
Morgana is her name? Ah, tell me true !
- BERTRAN : It matters not what lady fair or foul  
Thy song will ransom. Prithee, doubt me not.
- GAÉTAN : I doubt thee not, my brother.
- BERTRAN : Thou hast told  
Full many a tale, and many a ballad sung. . . .  
Forgive me, friend, my wit is plain. . . . I know not  
Which words of thine be fable, which words true.  
And so a mermaid reared thee ?
- GAÉTAN : Ay, thou seest—  
This Cross she gave to me.
- BERTRAN : And didst thou learn  
Thy song from her ?
- GAÉTAN : From her—and from the sea.
- BERTRAN : What is the song's true meaning? Canst thou tell  
How suffering may be transformed to joy?
- GAÉTAN : Thou know'st the song. What more wouldst have  
me say ?
- BERTRAN : I glimpse its purport, but my wit is simple,  
And penetrate its gleaming depths I cannot. . . .  
Tomorrow thou wilt sing. At break of day  
I bring thee gay attire—a minstrel's garb.  
And now, farewell. My hour of watch is come.

## SCENE 5

*The Tower of the Comfortless Widow. In the distance the sentries are heard calling to one another.*

- ALISA : 'Tis past midnight, my lady. I will put back the useless  
slab. The Count may come in and see . . .
- IZORA : Do as thou wilt ; I no longer put faith in anything.
- ALISA : Did I not say that the note was not for you ?
- IZORA : But who would dare to write to another ?

ALISA : My lady . . . the page sent it to me.

IZORA : Tell me no lies ! Thou canst not comfort me. . . .

ALISA : I will put back the slab. . . .

IZORA : By the angels I conjure thee—by the archangels and by all the powers of Heaven, come to me ! Saint Vidian, have mercy on me !

ALISA : My lady . . . you are ill. . . . You must to bed. . . .

IZORA : Leave me—ah, go ! (ALISA goes out.)

How my heart beats !

Beat thou ! Ay, burn thou this breast !

Saint Vidian ! I am in flames. . . .

But hark ! A rustle in the thicket . . .

By all the holy saints ! 'Tis thou, at last !

(She falls on her knees. In the moonlight above the slab appears the apparition of GAÉTAN.)

'Tis thou !—ah, 'tis thou !

Art thou a vision, or no ?

Oh, Wanderer !—Where is thy Rose ?

There on thy breast burns a Cross ! . . .

Frighten me not with its might !

My mother once taught me a prayer,

But not of that is thy song. . . .

Why art thou silent,

Heavenly guest ?

Prayer to thee would be sweet ! . . .

Louder, sing louder, I pray !

Thou hast a nightingale's voice !

Ah, but no bird

Of my poor native land

Sings a tenderer song than thine ! . . .

Ay. . . . There is gladness in love !—

In love there is suffering, too. . . .

Ne'er to know love—that is pain !

Silent once more thou art ;

Save for the beat of my heart, all is still. . . .

Ah, thy belovèd face !

Far brighter than flax are thy curls,

Far bluer than flame thy dear eyes !

Frighten me not with the Cross,

Let me but once touch thy hand !

ALISA (behind the door) : My lady, my lady . . .

IZORA (*breaking off a rose at the window*) :

Take thou this Rose !  
 Yea, dark as this flow'r is my blood !—  
 Stay—if thou leave, I go mad !—  
 Nearer—come nearer to me ! . . .  
 Let this black Rose  
 Cover thy terrible Cross !

(*She falls in a swoon. The door opens. The apparition disappears.  
 ALISA and the COUNT come in.*)

COUNT : What ails her ?

ALISA : Did you not hear a cry ? She has lost her mind ! There  
 you see what imprisonment in this tower has done !

COUNT : Water ! Restore her !—More water ! She is beginning  
 to revive ! She is free—tell her she is free ! Tomorrow is Mayday.  
 Bertran has brought a minstrel to the court ! We will make her  
 happy ! Only revive her !

#### SCENE 6

*Courtyard of the castle.*

BERTRAN : A gusty night ! The crossbow of the wind  
 Is bent to shoot an arrow down the sky. . . .  
 Is this the phantom of a weary mind—  
 A vision by this sleepless night brought forth ?—  
 How dark her window ! But an hour ago  
 She called my name, though now she calls no  
 more.—  
 Art thou, mine ancient comrade, glad of spring ?  
 Thou reachest out with naked twigs to touch  
 Her empty casement. Dawn is come, at last. . . .  
 O God in Heaven, send her peaceful sleep ! . . .  
 From murky vision and fantastic dream  
 Protect Thy young Izora's ardent soul ! . . .

#### ACT IV

##### SCENE I

*A flowery meadow. Daybreak.*

ALISCAN (*with a flower in his hand*) :

'Tis irksome to watch through the night !  
 Ay, there in yon chapel's blue dusk  
 Not once did my eyes close in sleep. . . .  
 Fairest May, thou wilt soothe my faint heart !

Oh, how fresh is the cool wind of morning !

Oh, how sweet is the nightingale's song !

Perhaps that stupid woman thinks I have need of her ! She must have received the note . . . but still . . . I waited all the night . . . and she gave no sign ! 'Twere well if she repented ! Ay, to tell the truth, I am exceedingly weary of her insistence. . . .

Oh, how sweet is the nightingale's song ! . . .

And the breath of the rose has Izora's fragrance ! . . .

Must these slender fingers, unused to coarse toil,

Press the rude shaft of a spear ?

Nay, not for that was I born !—

Far yonder, 'tis said, in the land of Arras,

More gracious the men, more courtly the manners !

Ah, there the tables bend

'Neath violets and roses !

In fragrant rivulets

The crimson claret flows !

There ladies know the art of courteous love !

Would an old jealous husband there be nigh

To blight the gay sport of the courtiers ?

" Jealousy's day is now over,"

Thus the words of a book writ in Latin,

Long since brought by my father from Rome. . . .

*(Gazes at his reflection in the pool.)*

This soft, tender mouth bears resemblance

To the whimsical bow of sly Cupid,

Or even Izora's bright lips. . . .

Must I hide it beneath a rough helmet ?

Must I splinter this rose-tinted nail

On the cold iron hilt of a sword ?—

Nay ! The manners of that land are fairer—

More than one fragrant night would I tarry

With Izora—with roses, and love !

## SCENE 2

### *The Rose Thicket.*

BERTRAN (*carrying the garb of a minstrel*) :

O spring, how thou stirrest the blood !

O love, thou weighest upon me !—

Heavier far than a shield.

The Wanderer sleeps. . . .

He hears not the nightingale's song. . . .



What is it doth stain  
The bright Cross on his breast?  
The Rose!—Ay, 'tis the black Rose!

GAÉTAN (*in his sleep*):

Morgana! Leave me! Do not strangle me!

BERTRAN: Gaétan, awake!

GAÉTAN (*awakening*):

Daughter, spare thy poor father! . . .  
Brother, 'tis thou. . . .  
I was dreaming . . . the treacherous daughter . . .  
Unfastened the gates of the dyke. . . .

BERTRAN: The scent of the roses oppressed thee.  
What hast thou there on thy breast?

GAÉTAN: Ah, see—'tis a Rose.

From the bush overhead  
It fell on my breast while I slept. . . .

BERTRAN: The roses above thee  
Are crimson—yea, all. . . .  
But whence did this sombre-hued flow'r  
Fall on thy heart, O my friend?

GAÉTAN: Indeed, from where else  
Could it fall?

BERTRAN: Tell me: Dost still bear in mind  
Thy promise to me long ago,  
What time my intent was to slay thee?

GAÉTAN: I recall—and my promise to thee I shall keep. . . .

BERTRAN: Then, prithee, the Rose!

GAÉTAN: Simple thy wish!

'Tis thine for the taking!  
Hath spring sent us blossoms too few?

BERTRAN (*hides the rose under his armour*):

Youthful old man, couldst thou know  
What aid thou hast rendered to me!  
I thank thee!—Behold thine attire:  
This day on the blossoming meadow  
A minstrel's part wilt thou play!

### SCENE 3

*A flowery meadow.*

GIRLS (*with blossoming branches, sing*):

Now 'tis May, joyous May,  
Now 'tis joyous May!

In God's name, wife, we implore,  
Do not drive us from thy door—  
Give us of thy bounty, pray !  
Not a sip, not a bite  
Till we burn a taper white  
For our Virgin's dear delight !

Now 'tis May, joyous May !  
Now 'tis joyous May !

Fields are rich with wheaten treasure,  
Jesus will restore full measure  
And reward thee nine times nine  
For the bread and for the wine !  
Christ we worship, God we worship,  
May His Holy Will accord thee  
Brightest paradise for aye !

Now 'tis May, joyous May !  
Now 'tis joyous May !

*(During the song all participants in the festival have assembled, coming from mass : The COUNT with his courtiers, vassals, guests, and knights ; IZORA with her ladies. A flourish of trumpets.)*

COUNT :       Barons and men of wealth !  
                  Good fortune is come to us, too !  
                  May has brought glorious news !  
                  De Montfort, far Palestine's hero,  
                  In valour most like  
                  Maccabeus of old,  
                  Now burns and destroys the perfidious weavers,  
                  And soon we shall welcome him here !  
                  Never more, my good knights, need you fear  
                  The cudgel and fork !  
                  Once again are we lords  
                  Of far-flung demesnes and rich castles !  
                  Joyfully let us hail  
                  The advent of rollicking spring !

BERTRAN *(emerging from the throng)* : A word, your Grace !

COUNT : Methinks thou art too daring, Sir Hapless ! By thy countenance I see that thou art about to say some words that fit not the occasion ! So great is our gaiety that thou wilt scarcely add to it !

BERTRAN : My lord, de Montfort is far away. . . .

COUNT : But thou said'st, on the road to Toulouse !

BERTRAN : The road to Toulouse is long. . . . The people are uneasy.

COUNT (*pointing to the girls*) : These are our people !

BERTRAN : Albi, Carcassonne, Val de Aran are full of insurrection !

COUNT : Enough ! The jesters are more amusing than thou ! I'll hear no more ! Trumpets !—Let our faithful Aliscan come forth !

(BERTRAN *falls back into the throng* ; ALISCAN *bends his knee, the COUNT gives him a light blow with the flat side of his sword. The knights fasten on his golden spurs.*)

ALISCAN : Lady, will you permit me to be your knight ?

(IZORA *heedlessly extends her hand for a kiss* ; ALISCAN *seats himself at her feet.*)

COUNT : Tomorrow is the tourney, and thou wilt set an example for all the knights ! Now—let us solace ourselves with hearing the singers !

(*The FIRST MINSTREL emerges from the throng.*)

IZORA (*to Alisa*) : Is that the new minstrel ?

ALISA : Nay, another.

ALISCAN : Last year's.

IZORA : Knight, I did not ask you to jest.

FIRST MINSTREL (*sings*) :

How dearly I love the sweet breath of the spring  
And the brightness of blossoms and trees ;  
'Mid the Emerald silence I love the clear ring  
Of the song of a bird, while the breeze

Whispers low as the tender leaves sway.

I love a fair field with white tents in a row,  
Where helmets and spears catch the sun's burnished glow  
And fiery steeds shrilly neigh ;

Where hearts of brave warriors flame high as they go  
Proudly forward to battle the infidel foe !

How dearly I love every war token bright—  
Every harbinger gladdens my eye !  
See shepherds and flock in tumultuous flight,  
While jubilant trumpets outvie

The hoofbeats of mettlesome steeds !  
To the castle in terror the villagers turn,

While battlements crumble and tall towers burn—  
 But, alas, comes an end to brave deeds !—  
 Dreary graves, row on row, mark the battlefield stern  
 And though flow'rs come again, the slain never return.

How dearly I love feats of valour and zest  
 When stout-hearted knights join the fray ;  
 When blood stains the broadsword and spatters the crest,  
 While over the plain and away

The frightened steeds gallop and rear !  
 As a hero has lived, so a hero shall die !  
 Ah, how joy fills the heart—how it brightens the eye !  
 To the clangour of sword and of spear,  
 Though blood stain the blossoms and death hover nigh,  
 Let no man surrender—the foe we defy !

COUNT : Thy song is far too warlike, minstrel ! We were already  
 sated with the cares of war. Let another sing something more  
 cheerful !

SECOND MINSTREL (*sings*) :

Just at close of day  
 In the month of May  
 Through a leafy wood  
 On my steed I rode  
 From Douai to Arras !  
 Dorenlo, to Arras !  
 Lo, two damsels fair,  
 Mayflow'rs in their hands,  
 Garlands in their hair  
 Looped with golden bands,  
 Met me just in time !  
 Dorenlo, in time !  
 Radiant gifts to spring,  
 Sweet mayflow'rs they bring,  
 Wood-nymphs they, perchance,  
 Singing as they dance :  
 Dorenlo, my love !  
 Dorenlo, my love !  
 From my steed I leapt,  
 Up to them I stepped.  
 " May I walk with you,  
 Through the evening dew ? "  
 Dorenlo, my love !  
 Dorenlo, my love !

Jesting all the way,  
 Weaving garlands gay,  
 On we went, all three . . .  
     What of thee, Airas?  
     What of thee, Arras?  
 I wove garlands long,  
 Dancing to their song,  
 Then we sang, all three :  
     Ah, how I love you !  
     Ah, how I love you !

COUNT . My best doublet to the singer for his sweet song !—Come,  
 sup with us ; tell us legends all the summer through !

IZORA : But where is the new minstrel ?

ALISA : There he comes out of the ring. . . .

IZORA : Which one ?

ALISA : See, his garments glitter . . .

IZORA : That little fellow in the cap and bells ?

ALISCAN : But—he is as big as a giant. . . .

IZORA : Knight, do not speak to me !—The shapely one with the  
 bright hair ?

ALISA : Nay, 'tis gray hair gleaming in the sun. . . .

IZORA (*indifferently leaning back on the bench*) : An old man !

GAÉTAN (*sings*) :

    The storm winds blow,  
     The sea sings low,  
     And white drifts gleam,  
 Ages like moments seem,  
 Happiness, ever a dream !

In shadowy caves of the night,  
 At her distaff early and late  
 A spinner sits, hid to our sight,  
 Spinning the thread of fate.

Sunsets of fiery splendour  
 Ever shall meet the knight's gaze ;  
 Starry skies, glowing and tender,  
 Watch o'er his life's fateful maze.

Boundless the joy and the pleasure  
 A singing heart can attain.  
 Though aimless our fate, there is treasure  
 In ocean's thund'rous refrain.

Strength from thy dreams shalt thou draw.  
 All that Fate rules shall be done.  
 The heart's immutable law  
 Is Gladness-in-Suffering, alone !

" Thy future—a wanderer's lot " . . .  
 'Tis ocean's eternal refrain.  
 O Gladness-in-Suffering, thou art  
 Anguish and infinite pain !

Everywhere battle and bale,  
 What fate awaits thee at last ?  
 Hoist to the mast thy rough sail  
 Don thine invincible mail  
 With the sign of the Cross on thy breast !

The storm winds blow,  
 The sea sings low,  
 And white drifts gleam,  
 Ages like moments seem,  
 Happiness ever a dream !

(*During the song* *IZORA* *in excitement bends forward and without being aware of it leans on* *ALISCAN's* *shoulder.*)

ALISA : She is ill ; aid her !

ALISCAN : Aid her !

IZORA (*losing consciousness*) : 'Tis the voice I heard in my dreams !

COUNT : Old man, perhaps thou hast forgotten that it is springtime ?

Thy song has a smell of wet February, as do thy gray hairs !

'Tis a gay buffoon our Sir Hapless has brought to us, to say the least ! (*GAËTAN disappears in the throng.*)

IZORA (*returning to her senses*) : " Gladness-in-Suffering " . . .  
 suffering . . .

ALISA : My lady is delirious !

IZORA : Nay . . . I am well. Where is the old man ?

ALISCAN : The old man has disappeared.

IZORA : Page . . . Knight ! Help me.

COUNT : Trumpeters, a flourish ! Summon the jesters ! (*Jongleurs come running in.*)

FIRST JONGLEUR : Knights, barons, and fair ladies ! I will tell you a tale about the glorious King Arthur . . .

SECOND JONGLEUR : Do not listen to him, noble knights ! I can play on the zither and walk on my head ! . . .

IZORA : O my knight, didst thou e'er dream strange dreams?

ALISCAN : There is a remedy for such strange dreams :

The perfume of rose and violets.

Soft strains of a lute, a devoted knight at thy feet . . .

COUNT : Livelier, jesters, exert yourselves . . . do your utmost !

FIRST JONGLEUR : I will sing of true lovers : of Hero and Leander !  
of Helen and Paris !

SECOND JONGLEUR : But I can dance on a rope, jump through a  
hoop, and throw knives !

ALISCAN : Like amorous Narcissus,

I mirror myself in your eyes. . . .

IZORA : You are flattering me, knight. . . .

FIRST JONGLEUR : But this is how Narcissus gazed on the water  
and drowned. . . .

SECOND JONGLEUR : Do you wish helmets for rabbits? Bridles  
for cows? Gloves for dogs? Just consider, I also cup bulls and  
bleed cats !

ALISCAN : What are the beauties of Arras

To the precious light in your eyes?

IZORA : Ladies, I beg of you, shield me

From curious guests and bold vassals. . . .

ALISCAN : Why should such marvellous beauty

Hide from the eyes of the world?

IZORA : The lace of my slipper is loosened.

O knight, wilt thou tie it for me?

*(Sound of trumpets in the distance.)*

A KNIGHT : Your Grace ! The foe ! A Cross on a crimson field !

COUNT : The banner of Toulouse !—Raise the drawbridge !

VASSALS : To horse !—To arms !—The weavers ! In the name of  
God and de Montfort !

BERTRAN *(rushing to the encounter)* : Ah, sacred Rose !

#### SCENE 4

*A passage in the castle.*

FIRST KNIGHT : An army didst thou say? Count Raymond's  
men

Were naught but ragged weavers from  
Toulouse ! . . .

SECOND KNIGHT : Among them, even so, I vow, were knights :  
That giant with a dolphin on his shield. . . .

FIRST KNIGHT : The one whom our good Bertran felled to earth ?

SECOND KNIGHT : Indeed, to that I can bear witness. Bertran  
Engaged him long ; at last, with one sure blow  
He swept him from the saddle to the ground,  
And with his foot upon the giant's breast  
Compelled him to ask quarter. . . . Then it  
was  
That Raymond's tattered army turned and fled !  
" Sir Hapless " once we named him, though he  
fought  
More gallantly than all the rest, and turned  
The tide of battle. . . .

FIRST KNIGHT : Tell me, is he wounded ?

SECOND KNIGHT : Ay. . . . In that he differs from our newest  
knight !

FIRST KNIGHT : True—Aliscan was never on the field.

*(The COUNT and VASSALS come in.)*

COUNT : Ay, vassals, sheathe your swords ! The war is over !  
At last the path is clear for brave de Montfort !  
The wretched weavers ran like frightened hares !

VASSALS : All hail de Montfort and Count Archimbaut !

SECOND KNIGHT : The victory we rightly owe to Bertran. . . .

COUNT : To Bertran ? Ay, this day he fought most bravely,  
But should the driving out of thieves be deemed  
So great a merit ?

FIRST KNIGHT : —Weavers from Toulouse,  
Whose hands were never taught to wield a  
sword ! . . .

SECOND KNIGHT : But he is wounded. . . .

COUNT : What of that ? . . . Such wounds  
Mean honour to a knight !—But let him rest  
Today, relieved from duties of the watch !  
And now, to bed, my vassals ! On the morrow  
Our festival shall be resumed !—A tourney—  
And after that a feast ! To all good night !

*(All depart.)*

ALISA *(comes in)* : Holy father !

CHAPLAIN : What is it, my daughter ?

ALISA : My soul is in torment . . .

CHAPLAIN : Tomorrow, tomorrow ; already 'tis late ; this is no time  
for confession.



ALISA : But, father . . .

CHAPLAIN : However, today at about midnight I shall be in the courtyard . . .

ALISA : I too shall be there, holy father. . . . (*They go out in different directions.*)

BERTRAN (*comes in*) :

How black the night ! Mine eyes are dim.

SECOND KNIGHT : Good Bertran,

You are wounded ?

BERTRAN : Scarce a whit.

FIRST KNIGHT : The Count

Releases you from guard today.

BERTRAN : Ah, knight,

I thank the Count for his solicitude.

FIRST KNIGHT : Today you have the right to sleep your fill :  
You saved us from Count Raymond's vengeful  
wrath.

BERTRAN : I thank you, gracious friend, and now . . . good  
night !

(*The knight goes out.*)

Rest . . . or eternal sleep ?

Ah, how the wound burns and throbs !

Straight through the Rose to my heart

Went the clean blade of the sword. . . .

IZORA (*appearing at the top of the staircase*) :

Bertran, it is you ? They sleep ?

BERTRAN : Ay, they sleep. The hour is late.

IZORA : Faithful knight, you fought most bravely.

BERTRAN : 'Tis the hour for sleep, my lady.

Are your slumbers still disturbed

By frightful dreams and fantasies ?

IZORA : Spring alone disturbs my slumber.

Fearful dreams have vanished. . . . Visions

Strange and searching, are no more. . . .

Truly, was he too a dream ?

BERTRAN : Only a dream . . . a phantom strange. . . .

IZORA : Only a dream . . . a phantom strange. . . .

What do your fingers press close

To your breast, my faithful Bertran ?

BERTRAN : 'Tis the Rose of my devotion.

IZORA : The Rose of your devotion. . . . Ay !

Your devotion 'twas that saved us !

- BERTRAN : I but fulfilled my knightly duty. . . .  
 IZORA : Richly may the Lord reward you. . . .  
 You, my Bertran, He made faithful,  
 Me He made untrue. . . .  
 Tell me, knight, is mine the blame  
 For love, and May, and spring? . . .  
 BERTRAN : Nay. On you there rests no guilt.  
 IZORA : Bertran, you will guard tonight?  
 BERTRAN : Ay—if you have need of me.  
 IZORA : He is coming . . . pray attend. . . .  
 You alone . . . for foes are near . . .  
 As warning let this be the sign. . . .  
 The clang of a sword—no more. . . . O knight,  
 May is lovely !  
 BERTRAN : E'en as you.  
 IZORA : Knight, I give my hand to you. . . .  
 I know you crave no further boon. . . .  
 BERTRAN : O my lady, more than sacred  
 Is your slightest wish to me !  
 Yea, I know myself unworthy  
 Of the touch of your fair hand.

## SCENE 5

*The castle courtyard.*

- BERTRAN : Softly . . . here's the way . . . tread lightly  
 Where the moonlight does not fall !  
 Seest thou the apple tree bole?  
 The tallest branches  
 Reach the window ledge.  
 ALISCAN : How am I to climb this naked bole?  
 IZORA (*at the window*) : 'Tis thou, Aliscan?  
 ALISCAN : 'Tis I.  
 IZORA : Come quickly ! Hither !  
 BERTRAN : Stand on my shoulders !—Thus !  
 From there the ascent is not hard.  
 IZORA : My lover ! Radiant thy face !  
 Thy whole being—passion and spring !  
 Ne'er before have I gazed on the beauty  
 Of thy fair face !  
 Here are thy hands ! . . .  
 Warm, living hands are they !  
 And warm, earthly lips on mine !  
 No phantom, no dream art thou !

- Thou art happiness . . . joy !  
 Who stands there below ?
- ALISCAN : It is Sir Hapless. I thank you, Bertran !
- IZORA : Bertran, is it you ?
- BERTRAN : 'Tis I, my lady.
- IZORA : How lovely this night !
- BERTRAN : Ay, my lady.
- IZORA : Bertran, you know my request ?
- BERTRAN : Be assured—I shall watch all the night.  
 You will hear the sharp ring of my sword.
- IZORA : I thank you, my trustworthy servant—  
 But now, leave the window, I pray you. . . .
- BERTRAN : I go. (*He stands in the shadow of a wall.*)  
 Be happy forever, Izora !  
 The love of a youth  
 Is better than visions and terrible dreams !  
 May thy heart find  
 Joy and contentment  
 And thy stormy spirit find peace !  
 Oh, how far, far from thee, Izora,  
 The gift of the fay,  
 The pale, faded Cross !—  
 Ah, blossom, O Rose !  
 In thy sacred garden,  
 Spread thy fragrance, while over the earth  
 The blessed spring returns once more !  
 Retain, O Izora,  
 The youth of thy spirit  
 When dark days shall come.  
 I hear, yea, I hear  
 The surging of waves,  
 And the roar of the sea ;  
 The Cross gleams high o'er the storm—  
 Through snow-filled darkness it calls thee !  
 Painful my wounds—  
 My strength ebbs fast !  
 Bertran, stand fast at thy post !  
 Lean on thy sword !  
 The Rose on thy heart shall not fade.
- IZORA (*at the window*) :  
 Knight ! Thou art here ! Thou art here !  
 How my blood flames !

How wondrously fragrant the night !  
 Happiness now has returned !  
 Terrible visions have vanished !  
 Now are my dreams  
 Only of thee !—  
 Nay, be silent, I know. . . .  
 What are dreams to us !  
 What are visions and songs to us now !

*(Disappears from the window.)*

BERTRAN : Bertran, stand fast at thy post !  
 Ah, thrice-cursèd wounds,  
 Consume not my heart !  
 Glow—ah, glow, O my Rose !  
 Hark ! Trumpets ! . . .  
 Through the roar of the waves  
 The heavenly trumpets  
 Ever more loudly resound !  
 A flash of rosy light  
 Has tinted the crests  
 Of the lead-coloured waves of the night !  
 What torment is mine !  
 But sweet the relief after pain !  
 Unearthly delight  
 Has flooded my heart !  
 How lovely the night !

*(The CHAPLAIN and ALISA come in.)*

CHAPLAIN : Now you will no longer refuse this present, my  
 beauty. . . .

ALISA : Ah, what a gorgeous ring !

CHAPLAIN : 'Tis a costly one, my little rogue !

ALISA : Holy father, your dignity . . .

CHAPLAIN : Am I less than a knight ?

ALISA : Ah, knights are such deceivers. . . .

CHAPLAIN : Oh, I shall never deceive you. Soft ! Do you hear a  
 whisper ? And methinks the sound of a kiss. . . .

ALISA : Ay. . . .

CHAPLAIN : Let us listen more closely.

*(The moon illuminates BERTRAN.)*

ALISA : Holy Saints ! . . . There is the warden . . . by the wall . . .

CHAPLAIN : Ay, it is he.

ALISA : Let us go. . . .

CHAPLAIN : Why is he here ?

ALISA : Do not go, holy father . . . I am afraid . . . I know not of what. . . . Look . . . he is motionless . . . his face is whiter than a sheet . . . there is a dark spot on his breast. . . .

CHAPLAIN : Let us go. . . . Let us rouse the Count.

*(They go out)*

BERTRAN : How lovely the night !  
Hark, 'mid the chorus of trumpets  
A rustle is heard. . . .  
Nay, all is silent once more. . . .  
No longer the peace of night is disturbed.  
Father in Heaven, Thy humble slave am I,  
And full on mine ears  
Breaks Thy thundering silence !  
My wounds bleed afresh,  
And strength slowly ebbs from my veins. . . .  
Rose, glow once more !  
Ah, Death, thou makest wise the heart. . . .  
I knew, O Izora, I knew :  
" The heart's immutable law  
Is Gladness-in-Suffering, alone. . . .  
O Gladness-in-Suffering, thou art  
Anguish and infinite pain ! . . . "

IZORA *(at the window)* :

Sweeter and dearer than life,  
Brighter than morning  
To me is thy kiss !  
Night is waning. . . . Ah, see ! . . .

*(With a ringing sound BERTRAN drops his sword on the flagstones.)*

Thou hearest . . . the ring of a sword . . .  
Farewell ! Till the morrow . . . now flee ! . . .

*(ALISCAN quickly descends the bole of the apple tree and runs away.)*

Knight ! O knight !  
Did you not hear something ?

*(Voices are heard. IZORA disappears from the window.)*

*(The COUNT, CHAPLAIN, ALISA, the DOCTOR and knights come in.)*

COUNT : What has happened ? Why didst thou wake me ?

CHAPLAIN : Your Grace, I had an ill foreboding. . . .

ALISA : This is suspicious . . . at my lady's window . . .

COUNT : Bertran !—Sir Hapless !—Warden ! Thou sleepest ?

DOCTOR : Your Grace, he is dead.

IZORA *(at the window)* : Why am I wakened so early ?

COUNT : Is it you ? And why are you not sleeping ?

IZORA : If you do not believe me, you may search my room. . . .

What has happened?

COUNT : The warden has died here in the courtyard.

DOCTOR : And so much blood ! So much blood !

COUNT : What a nuisance ! Who will now be warden of the castle ?—

Izora, what is the matter ?—Are you weeping ?

IZORA : I am sorry for him. After all, he was a faithful servant.

THE END.

## NOTES

### ACT I

#### Scene 2

*Saint James !* The Count and the Chaplain often mention one of the most highly esteemed saints of their time, the Apostle James the Elder, “ Santiago de Compostela,” “ St. James of Compostela.” The ashes of St. James, the patron of Spain, were removed in the 9th century to Compostela. Legend states that the place where he should be buried (in the Spanish province of Galicia) was pointed out by a star ; hence the name of the hamlet, *Campus Stellæ*. Somewhat later, according to tradition, James himself on a white charger took part in a battle against the Moors near Logroño and brought victory to the Spaniards. All this made Santiago a place of pilgrimage no less famous than Rome. One of the beaten paths of the northern pilgrims lay near Toulouse ; at the beginning of the 13th century a cathedral over the grave of the saint was nearing completion.

#### Scene 3

*The illness is called melancholia.* The doctor’s diagnosis is borrowed from a medieval medical treatise forming part of a manuscript of the 13th century now in the Cambrai municipal library (printed in an article by A. Salmon, in *Études romanes dédiées à Gaston Paris par ses élèves français et étrangers* : Paris, 1891). The treatise begins with the words : “ Constentins et maistre Galiens et Ypocras nous tiesmoignent . . .” Further : “ Et u melancolie surhabunde, le corps malmet . . . et si ne puet la folie de legier esciver [avoid : see Alisa’s words in Scene 4]. . . . Li sanc croist en printans, et en gain [autumn] noire cole. Li sans croist des viij. ydes de fevrier dusques as ydes de marc. . . .

“ Melancolie regne des ydes d’aoust dusques en fevrier. . . . Quant il i a trop sanc, par le nés s’en ist fors. . . .

“ Contre melancolie, ki est froide et seke et aigre, on ne le doit

mie tenir trop maigre; on le doit plenierement dyeter, et li doit on donner douc et moiste, et ce li vaut."

*Hand me the chessboard.* In the Round Table romance *Lancelot* the fay Vivian plays chess with Lancelot. That chess was a familiar pastime in the feudal castles is stated both by Walter Scott in his *Essay on Chivalry* and by popular histories of literature and customs.

*A song that is sung at the court of Arras.* Arras was the capital of the County of Artois and is now the principal city of the Department of Pas-de-Calais. The court of Arras, about which Aliscan merely dreams, was in the 12th century, after long being under the sway of Flemish counts, annexed to the French crown by Philip Augustus. In the 13th century it was celebrated for the peculiar splendour of its *courtoisie*.

*Aäliz, O Rose, etc.* In this song only the name *Aäliz* has been borrowed (because of its resemblance to the name *Alisa*) from the well-known Old French folk-song, *Bele Alaliz main leva*.

#### Scene 4

*Simon de Montfort.* Simon, first Baron, later Comte de Montfort (born about 1160) joined the crusade to Palestine in 1199 and for his valour became known as the "Maccabeus" of his time. Upon his return the barons chose him as their leader in the crusade against the Albigenses; this campaign began in 1208, so that the action of *The Rose and the Cross* takes place in that year. The army of crusaders assembled in Lyons and marched south. The capture of Béziers, upon which occasion the papal legate uttered his historic words (see Bertran's words, Act III, Scene 1) and later that of Carcassonne, took place the following year. Simon, who had become notorious for his extreme cruelty during the Albigensian War, was killed some time later when struck by a stone at the siege of Toulouse.

*Raymond.* Raymond VI, "the Old," Count of Toulouse, was born in 1156. He had stormy controversies with the Holy See concerning the Albigensian heresy, with which he secretly sympathised; to him was attributed the murder of the legate Pierre de Castelnau. Twice excommunicated (1208, 1211), he survived a dreadful massacre, remained six years in exile (while Simon de Montfort governed Toulouse), but later returned, and, in spite of the attacks of Amaury de Montfort, Simon's son, continued to rule his domain until his death. Raymond was married five times, but left only two legitimate sons. In 1208 the County of Toulouse included those of Quercy, Albi, Carcassonne, Nîmes, Béziers, Foix, and "the Marquise of Provence."

*Monsegur.* Monsegur, a castle in Languedoc, was one of the centres of the heresy.

*His solemn oath to their new bishop.* Many cities of Languedoc (Albi, Toulouse, Carcassonne, Val de Aran) were almost wholly populated by the heretics (Cathari); in Albi lived the bishop who stood at the head of one of the dioceses.

*Those diabolical weavers.* The Albigenes were called "weavers" (*tisserands, téxerands*) because a large part of the sect, especially in Toulouse, was made up of artisans of that sort.

*The romance of Floris and Blanchefleur.* This romance is of Greek origin; there are two versions of the 12th century. The subject, by the way, is used by Boccaccio. It is a touching story of the love of two children who become separated, but who after many adventures and perils are happily reunited. Akin to this story is the *chante-fable Aucassin et Nicolette*, also composed in the 12th century, partly in verse and partly in prose. See G. Paris: *La littérature française au moyen âge (XI<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)*.

#### Scene 5

*Saint Vidian.* Izora is the daughter of a poor Spanish seamstress from the little town of Martres-Tolosanes (Martyrs of Toulouse), which lies at the foot of the Pyrenees on the banks of the Garonne. The patron of this town is the little-known St. Vidian, son of a duke of the time of Charlemagne, who put the Moors to flight but was slain by them near the town of Angonia and was buried there; miracles were performed over his grave. Since that time Angonia (south of Toulouse) has been named "the city of the Martyrs" (Martres), and to this day on Trinity Sunday the saint's holiday is celebrated by sham battles between Christians and Moors. A description of the holiday and of the costumes may be found in an article by A. Thomas, "Vivien d'Aliscans et la légende de saint Vidian," in the *Études romanes* cited above. The article proves a relationship between St. Vidian's career and certain *chansons de geste*.

*I would swear by the Rose, etc.* Izora receives these words as a commonplace and wonders where the poor knight has been able to learn such *courtoisie*.

*You pay me in gold of Toulouse.* The gold of Toulouse became proverbial in pagan times; it denotes wealth that brings misfortune.

#### ACT II

##### Scene 1

*Ah, trust not the folly of love!* This song, in the words of which Gaétan and the Fisherman call to each other, was taken down by



the Vicomte de la Villemarqué and published in his collection of Breton folk-songs, *Barzaz Breiz : Chants populaires de la Bretagne*. History has preserved a dim recollection of a city of the 5th century called Chris, or Ker-is. According to the legend Ker-is was the capital of Armorica and was governed by the pious king Gradlon, who was on friendly terms with St. Gwénnolé, the first abbot of the first monastery built in Armorica. The city Ker-is stood on the shore of the sea and was separated from it by a huge basin that prevented inundations at flood tide. In the dam separating the basin from the city was a secret door, and the key to it was kept by the king.

The song, composed in the Cornish dialect, begins with the words :—

“ Arabad eo en embarat !  
 Arabad eo arabadiat !  
 Goude levenez, kalonad ! ”

“ Yield not to love !  
 Yield not to folly !  
 After pleasure comes grief ! ”

Further, the song described how the old king fell asleep after a feast. He slept in a mantle of purple, with a gold chain around his neck ; his hair, white as snow, fell over his shoulders.

Meanwhile the treacherous daughter of Gradlon, the beautiful Dahut, stole into his chamber, fell on her knees beside him, took the chain from his neck and the key together with the chain.

She opened the secret door in order to admit her lover, whose speech had flowed into her ears gently as water ; the ocean burst through and submerged the city. Only a forester heard later how Gradlon's wild steed, swift as flame, galloped forth into the black night ; he saw a mermaid combing her golden hair on the shore beneath the midday sun : she sang, and her songs were sad as the splash of the waves—St. Gwénnolé had changed the treacherous Dahut into a siren. Even today fishermen see the remains of walls and towers jutting out of the water at ebb tide, and in stormy weather they hear the sound of bells from the bottom of the sea.

Gaétan is only one of the composers of a legend the sources of which go back to the legends of the destruction of Sodom.

*Troménec.* A castle called Troménec really existed.

All the names of villages and hamlets are historical ; Plougasnou, Plouézec, and Plouguernau lie in northern Brittany, in the present

Department of Finistère. In a book by Fr. Albert Le Grand, a Dominican of the 16th century, *Les vies des saints de la Bretagne-Armorique* (Brest, 1837; there is a new edition), there is a chapter reprinted from *Stories of Churches and Chapels of the Mother of God, built in the diocese of St. Leo*, a work by the monk Cyrille Le Pennec (Morlaix, 1647). Here are the following statements: Near Amoriga is the parish of Landéda: although it is not large, in no way does it yield to others in respect to the honour given to the Holy Virgin. Thence is a descent to the harbour of Aber-Vrach (Aber-Crac'h, Aber-Wrac'h), where, attached to the church, is the monastery Notre-Dame des Anges, founded in 1507. (Thus at the time of *The Rose and the Cross* the monastery did not yet exist, nor does it now. At a later date it was turned into an inn, and it was destroyed during the Great Revolution.) In that same parish one may visit the Chapel of the Mother of God, which is situated on an attractive, grassy meadow in the vicinity of a beautiful spring; it belongs to the noble house of Troménec. The castle is near by. (In our day nothing of this castle remains save a few ruins overgrown with ivy.) The chapel was built by the seigneur de Troménac in commemoration of a duel with the young seigneur Carman.

Aber-Vrach is situated on the shore of a bay, at the mouth of the stream from which it takes its name, and directly opposite the outlet to the ocean. In the sixth decade of the last century a small fort was built at this gateway, but it is now abandoned. Even today the strip of coast dividing the bay from the ocean bears the name of Armorica, the ancient name of Brittany. Close to the fort are cliffs and rocks of fantastic shapes. Landéda and the ruins of Troménec lie on the heights above Aber-Vrach, in sight of the ocean. From every point on the shore may be seen the desolate Isle of the Virgin (Île Vierge), on which is erected the greatest of French light-houses, marking the entrance to the Channel.

*We always go there on a holiday.* The Fisherman means *les pardons*, "the days of absolution," which from time immemorial have been celebrated all over Brittany with dancing, processions, fairs, etc.

#### Scene 2

*From Armorica fair do I spring.* Gaétan is old-fashioned in calling his native land Armorica. In his time it already bore the name of Brittany.

*Brother, then thou believest,* etc. Such was not the usual view of the matter. At that time, although the unification of France was imminent, the majority did not expect it; and Aliscan, when he

speaks of "Brittany strange and remote" (Act I, Scene 3), is a representative of the general opinion.

*Mayhap I have wandered, etc.* Bertran had travelled north at the behest of the Count, at first riding along the Toulouse highway (*la via Tolosana*), the customary route of pilgrims to Santiago from the north. This route is indicated in a certain "road guide for pilgrims" (the *Codex Campostellanus*, of the 12th century); on it are indicated Nîmes, Saint-Gilles, Saint-Guilhem-du-Désert, Toulouse. In recent years Bédier, in his book *Les légendes épiques, recherches sur la formation des chansons de geste* (two volumes, Paris, 1908), following indications of the *chansons de geste*, has traced this route from Nîmes to Paris through Clermont-Ferrand. De Montfort, who went from Lyons toward Toulouse, evidently came out on the Toulouse highway somewhere further south; and there Bertran met him. Subsequently, fulfilling Izora's request, Bertran turned off to the northwest and reached the boundaries of Brittany.

*By an azure lake my young mother, etc.* All of Gaétan's monologue is inspired by the romance *Lancelot du Lac*. Lancelot was snatched from his cradle by the fay Vivian and taken to the bottom of the sea. She reared him; she taught him to play chess; after their repasts he sat opposite her, wearing a garland of roses even in those months when roses no longer bloom. When the young Lancelot began to pine and wished to become a knight, the fay for a long time refused to release him, but finally taught him the Christian precepts of chivalry and herself brought him to the court of King Arthur and the beautiful Queen Guinevere.

### ACT III

#### Scene 1

*The army of his Holiness.* The crusade against the Albigenses was inspired by Pope Innocent III.

*De Montfort's oriflamme.* The coat of arms of Simon III de Montfort is at Versailles. For all the coats of arms of the Hall of the Crusades, both sketches and descriptions, see C. Gavard, *Galeries historiques du palais de Versailles* (Paris, 1839-48), vol. 6.

*They are in fair Béziers, etc.* The event really took place in the summer of the year 1209. The famous words were spoken by the papal legate Arnaud Amalric. After this, states the chronicle, in the city "there remained not a single living creature." Béziers was pillaged and burned.

*That first fair day of spring, etc.* "April and May are the key to the whole year." (Old French proverb.)

*Scene 2*

*A bit of willow bark. Salix alba*, a familiar purgative in medieval times.

*I am standing watch tonight.* Besides fasting and a purifying bath, the ceremony of consecration of a knight involved standing watch during the night before the consecration : this was called *veillée des armes*.

*Scene 3*

Many passages in the dialogue between Izora and Alisa, especially that in which Alisa plays the rôle of a cleric, have been borrowed from *Flamenca*, a Provençal romance of the 12th century.

The same source inspired the character of the Count. Here, too, I obtained the name of Count Archimbaut and the names of Alisa (the chatelaine Flamenca has two *damoiselles*, Alis and Margarida), Otto, and Clari. Finally, from the same romance I have taken a few scattered figures and expressions in the play, for instance, the Count's hair : "just like the devil in the picture"; "when he smiles he bares his teeth like a dog"; "the fury of any dragon can be assuaged by meekness." See *Le roman de Flamenca, publié d'après le manuscrit unique de Carcassonne, traduit et accompagné d'un glossaire par Paul Meyer* (Paris and Béziers, 1865).

*Beautiful as Saint Hubert.* St. Hubert, *Apôtre des Ardennes* of the 12th century, the patron of huntsmen.

*Scene 5*

*The sentries are heard calling to one another.* To this day the night watchmen in Toulouse cry : "*Minuit passé, dormez en paix.*"

## ACT IV

*Scene 1*

*The crimson claret.* A mixture of wine, honey, perfumes, and spices.

*The art of courteous love. Courtoisie.*

*Scene 3*

*The Girls' Song.* This I have put together from various May songs (*trimouzettes*). It begins :—

" C'est le mai, le joli mai,  
C'est le mai, le tri mà ça."

The May tree, a pole decorated with flowers and ribbons, was carried by girls wearing wreaths and singing songs, or brought in a cart harnessed to oxen.

*Barons and men of wealth!* The constant title of the Provençal nobility was *rics oms e baros*.

*The First Minstrel's Song.* This is a free translation of three stanzas (I, II, and IV) of a famous *sirvente* by Bertran de Born, *Be m platz lo dous temps de pascor*. The rhyme scheme has been carefully observed.

*The Second Minstrel's Song.* This is a free adaptation of a song by a Picard trouvère of the 13th century. It begins:—

“ Le premier jor de mai  
dou dous tans cointe et gai,  
chevalchai  
entre Arras et Douai.”

*Gaëtan's Song.* This is my own, but some of the motifs were inspired by Breton poetry. There is an echo of the conversation between the child and the Druid, in which the Druid says: “ *La Nécessité unique, Ankou, père de la Douleur, rien avant, rien de plus* ” (See La Villemarqué, *Barzaz Breiz*.) The refrain repeats the constant motif, “ *La neige tombait, le vent soufflait.* ” (Compare “ *Noël de chouans,* ” in A. Le Braz, *Vieilles histoires du pays breton*: Paris, 1905.)

Izora's understanding of the song depends not only on her own character, but on the general tendencies of the southern temperament. The Italian scholar, Egidio Gorra, in discussing Provençal poetry, says with emphasis: “ *Joi e poesia sono sinonimi, come pure sinonimi sono poesia e amors* (*Delle origini della poesia lirica del medio evo*: Torino, 1895). The austere northern refrain of Joy and Suffering becomes transformed in the southern heart into, “ Suffering is joy with one's beloved.” *Joi* in the north is high inspiration, in the south it is the gentle joy of spring.

*Summon the jesters!* Often the same *jongleurs* who knew the art of song could also perform acrobatic tricks. The words of my *jongleurs* are borrowed.

*A cross on a crimson field.* The arms of Raymond of Toulouse. (See *Galeries historiques du palais de Versailles*, vol. 6.)

### Scene 5

*The Cross gleams high o'er the storm.* A vision of the Breton fishermen.

[One may note that *Aliscans*, the title of a romance of the 12th century, is really a place name, from the Latin *Elysii Campi*. Blok whimsically (or by a blunder?) uses the word (omitting the final s) as the name of his scapegrace page. *Translators.*]

## THE SAVAGE SHEPHERD

*Translated from the Polish of K. P. TETMAYER by H. E. KENNEDY.*

THERE was a shepherd from Jurgow, terribly savage; his name was Bronisław Luptowski—called the charcoal-burner, for his face was as black as if he burnt charcoal in the forest, only his great, blue eyes shone under their lashes. It was said of him that when he looked at anyone, even the boldest fellow couldn't keep looking at him and retreated. The shepherds' dogs, in height up to a man's middle, which would leap at a wolf alone, and even at a bear if there were three or four together near a mountain shed, before this Luptowski, when he came to a strange clearing, crouched down and growled from afar. He was so strong, too, that he could break two horseshoes at once like aspen rods. When they shut him up in the prison of Nowy Targ—he happened to have on him Orawa sandals, with heels—he amused himself by jumping on to the stove, which was low there, and from the stove on to the floor, and each time he drove his heels right into the floor, and he made such holes in that prison that all the warders, commissioners and judges gathered together and wondered, and the chief judge of all couldn't help giving him money for that trick, though he did damage; he marked the floor all over wonderfully!

And he was so cross that for nothing at all he hit a person in the face or kicked him, and then before they could look round them, they saw the world upside down. And when he got into that kind of a rage, he ran away from everything and lost himself somewhere in the woods, so that none either saw or heard of him. What he did, no man knew. Did he go robbing, or did he only wander? No man could tell. If he went robbing, it was by himself, for he had no comrades. But he was strong enough to be a whole band of robbers in one person.

"Hey, if Janosik was still alive," he would say sometimes, "we would have a try with each other, which of us would be chief. For with you, you weaklings, what can I do? I could only use you as flails, to thresh with in a barn."

But he only talked like that; for everyone knows that there was no fellow stronger than Janosik and that he carried rocks on his back, and when he jumped he hewed off the top of one fir with his mountain axe, and shot off the top of a second with his pistol, which this shepherd couldn't have done. But that he would have been a good comrade for Janosik, is sure.

And in the winter he worked with his parents at home, for he was very hard-working; in the summer he kept sheep in the mountains, in the Maple Orchards. And though he sometimes left the sheep and wandered somewhere in the Tatra Mountains, the Ustup chief shepherd was always glad to see him, for he was a real shepherd, when he wanted to be, one that you might look far through the world for. The sheep grazed with him as if they were pigs.

Bears, too, had no great reason to steal up to him out of the wide Jaworzyna knee-timber, for he was as watchful as a dog and had already killed two bears himself. Not with his musket or by means of a trap, God forbid; one of them he stunned with a stone and choked with his hands; the other he pierced with an iron fork.

There were no more such strong men as he was, after him.

Folk would have liked him, for he was a splendid fellow, comely and graceful, and he could talk agreeably and sensibly, but he had one failing, that he was terribly violent and that sometimes he ran amok. Hence folk kept out of his way and called him "the savage shepherd." He had already killed three people in fights, but in those times nobody minded that much.

The girls, too, feared him and ran away from him, but when he caught one of them by the hand, she was his.

And they told of him that with his eyes he so paralysed the girls that they were afraid to move—just the way a serpent does with birds, so folk say. And so he had as many sweethearts as he wanted, for nobody was very keen to come between him and them. He said of himself: "I have as many sweethearts as there are cones on a fir tree; but if you ask whether one of them loves me, I say no!"

He didn't love them, either. Today he was with one and tomorrow with another, again he would return and again would find a new one. He had whatever he wanted.

And what do you think happened? That shepherd fell in love with a wench that grazed cows near Muran Mountain. Nobody could understand what happened to him. But he changed so that it was as if someone had taken his spirit out and put in another. Where before his eyes would have shot sparks and his teeth would have gleamed between his lips, now he only smiled, turned away or went on further. He drove his sheep towards Muran; and though he grazed on other folk's pastures, nobody made any objection, for nobody knew whether that smiling had ended or not, or if it would end at once? He grazed where he would. He drove his sheep to Muran and said to the shepherds there:—

"Go and graze your sheep in the wide Jaworzyna Valley."

" But we're afraid of your chief shepherd."

But he smiled.

" Oh, I've asked him not to hinder you "

Then they went boldly, for they knew that no official paper was worth as much as that request.

And so there was no wrong or disagreement.

And she, that girl, came from the Zdziar region, where there are women famous for their beauty. Her name was Agnes Hawranóowna, and none would have believed that she could so look upon that Bronisław Luptowski as if he were a tree-trunk. He couldn't manage her at all.

" Little Agnes," he said to her, " won't you like me? "

And says she to him :—

" No ! "

" Why? "

" Because I don't like the look of you."

And he talked to her as to a saint's picture, and she to him as to a dog. And what use to him were his strength and might?

Another he would have seized by the hand, so as to leave red marks on her wrist, and there would be an end of it ! And with this one he only looked up as though to heaven ; and seldom does a mother speak as nicely to her child as he spoke to that Agnes ; and when the folk saw that he had softened so much, if they had not been afraid because of what they remembered, and if it hadn't been that they didn't know how long it would last, one and another would have paid him back with their fist between his eyes for what had been.

The wench was terribly bold with him. Not only would she not let him into the shed in the evening, but she wouldn't let him into the hut in the daytime, even though folk were there, and if he got in when she wasn't there, she hunted him out afterwards into the fields.

" What do you want here? You're not one of ours, go to your own ! What business have you among us? Get away ! You devil ! "

And he said nothing, only looked at her as if he were saying his prayers, stood up and went away. People said : " It serves him right," but one and another girl was so sorry for him, that she would have been glad to comfort him. But he had no eyes for anyone now but for that Agnes Hawranóowna from Zdziar.

And so it happened that they met one evening among the rocks



near the Muran Mountain, she lower down with her cows and he higher up with his sheep. He came towards her and asked :—

“ Will you let me sit by you ? ”

“ Sit, but so that I don’t see you ”

“ Then you can’t bear me at all ? ”

“ I can’t.”

“ But why? There must be some reason for it ! ”

“ There is.”

“ What reason ? ”

“ Because I’ve promised Jendrek Hawraniec that’s serving in the cuirassiers.”

At that, how he jumped up and shouted :—

“ Then its only for that ! Hey, and I thought it was goodness knows what.”

He caught her up in his arms as he would a lamb, and bore her towards the sheep among the crags. She, whether it was because she got dumb with fright, or whether it was because she was so obstinate, didn’t even cry out. It was no use crying out, either, for who would have followed him there? . . .

He carried her to a flat place where the sheep were grazing. He laid her on the ground, knelt down by her, and says he :—

“ You’re mine.”

“ I’m not yours ! ”

“ Then I’ll throw you from this crag down the precipice ! ”

“ You won’t ! ”

“ No? And who will defend you ? ”

“ You yourself ! ”

“ I myself ? ”

“ Your love.”

And it was only then that something happened that never and never had been seen by folk in the world. He let her go ; then he jumps and catches the nearest sheep, he throws it down the precipice, he runs about the grass, and throws down the fifty or more sheep he was shepherding, all in a heap, as it were, from the height of two storeys. There was a very rampart of those killed sheep. He was so furious !

Meanwhile she had jumped up from the ground and run to the shed.

When he finished with those sheep, he must have weakened, for he lay down on his back ; night was coming on and he was still visible, black on the moonlit grass. Folk didn’t know what he was

doing, whether he had fainted or what, but they were afraid to go and look at him.

Still there was no sign of him till the morning, and he never more came back to Muran.

At first they thought, both at the Maple Orchards and there, that perhaps he had enlisted in the army; for just then there came to Lewocha Austrian Imperial recruiting sergeants, enlisting men. But it was not so.

In the night he got heavily up from where he lay and stole towards Agnes' shed, which stood on the edge, under a hill; the dogs didn't bark, for they knew him well. He drags a stone from the hill with his hands, a stone that scarcely three fellows could have lifted, raises it up above his head—he knew on which side Agnes was sleeping. Here, here, he would have crushed the roof in and killed her.

He aimed once, then let his hands fall; he aimed a second time—the same; at the third time he flung the stone into the pond, and only said to himself softly: “Oh, little Agnes, little Agnes!” . . .

Such a lad! And he could have demolished all the sheds and all the shepherds in them!

And, as if he was afraid of himself, he jumped into the forest, from the forest into the knee-timber, in among the crags, he ran across the Maple Ridge, let himself down into that old forest that then grew under the Rowienka Mountain. There the red firs were as thick as pillars in a church, and under their branches there was scarce any light. To higher than a man's knee grew ferns, all kinds of plants, sorrel, charlocks, and grass. There was a terribly thick undergrowth. Trees grew thick on the remains of rotten trees, the feet sank into rotten wood. Piled up between rocks, one on another, were trunks, beams, blocks, and everywhere was damp, green moss; and moss hung from the branches, greyish green, long as beards. And among the trees grew tall, yellow flowers—and they would shine sometimes in such a way through the branches that you would have said something evil was looking at you, till you shivered. And when there is no wind, it's so quiet there that there isn't a stir. Even the water flowing in the torrent down below isn't to be heard. A forest still as a dead man.

There he stopped, that Luptowski shepherd, and it was still deep night; for he could walk quickly, he could!

He found himself in that forest and says he: “Hey, forest, forest! either I or you!”

Whatever was it that came into his head? He went clean mad!

He catches one trunk—pulls it towards him—a crash! It crumbles. He catches another, and a third; he breaks and tears young red firs, pulls them up by the roots. He jumps at old fir trees with his teeth bared, he tears the bark from the trees, till blood and foam squirt from his lips. Through the wood spreads a din, a crashing, a cracking, so that the huntsmen, and the chamois hunters from Zakopane, who were camping for the night not far off, thought that a bear had been caught in an iron trap somewhere near the Frog Ridge (for the Białka folk were accustomed to lay traps there), and had dragged it towards Rowienka. And a bear in a trap breaks the forest most terribly. But it was night, so they were afraid to go there.

Towards morning the noise ceased.

"The poor thing has tired itself out," said the huntsmen. "We must go that way and see if we can't somehow set him free, for he must be tired of being in that trap. . . ."

They went along, then they stopped, as if someone had thrown sulphur in their eyes; even their muskets shook in their hands, and Tyrala's even dropped.

There were great, crushed branches; little trees; broken trees, one on another, so that in the wood there was now a clearing one could see out of; there under a fir-tree was a man in a torn shepherd's shirt, with a tattered belt. He was all bloody, his hair stuck together with blood, he was scratched, with holes all over his body, as if someone had dragged him over a harrow. They got so terrified that they hesitated for a long time, whether to go up to him or to flee.

"A devil went mad, and that's all," says Capek.

"Or he struggled with some spirit and overcame him"—says Tylka.

"Oh"—says Tyrala from Kościeliska Valley (for he was prone to believe in such things)—"I know. Isn't that he who bore his sins like living flesh on his shoulders and tore them with his teeth?"

"Or something has beaten somebody," says Capek.

"For who knows if a devil didn't perhaps choke the man and throw him there?" says Tylka.

"Eh," says Tyrala, "why should he have danced about the wood with him till the morning? Do you think it's like in an inn, when two fellows get each other by the heads? An evil spirit need do nothing but touch a man! If he touches you with his finger, it's all over with you!"

But old Jendru Siecka, a wise fellow, says nothing, only looks, and then he says :—

“ What fool’s tales you’re telling ! Nonsense ! It seems to me, I must know this man from somewhere. Wait a little ! The sun has just shone out clear. Let’s look at him ”

He approaches, he looks, he shouts :—

“ Why, it’s the wild shepherd from Jurgow ! Why, I’ve seen him time after time. He wasn’t like that. He must have gone mad, and none made all that confusion but he alone. He’s made fine holes in his chest, neck, face and arms with the branches. He’s like a sieve ! But what has happened to him ? Look at him, all of you ! ”

“ But he was a fine fellow, he was,” says Tyrala, for now they had all plucked up their courage to come near to him, after Siecka.

“ The wild shepherd ? Luptowski ? I knew him,” says Tylka. “ If you fell into his hand, you’d soon have chased your heels with your teeth in the air ! I saw how, at a fair at Lewocha, he carried a horse in his arms like a sack of spring grain.”

“ Hey, I met him, too, time and again ”—said Siecka. “ Once for a joke he stopped the mill wheel at Szaflary with his arms. We were just coming back from town when he did it. The miller ran—what the devil had happened ? He crossed himself, so he did. And that rascal held on and laughed. “ What’ll you give me ? ” says he, “ if I let go ” He had to give him two twenty-crown pieces, but he wasn’t a poor man, that Kamiński in Szaflary.”

“ Dad Siecka ! ” says Tylka—“ I think he’s still alive. He is quivering.”

Siecka bent down and then he, that shepherd, opened his eyes and he whispered :—

“ Hey, what has got the better of me ? These two : A wench and the forest.” . . .

And then he died

## GJERZELEZ AT THE GYPSY FAIR

*Translated from the Serbo-Croat of IVAN ANDRIĆ by N. B. JOPSON*

GJERZELEZ jumped across the river at Uvac and spurred his beast so hard that all the Priboj horse copers and experts found work to do, putting layers of fresh dung on its hooves and then washing them with the urine of young boys. During these operations Gjerzelez would stoop down and examine the hooves, keeping quite

silent and not daring to look his horse in the eye. He offered a whole *medžedija* to whoever would cure the animal and give it back its former brisk trot.

He was taciturn and reckless, and—a rare thing for him—without appetite. Ever since he had left Višegrad food had been distasteful. He took his place at table and smoked immoderately, and the very thought of food was revolting.

The next evening he went outside the coffee house, examined his horse and was glad to see that it was improving. He then set off along some lanes opposite the high road. It was a dark, cold, starlit night. He rambled around for a long while and, on his way back to the inn again, he met a monk on the high road. The man was bent or pretended to be so, to look older.

"Tell me, shaveling, are you from these parts?"

"No, Bey, just here for the night," the monk said softly, disquieted at meeting such a Turk as Gjerzelez at so late an hour.

Gjerzelez came a step nearer, and marvelling that he should be addressing a monk, said:

"Come now, tell me, have you ever read in your books whether it is a sin for a girl of your faith to look upon a Turk?"

The monk wriggled and writhed, but at last, realising perhaps that the Turk was genuinely in something of a dilemma, he took heart and shrewdly turned the question by a parable. Even as the good God, he said, had created the flowers with all their motley colours, so had he created people with different faiths, and had it been His will, He would assuredly have made us all to have one religion. But since He had ordained things in His own way, we must all pray to God after our particular religion, and strive to keep and marry within it.

As always happened when he listened to another's words, Gjerzelez thought the monk spoke truly, and he continued on his road uneasily silent, and thinking of nothing. Suddenly he turned round facing the monk as though he would ask him about some personal sin he had committed.

"Tell me why your women do not veil their faces?"

"Oh, it just isn't our custom, you see. We are not up to wenches and their queer ways; we haven't any wives and we don't know about them."

"H'm."

He had another look at him and then coldly turned away and stepped out faster. In the silence the scraping of his skin on his jerkin and leggings could be heard. The monk strangely enough

trotted along behind him. When they reached the inn Gjerzelez went up the stairs, and turning round once more, said: "Good night."

"God's blessing on you, beg-effendi; *eisadile*," the monk called out, slipping quickly away.

In the morning Gjerzelez was wakened early by shouting, laughter and singing. It was gypsies washing themselves down by the mills. They were splashing the water, screaming and beating each other with willow twigs. It was St. George's day.

In the coffee house he came upon the two Morić brothers, the sons of old Morić of Sarajevo, who had been famed for his wealth and piety, and who had died on a pilgrimage. But the sons were loose-living wastrels, with an evil reputation for brutal and shameful deeds. The younger of the two had attended the college of Istambol and had run away as soon as his father died to join his brother in his vagrant, dissolute life, but he always wore a white veil round his fez. And in spite of all his dreadful bouts of drunkenness and his vagrant life his face had remained smooth as a boy's and ruddy, with pouting lips like those of a spoilt child; but his eyes, unchaste and green, were old-looking and seemed to have faded under their swollen lids. The elder of the two was tall and pale, and had once been the handsomest young fellow in all Sarajevo, with his thick, black moustache and his large dark eyes in which there always played a glint of gold. Only now his face was cold and dead; he was secretly going to pieces from the effects of a foul disease, and none knew how to cure him but a certain barber in Bistrik who had treated him with pills and poultices, and had refused to tell anyone what he concocted them of. But the brothers had not dared to go to Sarajevo of late, for they had learnt that an ultimatum had been issued from Istambol, commanding that they be captured and hanged because of the complaints lodged against them for their profligate and violent deeds. So now they were being sought for in the neighbourhood of Sarajevo by the Tosk gendarmes and vezirs. They were at the end of their resources, anyhow, for they had sold up all their serfs, and had nothing left but the large inn in Varoš and their famous ancestral home in Kovači, the house in which their old mother and their only sister, a puny, ailing girl with a hump, lived.

Gjerzelez and they exchanged greetings, for they were old friends, and they began to drink. The brothers noticed the change in him and began to question and tease him.

"What's the matter? Why have you grown so gloomy? Old before your time, Gjerzelez, damn it"

"Darinka of Plevlje sends you greetings, and says that she has been sleeping alone ever since you went away"

Gjerzelez made no answer. The elder Morić spoke with the morose and rather condescending tone of a debauched desperado, and with an added accent of intimacy when he spoke to Gjerzelez himself. The younger one just smiled.

"Out of humour this morning," the elder brother said with a curt, stifled laugh. But Gjerzelez continued to gaze at them; he now felt calm, his pain had died down, and his anger had cooled, though he still felt downhearted. He gazed at them, and they were like little children to him, inexperienced and wayward. Everyone who had not seen the slim Vlach girl in her flowing dress of green satin and with her little head peeping out above her fur collar, seemed a very child to him. He said nothing. They began to pester him to go to the fair with them in the afternoon, but he shilly-shallied, and it was not till after lunch and he began to be bored that he gave way and consented to go.

On the top of the hill there was some flat sward surrounded with big sparse fir trees, and open to the west. That was where the gypsies had their fair. Their fires were burning, they were beating their drums and sounding their cornets and *šargijas*. The *kolo* never ceased. In the bright sunlight their motley dresses glinted and danced; red predominated. They never stopped drinking and feasting and frolicking and laughing and romping. Gjerzelez, the Morićes and some lads from Priboj sat down at one of the fires. They drank *rakija*, and Gjerzelez at first thought it was sour, but they all plied him with titbits, and the day was warm and lovely; the drinks went round, and whenever he drained his glass he could see the tops of the dark firs see-sawing against the spring sky.

Up came a grocer and spoke to him.

"As soon as I heard, God bless me, that you had come, I put up my shutters, and said I'd be off to see you. And . . ."

But now all dancing and laughter was interrupted and the pipes lost tune and rhythm, for Zemka had hoisted herself on to the swing.

Zemka had been divorced for the third time, but she was lissom and her eyes were green, and she was whiter than all the other gipsy women. It was said there was no man who was a match for her.

The swing was fastened to a pear tree, and high up it soared along with Zemka. The gipsy women were propelling her from

behind, while she, her elbows held wide, clung strongly to the rope, and her sweep grew ever greater. Her face was pale and her eyes downcast. And now she was swinging up and beyond the line of the river bank, and was silhouetted on the horizon. Her pantaloons swelled out and twisted into a hundred folds as they fluttered and swept the sky. Gjerzelez, sitting huddled up by the fire, followed her rise and fall, and as often as she rose and was outlined like an almost flat streak on the sky line only to fall back again into her steep fall, a thrill of bliss and of terror ran through him as though he were on the swing himself. He drank faster and more joyfully. And still Zemka would not stop; you could see she was breathing with difficulty and was growing paler, but she continued to swing up and up. And whenever she was at the highest point she opened her eyes to see, with a sweet thrill, the ploughed land and the river below the bank. At first they had all looked at her in silent amazement, but gradually the laughter and drunken rowdiness began again. The gipsies and the Priboj lads began to cat-call and cry out to her, though she could not hear anything.

"Hi, look down here, Zemka."

"She'll fall poor thing, don't go on."

"Well, if she does, she'll fall soft."

"Here's a pillow."

"Ha, ha, ha!"

"Hi! Swing for us, Zemka."

But Zemka was tired by now. The gipsy women no longer pushed her off. Her sweep was growing smaller and smaller, she was now swinging only with the momentum of her own weight, in ever smaller curves, until at last her legs touched the grass and she got down, smiling in ecstasy. Gjerzelez sat where he was and gazed at her, delighted and with his arms wide apart—his reason all gone—carried away by the gaiety and by her beauty and by the bombazine pantaloons, which waved in the air like a standard and mingled with the tops of the fir trees and the blue sky. His depression yearned of a sudden to be transformed into high spirits and merriment. For an instant only he felt a kind of grief and shame at having so quickly renounced his sadness and angry resolve on the high road never again to have anything to do with a woman—"no, not even a pussy cat." But suddenly the gipsy women, after a lot of whispering and talking together, sang out in chorus:

"Gjerzelez, O Gjerzelez, he has fallen sick, alas, alas!"

Then a clamour and screaming broke out, and they all looked at him, but he was beyond seeing anyone. His eyes sparkled and



his face was agleam, but he felt powerless and weak, and could not move from the spot.

It was the song the gypsy women of Srebrnica had sung one year when he lay sick there all one spring; he had been treacherously struck down from behind, one Friday, when he was serenading Nuribeg's daughter at her window. But he did not remember the Friday nor the window nor Nuribeg's daughter. She had long slipped from his memory; all he remembered was how he had lain there, weak and wounded, and how the swollen brook had babbled and rumbled under the open window. On the river bank there had been a St. George day fair, and the gypsy women had then for the first time sung a song about him, and the song had been echoed from bank to bank, and the whole chasm of Srebrnica had resounded and rumbled with songs and the stream, and there he had lain too weak even to put to his lips a cup of lemonade. He remembered it all, yes, he remembered it, but he could not keep the fair he had heard in his illness, clear from the scenes of the present fair, the whistling and drinking and merrymaking. And through it all Zemka was swinging in a great bold arc, and he was devouring her with his eyes, and a shudder, now hot, now cold, ran down into his loins. For the last few days he had hardly eaten anything, and he was quickly overcome by the drink. The sun had gone down, and the wind blew cold. The fir trees were rustling, and the smoke from the fires was blue as dusk came on. Gjerzelez ordered a gypsy to stand over him and twang the high notes of his fiddle, and all the time he was waving his hands, ready to strike him and curse his fiddle and the fellow that had made it, while the elder Morić held his hand and strove to soothe him. Then he got up and said he was off to snatch Zemka. But when the brothers restrained him and laughed at him, the Priboj lads plucked up courage and laughed too. With the hubbub and guffaw, Gjerzelez began to stammer.

"She . . . she . . . is my enemy."

He braced himself, staggered up, thrust out his arms, and went off after Zemka, who was standing among the other women near the swing, munching red Albanian comfits. He had undone his belt, and his breeches were dangling and flapping, and his legs, short enough at any time, looked even shorter and dumpier than ever. His girdle had slipped away from its cherry coloured silken thread and was trailing after him, drenched with *rakija* and stained with ash. He could hardly keep on his feet, but he staggered on, swerving now to the left and then to the right. The gypsy women

yelled with laughter and their men began to be over pert. The music of the pipes stopped.

"Earth, be good and hold him up!"

"Pull on it! Hold fast!"

"Allah, Allah."

And the rabble that had climbed up into the branches slyly pelted him with dry fir cones. So he turned about, sat down to drink again and burst into song.

Darkness was falling, and the people were gradually drifting off; the Morics and their company had just begun to get tipsy, and were carousing and bandying jokes about Gjerzelez. He was straining his eyes to distinguish the form of Zemka in the darkness, while everything was wavering and dancing before his eyes. The players wanted to be off, but they were made to stay on with fair words and then with threats; curses were showered upon their gypsy mothers, and coppers and blows flung to them in turn.

"It is late, let us go, noble ryes. It's too dark to see, we live a long way off, we shall be done for."

Suddenly the younger Moric jumped up, his smooth face gone pale and swollen and evil, like that of a man ready for any mischief. "I will light you on your way, you spawn of Egypt."

He got up and seized a mighty juniper log. Holding it away from him, for the smoke stifled him and sparks were flying out on all sides, he moved off with slow, staggering steps along the glade. On its western, exposed slope a haystack stood, separated by a fence from the brushwood, and nibbled at and eaten away at the edges wherever the cattle could get at it. He found the stack in the darkness, but for a long time the hay would not catch fire. It was not until he had snapped off some dry wattles from the fence and had put them under the hay that the stack caught properly alight. The fire rose higher and higher until at length it was transformed into a great column of flame which spread in the wind and took on the appearance of a sail of fire. The hay crackled and the sparks flew up, and a red glow enveloped the fir trees and the glade and the stragglers from the fair, who were hastening to scatter in all directions. The musicians were quivering with fear:

"For mercy's sake, Rye, what have you done? The cadì will hang us all."

"To the devil with you and the cadì."

"It is not you he will be after, but us poor gypsies. He'll say it is the gypsies that have fired his hay. Oo, oo!"

And the poor hucksters, too, were terrified, though they saw

the fire through a drunken haze—the joke had gone too far. Only the two Morices sat on, firing off their pistols, tipping away, staring and blinking at the fire.

And in the gathering darkness Gjerzelez tottered after the last of the gypsy women to catch Zemka. He did his utmost to mend his pace, and was on the point of catching her up when she suddenly swerved to the left and vanished along a path which led across the fields. Gjerzelez was taken aback by the sudden turn. Once he had got into his stride he was too clumsy and top-heavy and too drunk to be able to slow down. On he went, over the slope of the glade, and stumbled down the high steep bank alongside the brook. At first he managed to keep on his legs, but as the bank fell away steeper and steeper he began to lose his balance, and like a log he toppled over right down into the stream. He could feel clammy stones and oozing mud under him, and at once he tried to rise. There was still a flickering gleam before his eyes, though it was quite dark where he was. He groped around for water and began to bathe his hands and forehead. For a long time he sat there, while the night gathered round him.

After a while he felt the night chill and a horrid shivering, but he pulled himself together, and with muddled brain he resolved to drag himself out of the brook. He scrambled up and pushed himself off, clutching at the grass and brambles and bracing himself with his knees, ever edging along to the left where the bank was not so steep, and doing everything as in a dream.

After a long time and after much exertion he found himself on an edge of the glade where by now not a living soul was to be seen. It was dark, and once he felt the hard, flat ground under his feet, he was quite overcome. He fell down on his knees and landed on his hands, and so felt something soft and yielding beneath him; he had come out at the place where the haystack had been fired. So he lay there, flat on his stomach and propped up by his arms. He fell ill at ease. Underneath him, in the welter of the black and spent stubble, an odd spark gleamed. The snarling of dogs tearing and gnawing over the remnants of the bones could be heard. A cone dropped from a fir tree and rolled down on to him. He smiled, saying: "Don't throw things at me, Zemka, little witch that you are . . . just come over here."

Impossible to win control of himself. He remembered that he wanted to fight someone; he wanted to ask someone what ailed him, but the sky had grown overcast and the night was late, and there was no one to ask and no one to fight.

## THE RUSSIAN WAR PLAN OF 1914

### *Number and effective force of the Russian Armies.*

IN 1914 the Russian Army mustered in time of peace 1,400,000 men. With the promulgation of a general mobilisation, all men having formerly served in the army of peace time, were drafted. They were to reinforce the units of the first line, which existed in time of peace, up to the war standard and to form second-line troops, units and establishments for the rear and *depôt* battalions.

By these measures the number of the Russian armed forces was increased to 4,900,000 men, the age of the rank and file being from 21 to 43 years.

Besides these 4,900,000 men who had undergone military training, there existed in Russia the so-called "Opolchenie" This was composed of men of the same age-classes as the former (21 to 43 years), who had not passed through the army in time of peace. This was because the Russian law was greatly concerned with the prosperity of the peasant household and therefore gave a large exemption from conscription to the sons of small families. The "Opolchenie" numbered up to 6 millions; it was intended to use them for the formation of special territorial battalions (*Druzhinas*), for service in the remote rear, and also as a labour force. As it was composed of men without any military training whatsoever and was armed with an obsolete rifle of the 1877 model, these territorials could not be considered as a real force.

For this reason our war plan had limited the draft of this category to only 400,000 men in case of a general mobilisation. The rest of the "Opolchenie" was regarded as a huge human reservoir for filling the *depôt* battalions in measure of requirement.

But the Russian war plan thought it possible to carry out the war, disposing of a force of 5,300,000 men. Taking into consideration the total population of Russia with her 165 millions, this represents 3 per cent. In this same month of August, 1914, Germany, with a population of 65 millions, had raised her armed forces to the level of 4,000,000 men, or 6 per cent. I would like to draw attention to this fact, because the statistically high figures have so impressed the mind of the broad masses, that in the general opinion of our Allies the real power of Russia has been greatly overrated. It is easy to prove this by referring to a series of articles published during the war by *The Times*, in which Russia was compared to a "steam-roller," which would crush Germany under its weight.

All these and similar theories were founded on a thorough

ignorance of the technical character of modern warfare. Just as in an up-to-date factory the number of workmen is limited by the number of machines they have to serve, there exists in a modern army a limit to the number of men which can be efficiently employed, and this limit is determined by the number of the war machines. And, likewise, as in a modern factory, an extra addition of workmen beyond the aforesaid limit would not lead to any increase of the output, equally an overcrowding with men would not raise the efficiency of a modern army; it may, on the contrary, even lower it, by tempting the leaders into the dangerous experiment of endeavouring to compensate the technical shortcomings by shedding human blood.

To enable Russia to bear, in the case of a general mobilisation, a strain equal to that of Germany, it would have required a budget by far exceeding the economic capacities of the country. But even with the given 5,000,000 men, our war plan had already gone beyond the limit of an efficient saturation of the army with men. To prove this statement, it is sufficient to recall to mind the following considerations: the effective force of a modern army is estimated by the number of its infantry divisions. Now, having at its disposal 5,000,000 men, the Russian war plan raised an effective force of 114 infantry divisions, whereas Germany, with her 4,000,000, had put on foot 123 infantry divisions. In other words, the Russian war plan availed itself of its man-power 33 per cent. less efficiently than did the German.

But this inferiority is still more evident when we compare the real fighting efficiency of a Russian and a German infantry division.<sup>1</sup> In the Russian army an infantry division consisted of 16 battalions and 6 batteries of 3-in. field guns. In Germany an infantry division mustered 12 battalions and 12 batteries,<sup>2</sup> 3 of which were 4-in. howitzers. Under the conditions as they existed in 1914, an additional number of 4 battalions did not increase the effective fighting force of an infantry division. In the course of the war Russia reduced the number of battalions in the divisions from 16 to 12, without any detriment to the fighting power of the infantry divisions. But the disparity in artillery made the effective fighting force of the German infantry division considerably superior. It is true that the German second-line divisions were less abundantly

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> If we take into consideration that a French army corps of two infantry divisions included twelve batteries of corps artillery, we here also come to an effective fighting force of twelve battalions with twelve batteries.

supplied with artillery; but as the German army corps and armies included batteries of heavy field artillery, which were almost missing on our side, the disproportion in artillery remains, even in the latter case, so great, that we may take the effective force of one German infantry division as being equal to one and a-half Russian infantry divisions. Experience of the war has amply confirmed this evaluation. Therefore, the Russian army in 1914, with a total number of about 5,000,000 men, owing to our deficiency in artillery, must be valued from a viewpoint of real fighting efficiency, as being not less than one and a-half times inferior to the German army, the total number of which did not exceed 4,000,000 men.<sup>3</sup>

After the experience of the war with Japan (1904-05), the Russian General Staff naturally did not fail to value the increased importance of artillery. But in order to come up to the level of Germany in this respect, it required to incur very heavy expenses. On the other hand, the restoration of our military power after the unsuccessful war with Japan demanded such large financial assignments, that it was considered possible to proceed with the reinforcement of our artillery only from the beginning of 1915. This was foreseen in our great programme of 1914.<sup>4</sup>

Germany's ally, Austria-Hungary, was only slightly superior in artillery to Russia, her infantry division mustering from 13 to 15 battalions with 5 batteries of field guns and 2 batteries of light howitzers. For this reason we will, in our subsequent strategical calculations, take the efficiency of a Russian infantry division as being equal to a corresponding Austro-Hungarian unit.

#### *Mobilisation.*

Out of the 114 infantry divisions only 78, that is two-thirds, existed in time of peace. If we add to these the cavalry with 28 regular and Cossack divisions, we have the total number of the Russian forces of the first line. The remaining 35 infantry divisions, as well as a number of Cossack divisions, and inferior Cossack units intended to serve as divisional cavalry, were formed only at the beginning of the general mobilisation. They were in every respect second-line troops, not only because of their late formation, but also because of their inferior combative qualities.

The troops of the first line were distributed in time of peace into 37 army corps. The vastness of Russia's territory demanded

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix No. 2.

<sup>4</sup> According to this "great programme" the Russian army was to be provided in the course of the years 1915-17 with 500 additional batteries.

the organisation of still larger military commands in time of peace. These were the military districts, with a commanding general of all the troops at their head, to whom were also subordinated all the military institutions and establishments within the limits of his district. These military districts facilitated the mobilisation in many respects, for the reason, among others, that in the persons of the generals commanding the districts and their staffs, we had prepared ready organs for heading the armies and groups of armies in time of war.

There existed altogether 12 military districts in Russia—8 in European Russia and 4 in Asia. The army corps stationed near the frontier were to cover the strategical deployment. These troops, especially those of the districts next to Germany (Vilna and Warsaw), were maintained in a condition of accelerated mobilisation.

For this reason the terms for a mobilisation of the different parts of the Russian army were very unequal :—

(a) For the troops of the first line :—

Cavalry	...	...	...	...	from 1 to 19 days.
Infantry and artillery	...	...	...	..	3 to 39 ..

(b) For the troops of the second line .. 7 to 43 ..

(c) For the rear ... .. 7 to 45 ..

Such a great difference in the terms of mobilisation was due to the slowness with which it could be effected in the Asiatic military districts. In the European military districts mobilisation was much quicker, and the time required is shown by the following figures :—

(a) Troops of the first line :—

Cavalry	...	...	...	...	from 1 to 5 days.
Infantry and artillery	...	...	...	..	3 to 13 ..

(b) Troops of the second line ... .. 7 to 18 ..

(c) Rear ... .. 5 to 14 ..

But even these terms of mobilisation seem excessive when compared to those of Germany and Austria-Hungary, where they varied within the limits of 1 to 5 days.

In order to show how much more unfavourable the mobilisation conditions were in Russia than with Germany and her ally, we give the following data : The average railway transport of a mobilised man did not exceed 200 miles in Germany and Austria-Hungary, whereas it was as high as 500 miles in Russia. The density of the

railway system in the first two countries was from 10 to 18 miles to the 100 square miles, whereas in Russia (taking European Russia alone) it was not more than 1·5 miles to the same 100 square miles.

*The Concentration of Troops.*

The insufficient density of our railway system protracted the transport of the troops more than it did their mobilisation. Our common frontier with Germany and Austria-Hungary was especially dangerous. For this reason, if we draw a meridian across the Russian army of peace time, dividing it into two equal parts, this line will pass through Petrograd-Kiev-Odessa. The danger which threatened our common frontier with Germany and Austria-Hungary was the cause of the unnatural development of our railway system from an economic point of view. The lines were built to the western frontier only in consideration of their strategical importance. On Appendix No. 5 is shown a scheme of our principal railway lines west of the meridian Petrograd-Kiev-Odessa. We see that to the front Verzhobolovo-Volochisk, on a length of 260 miles, there converged from the front, Petrograd-Kiev-Odessa, 950 miles long, six double-track and two single-track railroads, with a total capacity of 250 échelons a day.

Under these circumstances Russia could concentrate for active operations against Germany and Austria-Hungary :—<sup>5</sup>

- (a) At the end of the first 15 days of mobilisation—one-third of the total number of her infantry divisions;
- (b) At the end of the next 15 days—another one-third of her infantry divisions;
- (c) in the course of the second month, the army corps from the Caucasus, Turkestan and Siberia could be brought up to the front, whereas the army corps of Pri-Amur could not arrive before the end of a third month.

The weak point in our railway system in the territory in question was the insufficiency of branch lines. If we cast a glance at Appendix No. 5, we perceive that the transport of our troops from the North to the South, or back, was only possible in the area between the rivers Vistula and Bug, where two double-track and one single-track branch lines were available. Eastward of that area, on a stretch of 200 miles, there existed only one single-track branch line, running from Baranovichi to Rovno.

<sup>5</sup> See Appendix No. 5.



*The Military-Geographical Characteristics of our Western Border Territory and its Military-Engineering Preparation*

The principal cause for this defect in our railway system must be sought in the *geographical characteristics of the country*.<sup>6</sup> Within the system of the river Pripet, between the courses of the Bug and Dnieper, there extends a vast marshy, wooded area, called the Polesye, the strategical signification of which is very important. It divided our western border territory into two separate theatres of war: the North-western and the South-western. For this reason the Russian armies operating against Germany on the North-western front and the Russian armies engaged against Austria-Hungary on the South-western front, could establish firm operative liaisons only on condition of our having a strong hold on the territory west of the Polesye. And this was the territory between the River Bug and the River Vistula, which we have mentioned before and which represents the advanced theatre (as we will call it) of war. As long as it was in our hands we had the possibility of executing a central manœuvre against Germany and Austria-Hungary. This was realised as early as a hundred years ago by the Emperor Nicholas I, who, in order to secure our hold on this advanced theatre, conceived the idea of building a system of fortresses, namely, Novogeorgievsk, Ivangorod and Brest Litovsk. When we cast a glance at Appendix No. 6, we perceive that the fortresses of Novogeorgievsk and Ivangorod were like buttresses, protecting the flanks of the middle course of the Vistula, which would thus form a shield against any attempts at invasion of the advanced theatre from the west. The fortress of Brest-Litovsk would have safeguarded the last link of this advanced theatre with the North-western and South-western theatres of war.

Apart from this, the fortresses of Novogeorgievsk and Ivangorod had another important strategical significance. They left the Russian army master of the crossings over the Vistula, enabling it, after the concentration of its main forces, to advance in the shortest operative direction on Berlin or Vienna, or against the flanks and rear of an enemy who might have concentrated his forces in East Prussia or Galicia.

Lastly, the fortress of Novogeorgievsk had one more strategical value: it protected the left flank of a defensive line, strong in itself by nature, which covered the advanced theatre against any attempts of the Germans from the north. This line of defence ran along the

<sup>6</sup> See Appendix No. 7.

rivers: the inferior course of the River Bug—its tributary, the River Narev—the River Bobr, itself a tributary of the Narev.

Under Alexander II, his enlightened Minister of War, Count Milyutin, and later, in the reign of Alexander III, Milyutin's disciple, General Obruchev, worked out the plan sketched by the Emperor Nicholas I. In order to increase the strength of Novogeorgievsk, Zegrzh was built at the point where the Narev empties into the Bug, and Warsaw fortified, thus creating a triangle of fortresses at the nucleus of the rivers Vistula, Bug and Narev. Besides this, the fortress of Osoverts, on the Bobr, had been built. These measures had turned the advanced theatre into a formidable *place d'armes*, effectively protected towards the north and the west. This protection was much less serious towards the south, but the Austro-Hungarian army has never been such a formidable adversary as the warlike Prussians.

The strategical idea that in case of a war with Germany and Austria-Hungary the Russian army should avail itself of the advantage of a central position of its main forces concentrated in the advanced theatre, clearly appears in a memorandum written by General Obruchev in 1892, i.e. the year in which he signed, in the name of Russia, the military convention with France.

"We must," says this memorandum, "reserve to ourselves the right of such a repartition of forces as will enable us to deal a decisive blow at the armies of the Triple Alliance. It may be that to this end we shall have to turn our principal effort at the outset against Germany, as our most dangerous and powerful adversary; it may be that it will appear still more advantageous first to crush Austria as rapidly as possible, so as to deal subsequently more easily with isolated Germany."

Unfortunately, during the reign of Nicholas II, the harmony of this plan was disturbed by dissonant notes, coming from the side of our Minister of War, General Sukhomlinov. The advanced theatre was now no longer looked upon as an advantageous *initial strategical position* for executing an *effective central manoeuvre*, but was considered to be something in the nature of a *mouse-trap*. It was now the line of Kovno-Brest Litovsk-Rovno that was designated as the new initial main position, strengthened by a fortress which was to be built at Grodno. Therefore, in 1910, it was decided to give up the fortresses of the Vistula system. But the protests of the generals commanding the military districts, one of them being the Grand Duke Nicholas, Commander of the military district of Petrograd, obliged General Sukhomlinov to make concessions. The new plan,

worked out in 1912, concentrated our forces again in the advanced theatre. But this was done much more cautiously than in the plans elaborated by Milyutin and Obruchev. The idea of using the advanced theatre for an offensive central manoeuvre was in principle given up

This war plan, worked out in 1912, was the plan which had to be carried out in 1914. The absence of precision in the leading strategical idea is already apparent in the projected strategical concentration, to the analysis of which we will proceed.

### *The Political Situation.*

In 1889 Bismarck formed the Triple Alliance, or the "Triplice," as it is commonly called. The two Powers against which this alliance was directed—Russia and France—signed in 1892 a military convention, which lay at the root of the Franco-Russian alliance, concluded shortly afterwards. From a strategical point of view, the most important clause was contained in Section 3, stipulating the proportion of the forces which were to operate directly against Germany: it was fixed at 1,200,000 to 1,300,000 for France and 700,000 to 800,000 for Russia. Note here the faulty method of such a determination of forces in modern warfare. There can be no doubt that measuring them by thousands of men, was a kind of atavism, taken over from the epoch of the wars of the 18th century. The application of an entirely obsolete method for the valuation of the effective force of an army could only hinder a clear understanding of the reciprocal strategic obligations of the Powers which had signed the Franco-Russian convention. And, indeed, taking the total force of the Russian army as it was in 1892, the 700,000 to 800,000 men represented nearly one-half of it. But in 1914 these 700,000 to 800,000 represented only one-fifth to one-eighth, and this again depended on a quite arbitrary estimate of the total force; did it mean the active army alone (3,500,000) or the whole number of men after mobilisation (5,000,000)? And so we see that under the circumstances as they were in 1914, Section 3 of the Franco-Russian convention could have been interpreted equally as an obligation for Russia to begin hostilities against Germany with sixty-seven infantry divisions or with only seventeen infantry divisions.

This absence of strategical precision was still further complicated by the circumstance that, owing to the comparative slowness of the Russian mobilisation, there was a question of the highest strategical importance which had to be considered, namely, the date upon which Russia was to open the campaign against Germany with her

promised 700,000 to 800,000 men. Russia had a perfect right to consider this term as running from the day when she had terminated the concentration of all her forces.

With such an ambiguous text of Section 3, the following Section 4 of the same convention acquired a particular significance. According to this Section the matter was to be settled by an agreement between the General Staffs of both Powers. In this way the centre of gravity of all strategical decisions on which the war plans of Russia and France were founded was shifted on to the conference of the Chiefs of the General Staffs. Of the greatest interest for a study of the Russian war plan carried out in 1914, are the inter-allied conferences of 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1913. One of the principal authors of our war plan gives us an idea what these conferences were like. He writes: "In substance, at these conferences, almost everything was limited to France expressing her requests and Russia explaining the possibility and the measure in which they could be complied with. There can be no doubt that such a situation considerably hampered our strategy and the free disposal of our forces in the initial period of the war."

One may read in the recently published memoirs of General Pershing with what tenacity the French tried to make the nascent American army a human reservoir for filling their own ranks. It required all the firmness of the Secretary of War, Mr. Baker, and of General Pershing himself, to save the army of the United States from real absorption. In order to extract from his Russian colleague the promise of the greatest possible number of troops for a direct action against Germany, and that within the shortest delay, the Chief of the French General Staff went so far as to urge on him that the Austrian army was a "*quantité négligeable*," and he admitted the possibility that in the case of a German war, Austria-Hungary would not support her.

Unfortunately for Russia, the safeguarding of her interests fell into unfit hands. In the course of the six years prior to the war, the responsible post of Chief of the General Staff had successively been occupied by four generals, whereas in Germany a succession of four Chiefs had taken 53 years! Only a protracted occupation of the post of Chief of the General Staff by one and the same person can secure the stability of the fundamental strategical idea of a war plan and a profound study of the possibilities of its practical realisation. Under this condition of continual change, the Russian Chiefs of the General Staff could be little more than transitory actors, but not creators.

To these most unfavourable circumstances for the elaboration of a soundly conceived war plan another was to be added : both the last Chiefs of the General Staff—General Zhilinsky and General Yanushkevich—were, as events have proved, quite unfit for the task which had fallen to them. The consequence was that one of these men, General Zhilinsky, took upon himself the obligation on behalf of the Russian army, if Germany turned her main effort against France, to invade East Prussia on the 20th day of mobilisation and attack the German forces which had been left there. In order to keep this promise, the Russian armies were obliged to begin the offensive from their zones of concentration on the 15th day of mobilisation. Let us remember that, as has already been said, on the evening of the 15th day Russia was able to concentrate for immediate action not more than one-third of her infantry divisions.

*The defect of fundamental strategical ideas.*

Now that all these events are behind us, it is difficult to understand this rash haste in the opening of the campaign. But it must be remembered that prior to the war of 1914 all General Staffs were misled in their strategy by the scale of the wars of Napoleon and Moltke. It was supposed that the future war would also be of very short duration. To this erroneous strategical conception one more was added. In the years which preceded the last war the central organs of both the French and Russian General Staffs were carried away by the theory of an "offensive at all costs." It had been overlooked that, although an offensive is finally the best form of defence, nevertheless, it has also a negative side : an offensive aims at a rapid crisis, whereas a defensive tries to avoid this by gaining time. Now, at the beginning of the war the strategical situation was as follows : France and Germany completed the concentration of their entire forces on the 9th day of mobilisation, Austria-Hungary on the 15th, whereas Russia required an entire month for the concentration of the European army corps alone, and another month would pass before the troops from Asiatic Russia could be brought up. The leading strategical idea of the Franco-Russian war plan ought consequently to have consisted in postponing all decisive operations against Germany up to the time when the Russian forces would have terminated their concentration. The logical deduction would therefore be that for the first two months, or at least for the first month, the French army, if attacked by the main forces of the Germans, should have remained on the strategical defensive. The French, however, had decided to start from the outset a decisive

attack. This was playing directly into the hands of the enemy, for, from all that has been said, it is evident that the principal object of the Germans could only have been to bring the French to fight a decisive battle before the Russians had terminated the concentration of their forces. In this "unhealthy" strategical atmosphere was conceived and worked out the plan of our strategical deployment and our initial operations.

*Strategical deployment foreseen by the plan.*

In August, 1914, the plan worked out in 1912 had to be carried into effect, with certain modifications which it had undergone owing to considerations brought forward in 1913. In accordance with this plan only the army corps of the European military districts were distributed among the armies. The army corps of the Caucasus, Turkestan and Siberia—those which it was intended to send to the western front—could only arrive in the course of the 2nd month of mobilisation and represented the strategical reserve at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief.

Out of the 27 European army corps, 8 armies were formed :—

*Six* for active operations against Germany and Austria-Hungary.

*Two* as armies of observation on the flanks; one of these (No. 6) was formed in the area of Petrograd for the protection of the Baltic coast against a possible German descent, and also against Sweden, should she enter the war on the side of the Central Powers; the other army (No. 7) was formed in the area of Odessa, in case Roumania should enter the field against us. These armies of observation were to consist of 3 army corps. The remaining 24 army corps were incorporated into the six armies, concentrating for direct action against Germany and Austria-Hungary, these armies forming two groups: the North-western against Germany and the South-western against Austria-Hungary.

For the deployment of our forces our war plan had foreseen two variants :—

The variant designated by the letter "A" (Austria) was to come into effect if Germany should from the outset direct her main forces against France.

The variant designated by the letter "G" (Germany) was to come into effect if Germany at the outset directed her principal effort against Russia.

According to variant "A" (which was regarded as the fundamental plan) the strategical deployment and immediate strategical tasks were forecast as follows:—

I The North-western group was to consist of 2 armies; these armies were to effect their concentration:—

Army No. 1—on the River Niemen, to the south of the fortress of Kovno.

Army No. 2—in the region of Osovets.

The general task assigned to the North-western group consisted in inflicting a decisive defeat on the German troops left in East Prussia and to seize the territory as far as the River Vistula.

II. The South-western group was to consist of 4 armies:—

Army No. 4—in the region of Lublin

Army No. 5—in the region of Holm and Kovel.

Army No. 3—in the region of Dubno.

Army No. 8—to the south of Proskurov.

The general task assigned to the South-western group consisted in inflicting a decisive defeat on the Austro-Hungarian forces concentrated in Galicia, endeavouring at the same time to cut them off from Cracow and the Dniester (the idea of a Cannæ).

And thus, according to variant "A," the initial operations of our armies were to take the following form:—

Shielded from the west by the middle course of the Vistula between Novogeorgievsk and Ivangorod, our armies were preparing for two simultaneous decisive operations on both flanks of this defensive line. To speak in technical language, variant "A" started the initial operations of the Russian armies on two divergent lines.

Variant "G" was to be used if Germany from the outset turned her main forces against Russia. According to this variant the Russian strategical deployment assumed another form:—

I. The North-western group consisted not of two, but of three armies:—

Armies Nos. 1 and 2 effected their deployment at the same place.

Army No. 4, which, according to variant "A" was to effect its concentration in the region of Lublin (against the Austro-Hungarians), now concentrated in the region Shavli-Riga.

The task of this group of armies was to operate against the German forces advancing from East Prussia.

II. According to variant "G" there remained three armies in

the South-western group : Nos. 5, 3 and 8, which, on general lines, effected their concentration in the same regions as in variant " A," with the single exception that the 5th Army was échelonné back towards Brest-Litovsk.

The task of the South-western group was to paralyse the offensive of the Austro-Hungarian armies.

The difference in the grouping of the forces according to variant " A " or variant " G " was determined by a change of direction in the rail transport of the most distant European army corps and those of the military district of Kazan.

The decision which of the two variants was to be applied had to be taken by the Generalissimo not later than on the 9th day of mobilisation, because on that day the first échelons of these distant army corps were arriving at the railway junctions where a change in the further direction was still possible.

Variant " A " was regarded as the fundamental variant, and it was this one that was carried out in 1914; and I will limit myself to an analysis of this variant alone.

In Appendix No. 4 we see a curve showing the arrival of the infantry divisions in the regions of concentration according to variant " A " This diagram shows that on the evening of the 15th day of mobilisation we disposed in all of 42 infantry divisions, it was only on the 35th day that all the 74 infantry divisions of European Russia destined to be incorporated in the six armies against Germany and Austria-Hungary could arrive.

According to the calculation of our General Staff, the Russian armies, invading Germany and Austria-Hungary, would meet from 16 to 25 German and from 43 to 47 Austro-Hungarian infantry divisions. As we shall see later on, these conjectures were not far from reality. These forces of the enemy could be completely ready for action, in Germany on the 9th, and in Austria-Hungary on the 15th day. In Appendix No. 4 the maximum and minimum of the enemy's forces that we expected to meet are marked by dotted lines. We see that only on the 22nd day could we equal the minimum and after the 30th day the maximum of the enemy's forces.

From this it appears at once how onerous for Russia was the obligation to cross the frontier of East Prussia for a decisive offensive on the 20th day, which obliged us to begin our advance on the 16th day !

The same figure suggests still another conclusion. A decisive offensive *simultaneously* against Germany and Austria-Hungary, as it was conceived in variant " A," was beyond the capacity of



Russia. And, in fact, in order to carry out a decisive offensive, strategy has to provide for the necessary superiority of forces. There was only one way to realise this superiority : to limit ourselves to a strategical defensive against one of the adversaries, leaving before him the minimum possible of forces and, with the economy thus obtained, to strengthen the forces opposed to the enemy on whom it was intended to deal the decisive blow. And this was the fundamental suggestion in the memoir of General Obruchev, which we have cited above.

Variant "A" distributed the Russian forces unequally: it directed two armies against Germany and four against Austria-Hungary. But if we take the number of infantry divisions in each of these groups, we see that this disparity is not so great as it might appear at first sight. In Appendix No. 7 is shown the strength of the respective armies in infantry divisions on the 15th and 30th days of mobilisation. We learn from this sketch that on the evening of the 15th day the total force of the North-western group of armies mustered 19 infantry divisions and the South-western group 23 infantry divisions; on the evening of the 30th day the North-western group consisted of 28 infantry divisions and the South-western group of 42. Consequently, the South-western group was superior in force to the North-western group not twice, as it might seem in comparing only the number of armies, but on the 15th day only by one-fifth and on the 30th day by one-half.

And so variant "A," having projected two decisive operations at the same time on the flanks of our strategical front, dispersed our forces without giving us any superiority over the enemy either here or there. A detailed examination will show this still more strikingly. As we have already mentioned, it was promised that the armies of the North-western group should start their offensive on the 16th day. Consequently, its force amounted only to 19 infantry divisions. The forces of the enemy which, according to the calculation of our General Staff, would be left by Germany on her Eastern front were estimated at 16 to 25 infantry divisions. The invading Russian armies had therefore to reckon with the possibility of meeting superior forces. And under such circumstances it was expected of the Russian armies that they should execute a decisive manœuvre which was to end with the crushing defeat of the Germans and the conquest of the whole of East Prussia! The incongruity of the given task with the forces provided for its accomplishment is evident.

This will appear still more strikingly when we look at the geographical conditions of the country which was to be invaded by

the two Russian armies. According to variant "A" our armies were to penetrate into East Prussia in two different directions, distant from each other from 100 to 130 miles and separated by the Mazurian Lakes. As to the enemy, who occupied a central position, he disposed of a well-developed railway system, enabling him, under cover of the Mazurian Lakes, to concentrate his main forces either to the north of this cover against the 1st Russian army, which was advancing on Insterburg, or against the 2nd Russian army marching on Allenstein. Taking as a starting point that our General Staff had estimated the German forces as numbering from 16 to 25 infantry divisions, we ought to have admitted the possibility that the Germans might concentrate against each of our armies in turn three-quarters of their forces, or in other words, from 12 to 18 infantry divisions, and in either of these cases each of our two isolated armies ran the danger of a defeat or perhaps even of a catastrophe.

Thus, variant "A" had not created the conditions corresponding to the task it had itself imposed on the North-western group of armies—to inflict a decisive defeat on the German forces. This would have been possible only on condition of our being able to make sure of a numerical superiority over the Germans of not less than one and a-half infantry divisions, because, as we have already pointed out, owing to its powerful artillery, the effective force of a German infantry division must be considered as being equal to that of one and a half Russian infantry divisions. Starting again from the calculations which the General Staff itself had made, admitting the possibility of our encountering 25 infantry divisions, we arrive at the conclusion that, for decisive operations against Germany, our forces should not have been less than 40 infantry divisions. But for obtaining the highest strategical results, the main force of the North-western group of armies should have been concentrated on the Vistula, with the object of dealing its blows against the flank and rear of the German forces concentrated in East Prussia. But such a grouping of troops would have meant a return to Milyutin's idea in former war plans, whereas, as has been said, since the year 1910 the application of these ideas had given rise to differences of opinion.

Let us now cast a look at the strategical situation as it was created by variant "A" for the operations of our South-western group of armies. Appendix No. 7 shows us that on the evening of the 15th day our forces were less than half of those of the Austro-Hungarians which it was expected that they would meet. It was

only on the evening of the 30th day that we could come up to their minimum. And under these circumstances variant "A" exacted from our South-western group operations of an annihilating character. In assigning such a task, variant "A" was right in principle, in using our main forces against the secondary adversary—Austro-Hungary—only from an inter-allied point of view. And, in fact, only if the Austro-Hungarian army were threatened with utter destruction could it be expected that the Germans would draw off for its rescue a part of their forces from the French front.

This "indirect" strategical pressure on Germany required, of course, much more time than a direct strategical action by the invasion of East Prussia; but on the other hand, the Germans could have put up with a temporary loss of East Prussia, but certainly not with the annihilation of their ally.

But in order to be able to deal such a crushing blow, it would have been indispensable to secure for ourselves a superiority of numbers. Generals Alexeyev and Kluyev, appointed in 1912 Chiefs of the Staffs, respectively, of the South-western and North-western group of armies, who suggested that we should begin by dealing our principal blow at Austria-Hungary, had calculated that we could concentrate for this purpose 18 army corps, that is, three-quarters of our forces. This would be 57 infantry divisions. It is interesting to note here that General Konrad, Chief of the Staff of the Austro-Hungarian army, very closely approached this figure in his studies on the probable operations of the Russians. There can be no doubt that with such forces we should have had an incomparably better chance of inflicting on the Austro-Hungarians a speedy and crushing defeat. But that should have called for a different distribution of the forces from that provided by variant "A" for the South-western army group. Though according to this variant the battle was to be fought in the style of "Cannæ," it was not the armies of the flanks, but those of the centre that had been made the strongest. Still worse: of the armies of the flanks the weakest was Army No. 4—the one on the right flank. But the weak strategical point of the Austro-Hungarian armies, concentrated in Galicia, was that they were cut off from their country by the range of the Carpathians, so that their principal lines of communication ran to the west towards the region of Cracow. For this reason the most decisive strategical results could have been obtained by our South-western group if its main forces had been concentrated on the Vistula. In other words, here again we see, as on our North-western front, that

strategy peremptorily demanded a radical return to the ideas of Count Milyutin and Obruchev.

But if such was the case in questions of strategical deployment, it was still more so with respect to the fundamental idea, formulated by General Obruchev: "Our first blow must be dealt *either* at Germany *or* at Austria-Hungary." Variant "A" of our war plan expected to deal two blows at the same time: one at Germany, the other at Austria-Hungary.

*The need of mobilising our industry.*

Finally, it must be noticed that our war plan never considered the question of a mobilisation of industry for war purposes. The faulty conviction that a modern war could be only of short duration led to the conclusion that this war could be won with the supplies accumulated in peace time.

We must, however, not forget that this error was common to the war plans of all the Powers. The gigantic dimensions of the World War surpassed all expectations and imagination.

NICHOLAS GOLOVIN.

APPENDIX No. 1

APPENDIX No. 2

COMPOSITION OF INFANTRY DIVISIONS :  
RUSSIAN, FRENCH, GERMAN AND AUSTRO-  
HUNGARIAN

Power	Establishment of a First Line Infantry Division			
	Inf	Cav	Artillery	
			3-inch	4-inch
Russia	16 Btns	1 Sqn	6 Btys	—
France	12 Btns	1 Sqn	6 Btys	—
Germany	12 Btns	4 Sqns	9 Btys	3 Btys
Austria-Hungary	13-14 Btns	2 Sqns	5 Btys	2 Btys

Power	Units of Corps Establishment used for Reinforcing Divisions				
	Inf	Cav	Artillery		
			3-inch	4.8 in	6-inch
Russia	—	6 Sqns Cos-sacks	—	2 Btys	—
France	—	4 Sqns	12 Btys	—	—
Germany	1 Rifle Bde.	—	—	—	4 Btys
Austria-Hungary	—	1 Sqn	—	—	2 Btys

COMPARATIVE DIAGRAM  
OF THE POPULATIONS, NUMERICAL FORCE  
AND EFFICIENCY OF THE ARM  
OF RUSSIA AND GERMANY IN 1914

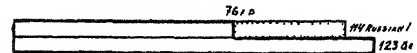
1. NUMBER OF INHABITANTS

RUSSIA	763 MILLIONS
GERMANY	65 MILLIONS

2. NUMERICAL FORCE OF THE ARMIES

RUSSIAN ARMY	5 MILLIONS
GERMAN ARMY	4 MILLIONS

3. NUMBER OF INFANTRY DIVISIONS



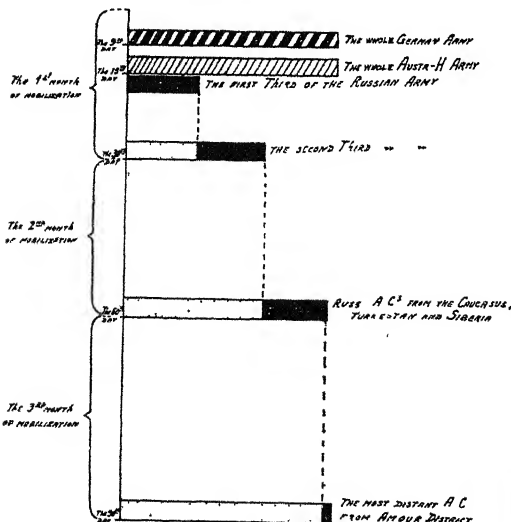
4. COEFFICIENT COMPARATIVE

$$1\frac{1}{2} \text{ RUSSIAN } \dot{I} D = 1 \text{ GERMAN } \dot{I} D$$

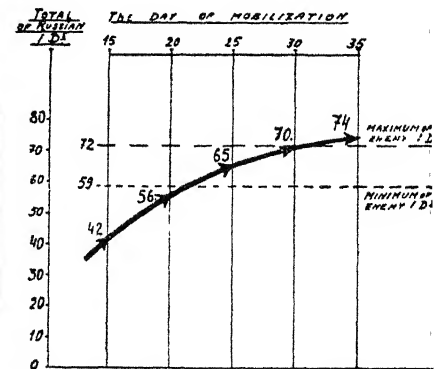
APPENDIX No. 3

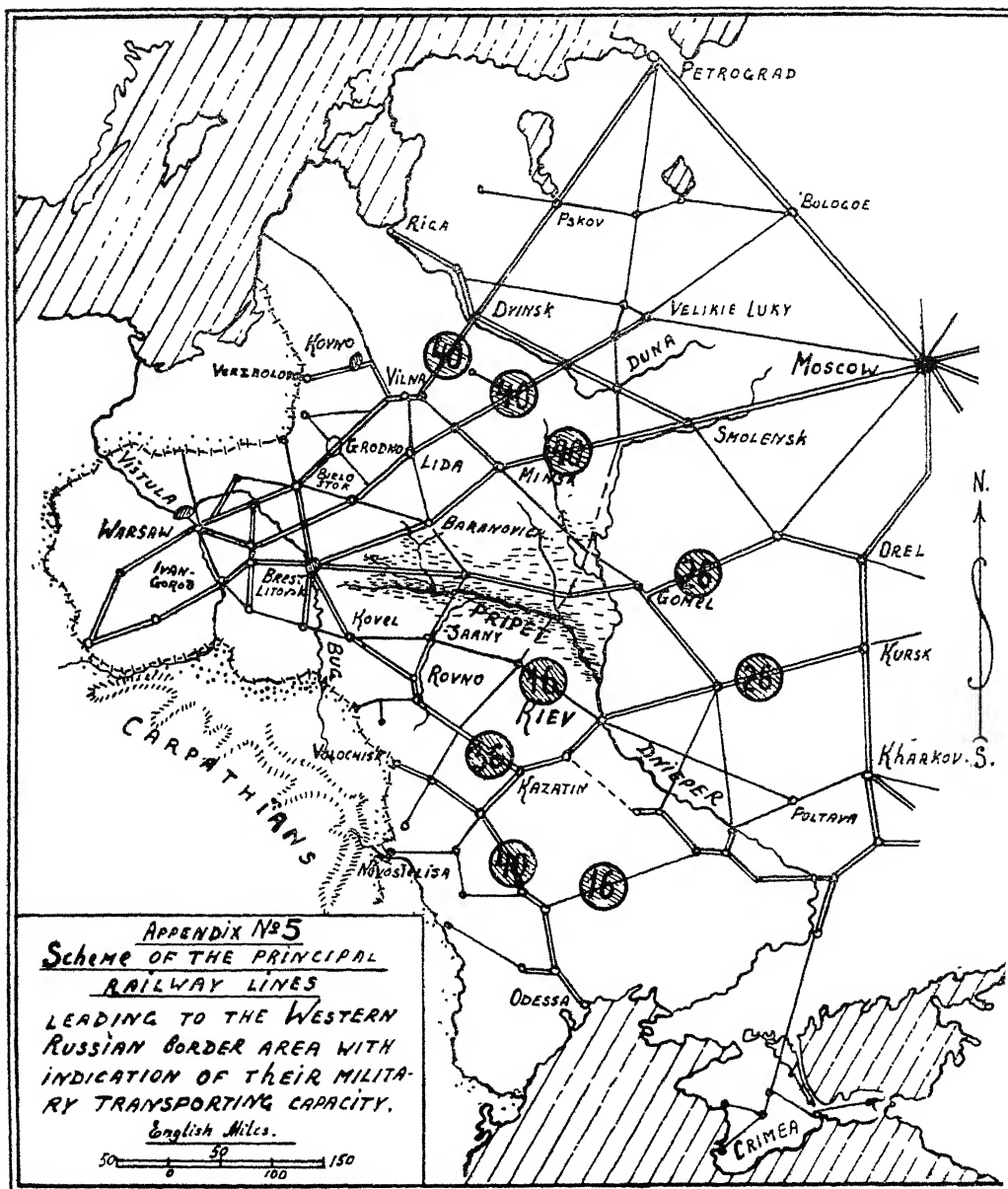
APPENDIX No. 4

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE TERMS OF STRATEGICAL CONCENTRATION  
OF THE ARMIES GERMAN, AUSTRO HUNGARIAN AND RUSSIAN



TERMS OF ARRIVAL OF THE  $\dot{I} D^3$  TO THE A  
CONCENTRATIONS ACCORDING TO VARIATIO











# FEUDALISM IN ENGLAND AND RUSSIA

## *Suggestions for a Comparative Study of Early English and Muscovite Political and Social Institutions*

THE great majority of the classical Russian historians, for instance, Klyuchevsky and Platonov, were inclined to treat Russian history as an entirely independent subject of scientific research. They were of the opinion that the political and social development of Russia had been basically different from that of any other European country. Therefore they argued that no conclusions of any scientific value could be arrived at by a comparative study of Russian and West European history. We believe that these ideas, as based on pre-conceived theories and an insufficient knowledge of facts, are absolutely erroneous, and that the most urgent task of Russian historical science is to make Russian history fit into the general scheme of European history. Isolated attempts in this direction were made before the Revolution, for instance, by Pavlov-Silvansky, and, more recently, by some of the Marxist historians, such as Rozhkov and Pokrovsky, but on the whole their works had only a very limited influence on the general development of Russian historical thought.

In this connection it seems that a comparison between the early English and the early Russian institutions offers a special interest, and would yield much more valuable results than a comparison between Russia and many other European countries. Indeed, the starting point in the historical development of these two countries was approximately the same. The earliest historical records show us that at the dawn of history both England and Russia lived in a *tribal* state of political and social organisation. Such was not the case in France, where the Frankish invasions were preceded by several centuries of Roman civilisation, which left a very deep impression on subsequent French history. It is quite possible that the French school of historians, as represented by Fustel-de-Coulanges<sup>1</sup> and his disciples,<sup>2</sup> had a tendency to minimise the effects of the Frankish invasions and to exaggerate the importance of the Roman influence. Nevertheless, it remains true that such basic institutions as the French domainal system and the French serfdom are intimately connected with, and deeply rooted in, the Roman

<sup>1</sup> Fustel-de-Coulanges : *Histoire des Institutions Politiques de l'Ancienne France*, 6 vols., in-8°, Paris (several editions).

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, Henri Sée : *Les classes rurales et le régime domanial en France au Moyen-Age*, in-8°, Paris, 1901.

land-holding system, the Roman colonate, etc. This had not been the case in England. Indeed, although this country had also formed a part of the Roman Empire, the events which took place after the departure of the Roman legions considerably undermined the effects of Roman influence, at least on the social and political organisation of England, and in this respect English history started afresh after the landing of the Anglo-Saxons in this island.

But, although the starting points in the historical development of England and Russia were the same, chronologically there existed a very wide gap between them. English history began in the middle of the 5th century; and the landing of the half-mythical Hengist and Horsa at Ebbsfleet in or about 449, which started the series of Anglo-Saxon invasions, can be taken as a convenient landmark for the beginning of modern English history. The first Russian principalities were formed in the second half of the 9th century and their creation is closely connected with the eastward drive of the Vikings,<sup>3</sup> who also landed in England several decades later. But, whereas the Vikings in England encountered the stubborn resistance of the West Saxon kingdoms which at that time had already existed for several centuries, in Russia they found much more primitive conditions.<sup>4</sup> The first half-mythical Viking, Rurik, who came to Russia and is said to have created the principality of Novgorod, is now thought to have been none other than the Duke of Frisia, Hroerek Skjöldung, who is also well known to West European annals.<sup>5</sup> But the part played by this Rurik-Hroerek in Russia in the 9th century is only comparable to that played by Hengist and Horsa in England in the 5th century. Thus, from the very outset of history, there was a difference of approximately 400 years between England and Russia, and this difference was substantially maintained for many centuries, in fact, at least up to the beginning of the 17th century. This could have happened only because, during most of the Middle Ages, Russia had only very intermittent relations with the more progressive West European countries. When, at the close of the 16th century, Giles Fletcher visited the Muscovite State, he was greatly surprised by the peculiarities of Muscovite life and

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, T. D. Kendrick: *A History of the Vikings*, in-8°, London, 1930.

<sup>4</sup> Klyuchevsky was of a different opinion; the new theory, according to which very primitive conditions prevailed in Russia in the middle of the 9th century, was first presented by Presnyakov. See A. Presnyakov: *The princes' law in old Rus*, in-8°, St. Petersburg, 1909.

<sup>5</sup> See N. T. Behayev: "Rurik of Jutland and Rurik of the Russian Annals," in *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, vol. III, Prague, 1929.

political organisation, and he gave vent to his indignation at the barbaric customs of the Muscovites in his well-known description of the "Russe Commonwealth."<sup>6</sup> If, by some miracle, it had been possible for a contemporary of Henry II, or of John Lackland, to visit the court of Tsar Fedor, he would have felt much more at home in Moscow than the enlightened envoy of Queen Elizabeth.

### *Definition of Feudalism.*

The most important development in the social history of England from the 5th to the 11th century is the gradual transformation of the primitive tribal organisation into what is called feudal structure. The same general process of gradual feudalisation takes place in Russia from the 9th to the 15th century.

In order to avoid any misunderstanding, a brief definition of feudalism should now be given. Feudalism is characterised by a system of individual landholding, in which the owners of land, in addition to their proprietary rights, also exercise certain political, administrative and judicial rights over their lands and the population of them, the cultivation of lands so owned being carried on by a peasantry entirely or partially dependent on the landlords. This constitutes what might be called the "manorial" or social aspect of feudalism. The other important aspect of feudalism—what might be called its "seigneurial" or political aspect—is that certain governmental functions are not carried out by the central political authority of the country, but are exercised by local potentates who are at the same time big landholders. The unity of the State is achieved only by the tie of vassalage or feudal allegiance connecting the various ranks of landholders between themselves and with the central political authority in a more or less complex system of lords and vassals. These two elements of feudalism can sometimes exist separately, but only of countries in which the social and the political elements exist simultaneously and are intimately connected, shall we say that they offer a typical feudal structure.

### *Social Aspects of Feudalism.*

- (a) *Townships and manors in England; communal lands and "votchiny" in Muscovy.*

Now it is scarcely necessary to demonstrate that England under Edward the Confessor presented all the essential characteristics of

<sup>6</sup> Giles Fletcher: *Of the Russe Common Wealith, or maner of gouvernement by the Russe Emperour*, London, 1591. (Numerous later editions in English and Russian.)

feudalism, in accordance with our definition, although this might have been questioned by those older historians who thought that the elements of feudalism were first brought over from France to England by the Norman conquest and were artificially transplanted on to English soil by the Conqueror and his Norman followers. Let us consider whether the corresponding elements can be found in Russia. Perhaps the most striking fact of Russia's social history during the period 900 to 1500 is the gradual disappearance of free communal landholding and the gradual growth of privileged individual landownership, both lay and ecclesiastical—the "growth of the manor," or of the "votchina," to use the corresponding Russian term. Without entering into a detailed discussion whether the English expressions "folkland" and "bookland" are the exact synonyms of the Russian terms "black" and "white" land, it nevertheless remains true that they were applied to the same two great categories of land, and that both in England and in Russia, as time went on, "bookland" gained preponderance over "folkland." The only difference may be seen in this—that in Russia "black" lands never disappeared entirely—a large amount of these "black" lands, located in the northern part of the country, having remained unappropriated by privileged landowners, so that the principle *nulle terre sans seigneur*, which prevailed in England after the Norman Conquest, never completely triumphed in Russia.

These "black" lands in Northern Russia offered during the 16th and 17th centuries the same essential characteristics as other "black" lands which had existed in Central Russia during the early part of the Russian Middle Ages before their appropriation by privileged landowners. A detailed study of the organisation of these lands, black or communal, in which the primitive tribal arrangements had been gradually replaced by a territorial grouping of a free peasantry, shows many striking similarities with the organisation of free English townships during the earlier part of the Saxon period. Not only was the grouping of the population into hamlets, townships and shires approximately the same in both countries; not only was the population of these hamlets and townships enjoying very similar forms of rudimentary self-government both in England and in Russia; not only were the methods of cultivation very much alike; but the striking feature is that the peculiarities of land tenure were also very much the same. Waste, forests, and pastures were generally regarded as common lands. But of far greater significance was the fact that the cultivated lands were held by the members of townships accord-

ing to a special system, which both English and Russian historians have called "shareholding"—this "shareholding" principle governing to a certain extent all social relations within the township.<sup>7</sup>

Many of my readers are certainly familiar with the modern Russian communal organisation called the "mir." For a long time it was admitted that this particular system of landholding was a very antique institution and that it was peculiar solely to Russia, so much so that it was thought to have been an embodiment of fundamental and unalterable psychological characteristics of the Russian nation.<sup>8</sup> Later on it was proved that the Russian "mir" in its modern form had a fairly recent origin, which did not go beyond the latter part of the 17th century.<sup>9</sup> But it had been preceded by another form of communal organisation, which is precisely the "shareholding" township, the transition from the older to the more recent form having been mainly brought about as an indirect consequence of certain fiscal measures of the government. Anyhow it is interesting to note that the antecedents of an institution which had been considered to be an exclusively Russian form of landholding were very similar to the corresponding English institution during the Saxon period.

The gradual development of privileged individual landownership in Russia proceeded along the same general lines as in England. The gradual transition from tribal to territorial arrangements brought about the creation of principalities in ever-increasing numbers, and the settlement of the princes and their military followers. A great part of the privileged landed property was created by princely grants, as a result of administrative and military requirements and the incapacity of the central authorities to carry out these functions in a more direct way. Moreover, some of these properties were due to the direct colonising activities of the upper classes, which can be described as an application to farming of a

<sup>7</sup> For England see, for instance, Sir Paul Vinogradov *Growth of the Manor*, in-8°, Oxford, 1905, and for Russia, M. M. Bogoslovsky: *Self-government in Northern Russia during the 17th century*, 2 vols, Moscow, 1910-1912. Applications of the same "shareholding" principle can also be found in Ukraine during the 17th and 18th centuries. See V. A. Myakotin: *Essays on the social history of Ukraine during the 17th and 18th centuries*, Prague, 1924-1926, also A. Miller: "Considérations sur le développement des institutions agraires de l'Ukraine au XVII et au XVIII siècle, in *Revue Internationale de Sociologie*, Nos. IX-X, Sept-Oct., 1928.

<sup>8</sup> For instance, I. D. Beliaev: *The Peasants in Russia*, in-8°, Moscow, 1860, and many others.

<sup>9</sup> For details see A. Miller: *Essai sur les institutions agraires de la Russie Centrale du XVI au XVIII siècles*, 8°, Paris, 1926, where a more detailed bibliography may be found.

capital accumulated during wars and raids, this capital consisting to a large extent of slaves. Thus the course of events in England and Russia was very different from what happened in France. Indeed, in this latter country the manorial régime was the result of an adaptation of the old Romano-Gallic individual landholding system, the Romano-Gallic "villa" having been transformed in the course of time into the "domaine" of the Frankish and Carolingian epochs, whereas both in England and in Russia privileged property was newly created at the expense of free communal lands, in favour of princes and kings and of the upper categories of their military followers.

(b) *Villeinage in England ; serfdom in Muscovy.*

The other important point, as I have just mentioned, is that proprietary rights were indissolubly connected with administrative, judicial and political rights, so that the privileged landholders obtained a direct sway over the inhabitants of their lands. This brings us to the very important question of the origin of medieval serfdom. It was only in the second half of the 16th century that Russian serfdom appeared for the first time as a fully-developed institution of Public Law. Until recently it was admitted by Russian historians that prior to this time the agricultural population of manorial lands was formed by a very small minority of personal and complete slaves of the landlords, and by a great majority of completely free peasants, who established themselves on these lands in virtue of free bilateral contracts. At the expiration of these contracts the peasants were at liberty to sever all relations with their landlords and to go elsewhere. Then, during the period 1550 to 1650, the peasants gradually lost this right of free departure ("droit de désaveu," to use a French term), and this loss was considered to have been the most important, almost the unique, factor which brought about the formation of Russian serfdom, or as it is characteristically called, the "attachment" of the peasantry. All the other rights of the landlords over their peasants were deemed to have originated from this "attachment." Many skilful theories were worked out by Russian historians, to explain the reasons which brought about this radical change in the situation of the Russian peasantry. Some of them emphasised the importance of the legislative action of the Government,<sup>10</sup> whereas others laid stress upon the general economic and social conditions of the country

<sup>10</sup> For instance, Sergeyevich. See S. Sergeyevich: *Russian juridica antiquities*, 3 vols., 8°, 1890-1903, St. Petersburg.

during this period.<sup>11</sup> All these theories, however, had to take into consideration the fact that, whereas in most West European countries the general situation of the peasantry considerably improved during the latter part of the Middle Ages and the beginning of Modern Times, it became decidedly worse in Muscovy. This naturally only strengthened the idea that the Russian mode of development was entirely different from the western one, and that the peculiarities of this development were to be explained by specifically Russian conditions which were unknown to any other country.

Now, if we come back to our original statement that there existed a chronological gap of about four centuries as between Russia and England, the consolidation of Russian serfdom during the period 1550-1650 ceases to be a surprising fact. Indeed, the period 1150-1250 can be considered as the classical age of English villeinage,<sup>12</sup> and I hope to prove that the consolidation of serfdom both in England and Russia was due to the same general causes. Meanwhile, let us note that long before the second part of the 16th century Russian privileged landholders held important judicial rights over the population of their lands. These judicial immunities are comparable with the English "soke"; and, in addition to them, there also existed fiscal and general administrative immunities, all of which were due to princely grants and originated as a consequence of the incapacity of the princes to govern the territories of their principalities in a more direct way. In fact, during this epoch, government and economic exploitation were so closely connected that whenever proprietary rights or rights of economic exploitation over a certain territory were conceded to anybody, this was practically always accompanied by the cession of judicial and fiscal rights.<sup>13</sup> In this way the use of immunities became a very ordinary method of government. In addition to these rights resulting from private statutes of the princes, economic and social relations between the landowners and their peasants within the manors also frequently resulted in the establishment of a direct and personal dependency of the peasants upon the landlords.<sup>14</sup> These latter frequently

<sup>11</sup> The indebtedness of peasants was especially studied by Klyuchevsky. See V. O. Klyuchevsky: "Origin of serfdom in Russia," in *Russian Thought*, 1885. Also his later works. Other aspects of the social condition of the peasants were studied by M. Dyakonov: *Essays on the history of the rural population in the Muscovite State*, 8°, St Petersburg, 1898.

<sup>12</sup> See, for instance, Sir Paul Vinogradov: *Villainage in England*, 8°, Oxford, 1892.

<sup>13</sup> S. B. Veselovsky: *The origin of the manorial régime*, 8°, Moscow, 1926.

<sup>14</sup> See the works quoted under <sup>11</sup> and <sup>13</sup>.

appear as protectors and creditors of the peasants ; and thus already during the 13th and 14th centuries we hear of entire classes of rural population, representatives of which, without being regular serfs, still had already lost some of their original freedom, either as debtors to the landlords or because they had exchanged the insecurity of freedom against the patronage of feudal lords. Thus the rural population of Russian manors during the Middle Ages consisted of a multitude of small social divisions ranging from complete slaves to almost entirely independent freemen, ranging through several other categories presenting various shades of semi-dependency. All these various categories were later welded into one uniform class of "serfs" or "attached peasants." Therefore the "attachment" of the peasants in the latter part of the 16th century was not the origin of Russian serfdom but, on the contrary, the final stage in the formation of an institution, separate elements of which had already existed for several centuries before. This summary description must bring to our minds very familiar pictures of the origin of English villainage, which was also consolidated into a regular social institution by the welding together of the various semi-dependent categories of rural population, which had existed under the last Saxon and the Danish kings, into one uniform class of "villeins" during the early part of the Angevin epoch.<sup>15</sup>

#### *Political Aspect of Feudalism.*

We shall now pass on to the political aspect of feudalism. A brief description of the political organisation of Muscovy at the close of the 14th century will help us to decide whether Muscovy during this epoch was a feudal state.

The territory of North-eastern Russia was at this time divided into a great number of principalities. At the head of the Russian princes, as their general overlord, stood the Grand Duke of Vladimir and Moscow. His own territories were composed of two parts :— (1) as general overlord of all Russia, he owned the grand duchy of Vladimir, and (2) as hereditary territorial prince, he owned a part of the principality of Moscow.

The other Russian princes can be conveniently subdivided into three groups. The first group would include representatives of collateral branches of the house of Moscow who owned other parts of the principality of Moscow. Although they were independent territorial princes by right of hereditary succession, they recognised

<sup>15</sup> See F. W. Maitland : *Domesday Book and Beyond*, in-8°, Cambridge, 1897 ; also various works by Vinogradov.



the overlordship of the Grand Duke. The second group would be formed by scores of small local potentates, principally in the North-Eastern districts, who, although in principle independent rulers of their principalities, still came under the general sphere of influence of the Grand Duke of Moscow and acted in many respects as his vassals. The third group would consist of entirely independent princes, who only recognised a vague national leadership of the Grand Duke of Moscow, their mutual relations being governed by bilateral treaties and not by oaths of feudal allegiance. These independent princes also styled themselves Grand Dukes, and within the territories of their principalities they were overlords of a number of local territorial princes, just as the Grand Duke of Moscow was the overlord of his own territorial princes.

Thus a rather complex system of feudal disintegration existed at this time in Russia, whereas the system of vassalage was on the whole less developed than in some West European countries. The fact that all these princes were descendants of one ancestor, so that the splitting up of Russian territory into principalities was the result of family divisions, proves only that some aspects in the process of feudalisation were peculiar to Russia; but it does not prove that the political structure of the country was not a feudal one.

The relatively greater independence of some of the Russian princes can hardly be used as an argument against the existence of feudalism in Russia, since it is now generally admitted that political disruption is a far more fundamental characteristic of feudalism than the niceties of vassalage. In England, too, the rules of vassalage took their final shape only under the Norman kings, i.e. when the disruptive tendencies of feudalism which had manifested themselves so strongly under the last Saxon and Danish kings had already been checked by the centralising effects of the Norman Conquest.

As time went on, the Grand Duchy of Vladimir gradually became hereditary in the house of the Muscovite princes. Simultaneously the smaller feudal princes gradually lost the remnants of their former independence and became simple privileged landowners, their purely political rights passing over to Moscow. The large feudal princes held out somewhat longer against the unifying policy of the central power, but in the end they also had to submit to the growing power of the Grand Duke. This happened during the reign of Ivan III, the first Grand Duke of Moscow, who adopted the title of Tsar in the second half of the 15th century.

All the above leads to the conclusion that up to the end of the 15th century Russia had known both the social and the political

aspects of feudalism, and, therefore, could be characterised as a feudal country. This also fits in with our general scheme of Russian history, according to which there existed a gap of roughly 400 years as between Russia and England, so that the final unification of Russia under Ivan III and Basil III must be taken to roughly coincide with the epoch of the first Norman kings in England.

*The end of political feudalism in England and Muscovy.*

We shall now pass over to another epoch which succeeded the feudal age and which is a transition period between feudalism and the formation of the modern State. In England this period extends from the Norman Conquest to the reign of Edward I, and in Russia the corresponding period embraces the time from the reign of Ivan III to about the middle of the 17th century. This epoch is characterised in each of these countries by the strengthening of the central power, by the struggle of this power against the political element of feudalism, and by the rapid rise of a new class of small landholders, which in many respects was the principal support of the growing royal power.

The main features of this historical process were identical in both countries at a distance of 400 years between them. Since the strength of the feudatories was based on their territorial possessions, the central governments in England and Russia seized every opportunity of destroying these strongholds of feudalism, which resulted in constant wholesale or individual measures of confiscation. In England these measures were carried out by the Conqueror both after the battle of Senlac, and after the revolt of the Barons, by the Red King, by Henry I, and also by Stephen and Henry II after the treaty of Wallingford.<sup>16</sup> In Muscovy wholesale confiscations of privileged lands were made by Ivan III, especially after the incorporation of Novgorod and various independent principalities into the Grand Duchy of Moscow. Confiscations on a large scale were also practised by Basil III; but probably the most famous system of wholesale confiscations was put into practice by Ivan the Terrible and is known under the name of "oprichnina." To most of his contemporaries the "oprichnina" of Ivan the Terrible seemed to be only an instrument of tyranny and arbitrary oppression. It is only recent historical research and particularly the works of Platonov<sup>17</sup> which have cleared up the hidden agrarian and political

<sup>16</sup> See, for instance, W. Stubbs: *Constitutional History of England*, 3 vols., 16°, Oxford.

<sup>17</sup> See particularly, S. F. Platonov: *Ivan the Terrible*, 16°, Prague, 1924.

significance of this system, whereby the central government assumed and attained direct control over entire provinces of the State and undertook a complete, although perhaps not very systematic, redistribution of all the lands in these provinces, eradicating completely all centres of possible feudal opposition.

But these measures were not limited to simple confiscations. At the same time the whole system of landownership was changed. Since, at this stage of general development, political power and landownership were still intimately bound together, the strengthening of the central political authority could only be achieved by conferring upon it the character of supreme landholder in the State. Completely independent, allodial landownership gradually disappears; and the monarch is considered to have supreme proprietary rights over all the lands in the realm, and all the other landholders are deemed to receive their lands from him either directly as the tenants-in-chief, or indirectly.<sup>18</sup> It is rather curious to note that in England the final elaboration of the rules of feudal tenure brought about a strengthening of the royal power, depriving the feudal lords of their previous independence, and was, in fact, used as a means to this end. In Muscovy the same general process took place and, although no elaborate theory of feudal tenure was ever created, the landowning character of the Muscovite monarchy was perhaps even more deeply rooted in all the institutions of the Muscovite State than was the case in England.<sup>19</sup> In France this general process had been somewhat different. The rules of feudal tenure were worked out in France as a consequence of the triumph of feudal disintegration—that is, before the rise of the royal power. When, later on, the royal power in France began to increase, it found its principal support in the “*bourgeoisie*,” and not so much in the landowning middle class. Therefore the social and economic foundations of royalty in France were very different from what they had been both in England and Muscovy in the 12th and 16th centuries, respectively.

While the growing monarchies of England and Muscovy were thus engaged in a deadly struggle with the disruptive forces of feudalism, they had to seek for support in other classes of society. The lands confiscated from the feudal barons and also vast tracts of communal lands were now being distributed to small landholders under the obligation of military service. The necessity of keeping up a large territorial army and the impossibility of relying exclusively

<sup>18</sup> See W. Stubbs : *op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup> See A. E. Presnyakov : *op. cit.*

on mercenary troops, for which the Treasury had not yet at its disposal sufficient financial means, acted as a powerful motive for prompting this agrarian policy in both countries. This was the origin of the class of "knights" in England in the 13th<sup>20</sup> and of the "men of service" in Moscow in the 16th century.<sup>21</sup> These general tendencies manifested themselves rather early both in England and Muscovy, but it was not until the reign of Henry II and that of Ivan the Terrible that a concrete legislative sanction was given to them. In this respect the various legislative measures of Henry II and particularly the Assize of Arms of 1181<sup>22</sup> bear a striking resemblance to the laws of Ivan the Terrible issued in 1564.<sup>23</sup> Both series of measures aimed at one object, namely, the organisation of a territorial army, based on a conditional landholding system, and, in our opinion, the English "knight's fee" is the exact counterpart of the Muscovite "pomestye," such as it existed during the second half of the 16th century. In both cases the amount of land held determined the amount and character of military service due, and this military service was due directly to the King or the Tsar.

The creation of the "pomestye" system, as above described, brought about a considerable extension of privately owned lands. Communal lands almost disappeared in the central parts of Muscovy and remained only in the extreme North, where, thanks to the absence of any military danger, this system had never been introduced. At the same time the large allodial lands of "votchiny" of the former independent feudals were subdivided into a great number of small "pomestya" or small "knight's fees." All this naturally placed the rural population under the direct sway of their new lords, and recent historians generally admit that the extension of the "pomestye" system was the principal general cause which brought about the consolidation of Russian serfdom during the second half of the 16th century. The similarity with England is rather striking, since English villeinage was consolidated during the second half of the 12th century as a general consequence of the gradual rise of the class of knights.

The growth of the royal power in England and Muscovy brought

<sup>20</sup> See, for instance, Sir Paul Vinogradov: *English Society in the 11th century*, 8°, Oxford, 1908, also his other works, and W. Stubbs: *op. cit.*

<sup>21</sup> See A. Miller. under <sup>10</sup>, where a more complete bibliography is referred to.

<sup>22</sup> See above quoted works of W. Stubbs, P. Vinogradov, C R L. Fletcher, etc.

<sup>23</sup> See A. V. Borodin: "Law of 1556 regarding service" in *Collection of articles on Russian history dedicated to S. F. Platonov*, 8°, Petersburg (sic), 1922.

about the necessity of creating organs of central administration; and in this respect again, the 11th and 12th centuries in England offer many parallelisms with the 16th century in Muscovy. In England such offices as the Justiciarship, the Chancery and the Exchequer gradually emerge from previous confusion and take a more or less definite shape during the reigns of the Norman and of the first Angevin kings.<sup>24</sup> In the Kremlin of Moscow a rather complex system of central administrative institutions called "prikazy" gradually comes into being during the reigns of Basil III, Ivan the Terrible and Boris Godunov.

The necessities of legislation and of financial administration finally compelled the central power in both countries to convene representatives of various classes of society to general assemblies, the forerunners of our modern parliaments. The first of these assemblies, called "Zemskie Sobory," which were deemed to represent the opinion of the "entire country," were called in Moscow in the middle of the 16th century. This can be taken as a definite proof that Muscovy was at that time no longer a feudal State and was gradually transforming itself into a modern monarchy.<sup>25</sup> Thus we have now seen that, due allowance being given to the chronological difference of about four centuries, the social and political development of England and Muscovy proceeded in many respects along the same general lines, and that the general structure of Muscovy at the end of the 16th century closely resembled that of England at the very beginning of the 13th century.

### *The Crisis of the "Time of Troubles."*

The question may now be asked how it happened that in the subsequent course of events the general lines of development of England and Russia diverged so much, with the result that during the 17th century Russia was transformed into an autocratic monarchy, whereas England under Edward I already presented all the rudiments of a parliamentary State. An answer to this question can be found in a study of the events which happened in Russia during the years 1598 to 1614, generally known as the Time of Troubles,<sup>26</sup> and in a comparison of these events with the reigns of John Lackland and Henry III in England.

<sup>24</sup> See W. Stubbs . *op. cit.*

<sup>25</sup> For the history of the "Zemskie Sobory," see V. Latkin : *The Zemskie Sobory of old Russia*, 8°, St. Petersburg, 1885; also S. Sergeyevich . *op. cit.* (see under 11).

<sup>26</sup> See S. F. Platonov . *Essays on the history of the Time of Troubles*, 8°, St. Petersburg, 1899, also his later works : *Boris Godunov*, 16°, Prague, 1924, and *The Time of Troubles*, 16°, Prague, 1924.

As soon as the old Rurik dynasty of the Tsars of Moscow became extinct with the death of Tsar Fedor, the only surviving son of Ivan the Terrible, all the opposing social forces, which had been held in submission by the strong governments of Ivan and Boris Godunov, the brother-in-law of Fedor, broke out into a violent and lasting conflict, which can properly be described as the first Russian revolution. The remnants of the feudal aristocracy attempted to regain the importance which they had lost, first by putting on the throne one of their own representatives, and by extracting from him an oath to observe a charter of liberties, which reminds one of Magna Charta. When this attempt failed, they took the government into their own hands and negotiated with the son of the King of Poland, trusting that this would be the best means whereby a Tsar could be secured who would be a puppet in the hands of the feudal oligarchy. Simultaneously, the oppressed peasants and slaves rose against their lords and a civil war broke out. Things were still more complicated by various dynastic pretenders and by foreign intervention, the Poles and Swedes having occupied a large part of the Russian territory. The Poles even captured the city of Moscow. The very existence of Muscovy as an independent national State was threatened. Help came finally from the small landholders, the military middle class, who, in conjunction with the burgesses of the trading centres of the Volga region, organised a national levy, drove the Poles out of Moscow, pacified and subdued the revolted peasants and finally crowned their work by electing a new Tsar, Michael Romanov, to the throne of Moscow. The victory of the military middle classes, the "men of service," was complete: the feudal aristocracy never recovered from the loss of prestige and the charge of treason which its representatives incurred after the unsuccessful negotiations with the King of Poland and his son. The new Tsar reigned with the help of the middle classes, and legislative assemblies were often called by him, as well as by his son, the Tsar Alexis. But, when the work of financial and administrative reorganisation was completed, when all the social desiderata of the landowning middle classes had been fulfilled, these assemblies were gradually discontinued and Muscovite autocracy received its final shape. This change is easy to explain. Indeed, the only class, which at this stage of general development would have been interested in taking an active part in the political government of the country, would have been a strong aristocracy with deeply-rooted local traditions. This class had been completely crushed, whereas the middle classes, once their social programme was carried out, peace-

fully retired from the government of the country, leaving it entirely in the hands of the absolute Tsar. They took part in the national affairs no longer as a self-conscious class, but only as individual members of the Muscovite bureaucracy.

*Origins of Muscovite autocracy and English parliamentarianism.*

All this is entirely different from what happened in England during the 13th century. In Muscovy the Tsar was a national leader, whose power had gradually increased during the process of the unification of the national territory and in constant defensive wars against foreigners, first the Tartars, then the Poles and the Swedes, who were continually threatening the integrity of this territory. Even the offensive wars, such as, for instance, the unsuccessful Livonian wars of Ivan the Terrible, had a vital national importance, since they aimed at securing for Russia an outlet towards the Baltic Sea. In this way the Tsar was the symbol of national independence and union, and, in addition, he was also the spiritual leader of the nation, since the Russian Church early acquired an almost complete independence from the See of Constantinople. This further strengthened the close union of State and Church which always existed in Russia. It is for this reason that when the feudal aristocracy, having become class-conscious, made an attempt not so much to restore the previous feudal disintegration as to limit the power of the Tsar in their own favour as a class, they were not supported by the nation at large and their attempt collapsed entirely after having received the stigma of national treason.

In England, on the contrary, most of the Norman and the first Angevin kings were really foreigners.<sup>27</sup> Their chief personal interests lay on the Continent, and these interests were purely dynastic, entirely distinct from the vital, national interests of the English people. The constant wars, which were waged by these kings, especially in France, were not wars of national defence or expansion, but were for the most part simple dynastic conflicts, and these kings looked upon England as a kind of reservoir of military and financial means, which they could utilise in order to achieve their dynastic aims. Neither could these English kings act as spiritual leaders of the English nation, since the Roman Catholic Church in England was not a national institution and whenever the English kings acted in close alliance with, and even in submission to, the

<sup>27</sup> This feature is very well brought out in K. Norgate's works. See, for instance, K. Norgate. *England under the Angevin Kings*, 2 vols., 8°, 1887.

Papal power, as, for instance, John Lackland and Henry III (Sicilian affairs), these acts always assumed the character of a betrayal of national interests. When the English baronage rose to national maturity and class-consciousness, it made an attempt to limit the power of the king, not by reinstating feudal anarchy as under Stephen, but by an act of general legislation—the Magna Charta. This attempt received the support of the entire nation, and the Barons played the part of national leaders against the tyranny and misgovernment of a semi-foreign king. These features came into still greater prominence during the Barons' War under Henry III,<sup>28</sup> when the progressive part of the baronage, led by Simon de Montfort, acted in close co-operation with the military middle class and only obtained their victory over the royal power as a result of the support of the "*communitas bachellariæ*." It is certain that in the middle of the 13th century in England, just as in Russia during the 17th century, the only class which was interested in the purely political issues at stake was the higher rank of the baronage, but in England the *social* programme of the middle classes was carried out thanks to the *political* victory of the upper class, whereas in Russia this upper class had been entirely crushed during the Time of the Troubles. In short, in England the play of historical contingencies brought about an alliance of the upper and middle classes against the royal power, whereas in Russia these historical contingencies brought about an alliance of the middle classes with the Tsar's power against the remnants of the feudal aristocracy. The final result was the creation of a parliamentary system of government in England, and of a politically unlimited autocracy in Russia.

### *Conclusions.*

I shall consider that I have achieved my object if I have succeeded in proving that, admitting that about four centuries separate the identical phases in the historical development of England and of Muscovy during the Middle Ages, this development proceeded on very similar general lines, and that the study of these similarities should be of much value both to English and to Russian historical research. It would help to give this research a wider, more scientific and truly sociological character.

A. MILLER.

<sup>28</sup> See R. F. Treharne: *The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258–1263*, 8vo, Manchester, 1932.



# POLISH SILESIAN LITERATURE

## THE POETS

Two men, both of the humblest origins, both prose writers and crusaders for the rights of their fellow-workers, laid foundations in the middle decades of the 19th century for what may rightly be called a regional Polish literature in Silesia. The elder, Joseph Lompa, will always be associated in the memory of his compatriots with the year 1848. His successor, Karol Miarka, also a village teacher, will go down in history as the defender of his people's faith and speech in the *Kulturkampf*. For both of them letters were more an instrument for the stating of a case, than an end in themselves. Nevertheless, they were both artists, they loved to write, and the results of their work were not only didactic and social, but also æsthetic.

Long before Miarka laid down his pen other men were in line to assist him. Among these we shall study three, the blacksmith poet, Julius Ligoń, the parish priest, Father Bonczyk, and his somewhat younger colleague, Father Damroth. Finally, we shall look at the work of one other poet, the junior by a full generation; who did indeed die young, but not until he had seen a part at least of his hopes realised—Jan N. Jaroń. Even a casual acquaintance with the writings of these men reveals an increasing stature, both in the quality of their work and in the ambitions behind it. Taken altogether, Polish Silesian literature would not fill a large shelf; but even in its slender dimensions it does exist as a vital force.

### I.

Most modest among the four was the artisan, Ligoń. He was born just before Miarka, but outlived him. From a home that was one of the more conscientious kind, he went on to school, where the teacher did indeed keep the rules about teaching in German, but had the sense to use his native Polish where necessary to explain things to beginners. Then came the army, in which Ligoń won prizes for marksmanship, and the foundry in which he became a master-smith—his life work. As a grown man he went through the exciting experiences of 1848, and saw the new freedom extended during the years that followed. Already he was writing simple ditties for the Polish press, already he was active in local self-improvement efforts. He soon became a marked man among his fellows: a matter of no small importance in the days of reaction

that soon set in under Bismarck. Books were his hobby, the spread of reading and thinking among his fellows his major aim in life. In 1881 he wrote to a Poznan paper these words :—

“ Polish literature in Silesia differs from the writings of the other parts of what was Poland in that it is singly and wholly a folk literature.”

He goes on to say that whereas elsewhere the initiative to write has come from the educated classes, here both those who write and those who read belong to the workers—whether in town or country. Not once but a dozen times he brought this out, whether in verse or prose, in speaking to his people.

For a man without a high-school education Ligoń possessed unusual qualities of mind and spirit. He read widely, borrowing books he could not buy; and in both languages. But the inner urge of his being was rather of the heart than of the mind: his love for everything Polish. The story was told for decades how he had received into his home two refugees from the insurgent troopers of 1863, who had escaped over the frontier, and harboured them; and how, when the exiles sang their national hymns Ligoń would stand by the big stove with his small son in his arms, and weep tears of mingled sorrow and joy.

A few years later he welcomed the leadership of Miarka, when the latter took up newspaper work for good, and with the help of Father Bonczyk founded the “ Casino,” a social and literary club in Beuthen. By the side of Miarka, Ligoń, too, began to provide sketches and little plays for amateur theatricals: *The Good Son*, *The Convert*, *The Prison*, *The Orphan*, and such like. Not only this, but he wrote songs to liven the somewhat sombre plays of Miarka himself, providing not only words, but the melodies as well. In 1874 he passed through a serious illness, and a few years later a worse trial followed. For his activities as a Polish patriot he was to suffer as Miarka did; he lost his job, and was even sent to prison. Yet he refused to give up his convictions. All the time he was writing, now verses, now articles for the press or for the much read *Almanachs*, or even for private publishing. As the year 1883 drew near he set about writing a longer work on the expedition of King John Sobieski to relieve Vienna 200 years before. The completion of this brought him great pleasure, and no small fame. Recognition had come to him: the privilege of representing his people at larger Polish gatherings in Poznan, and of reciting his poems before distinguished audiences there, and the homage of the student group at the University of Breslau on the occasion of his

sixtieth birthday. But to the end his greatest satisfaction was that others were carrying on the good work.

## II.

Of these the best known was Father Bonczyk. Rightly called "the Homer of Silesia," he became in a special way the poet of the *Kulturkampf*. Born in Miechowitz, near Beuthen, he was helped to school by the magnate, Franz Winckler, and went on to Breslau for theology. His first charge was that of curate in Piekary, where he assisted the successor of the famed church-builder, Father Fietzek. From Piekary he was called to the large parish of Beuthen just before the struggle began (in 1870) that was to make Miarka famous. In this growing city in the heart of Big Industry, Bonczyk was to serve as a faithful shepherd of souls for a quarter of a century.

He met his first challenge in characteristic fashion. Seeing whither the attack of the Prussian State on the Church was likely to lead, he seized on a tale by a Rhinelander, Bolanden, called *Our Father's God Lives Still*, and published a Polish version of it with the help of a Beuthen bookseller. The tale set forth the attitude of the faithful towards the efforts of the two Napoleons to brush aside the Christian faith in the west; and it fitted the situation exactly. Of course there was trouble at once with the police, and the young priest went to prison for two months. Any of his colleagues found with the book were punished by fines. But the needed protest had been made.

Already as a student Bonczyk had won recognition for his Polish versions of Schiller's poems. He loved lyric verse, and was clever at writing it; but his name was to be made, and for all time, rather in the field of epics. He gave his nation two, one in 1879, the other seven years later. The theme of the former was the village life he had known as a boy, and centred in particular around a significant event, namely, the removal of the old, beloved, timber parish church, in order to make room for a new and larger one. Its atmosphere, then, was one of the march of progress, the fact of social change, and all that this was bound to mean for people whose lives for generations had floated on an even keel, and to whom stability was a dogma. Such a theme gave the poet a fine opportunity to set before the reader a *Sittengemälde* of his time: a series of canvases, larger or smaller, of the life of individuals or groups. There are eight cantos, with about 5,000 lines in all. They reflect like a

photographic plate the lights and shadows of the now passing order. One is at once reminded of the vaster epic of Mickiewicz, the metre of which the Silesian poet borrowed for his own use.

As if at a play we see before us in turn the last Mass said in the Old House of Prayer, the conference of the village folk in the nearby school-room, the midnight watching in the cemetery where graves have been opened that have to be moved to make room for the larger church; then the moving itself, further, a wedding scene, and finally, the assembly of all the parishioners with their priest in the midst. We hear the anecdotes that are passed on such occasions, we see the living figures, and are told much about the dead. The poet knew it all, and he has reproduced it faithfully. Charming bits of description, whether of the scene or of some who took part in it, are interjected wherever the narrative permits. It is a mine of raw materials for the cultural historian, yet all set in the simplest form. How well the work was done is proved by the fact that the Germans have published it in their own tongue, seeing in it the actual Upper Silesia of the day. High words of praise were written of it by the Warsaw critic and novelist, Kraszewski.

In the year that Bismarck launched the second phase of his attack on Polish interests in Prussia, Bonczyk's second epic appeared—this time in Breslau. The title was *St. Anne's Mount*, and its theme is the last Indulgence Festival before the May-laws of Falk (in 1873) changed the whole face of things for the Church. The personal note is introduced when we learn that the last of the hermits, a member of a famous Silesian family, is about to die. The high-water mark of the epic is the scene at High Mass, when the beloved Father Stabik is preaching. Needless to say, the atmosphere was electric:

“ My flock, what treasure in your hearts you cherish !

Yet, at a despot's hand you're like to see it perish.”

Bonczyk had lived through the whole drama, had seen as a boy the hopes associated with the year 1848, knew the promise of the fine lead given by the German Father Bogedain, and the victories won in later years by Karol Miarka; but now it was all to be undone. *St. Anne's Mount* is truly the epic of the *Kulturkampf*, a struggle that was still religious, perhaps social in part; but was, thirty years later, to become openly national and political.

The poet must have realised what he was doing. Else he would not have led us away so often from the immediate scene on the mountain,

which rises all alone from the plain just east of the Oder, to show us things of other days. In one passage of thirty lines he gives a sort of catalogue of the great ones—Germans as well as Poles, who had served the Silesian people in their need. Thanks to them it was no longer apathetic, but beginning to be articulate. This sort of interpolation suffices to make a poem a thing of more than domestic interest; it becomes, in fact, a human document of no small significance, beyond question a bigger thing than the poet himself fancied it to be. I shall only add that for Father Bonczyk his writing was a diversion rather than anything else, and his modesty in regard to it is seen in the motto of his first epic: *Parvum parva decent!*

### III

Joseph Lompa died in poverty in 1863. A warm tribute was paid to his memory by a theological student in Breslau, a certain Damroth, who had grown up in the open countryside where Lompa taught so long. Young Damroth was popular among his fellows, and not the least for his songs, which were often sung at student gatherings. A sheaf of them saw the light in pamphlet form in 1867, published in Toruń as *A Wreath from Upper Silesia*. Already the poet used his pen-name Czesław Lubinski.

The 'sixties were trying years for all Polish hearts. As it happened, this boy from the Oderland had a good reason for being nearer to what went on than most of his colleagues; who at best talked with the destitute refugees that escaped over the frontier from time to time. He had an uncle in Kielce, who was canon of the cathedral there, and he spent with him a good part of his vacations. This interesting town is within short distance of the *massif central* of Poland, the St. Cross hills, a district of much natural beauty, and full of historic associations. Young Damroth made many excursions, and so came pretty close to the common people, as well as getting to know many combatants in the insurrection. Many lyrics took shape in these times, some of them of unusual beauty. One example is given below.

As a result of these experiences Damroth was now more than a Silesian patriot, he belonged to the whole Polish nation and its homeland, and the nation and its homeland belonged to him. This was a step in advance of those who went before him; did it mean that he was any the less a lover of his own province? We shall see.

Ordained a priest, he served first in Oppeln as curate; but

after a few months he was moved to a post in the Teachers' Training School in Pilchowice. At bottom he was a teacher rather than a preacher. Already he had betrayed historical interests in a paper read to a group in Oppeln on the ancient place names of Silesia. Out of it was to come, twenty-five years later, a stately volume in German, *Die aelteren Ortsnamen Schlesiens*. Three years of useful experience fitted the young priest for a larger opening: the Headship of the Training College in the heart of the Cashubian land, in Pomerania. Here he spent a busy twelve years, full of studies and writing; full too, of wanderings in the Baltic provinces. He got to know the scattered Polish elements in all directions, and set down his impressions in *Travel Letters*, which appeared in the *Toruń Gazette*. They were later expanded into a volume, *Sketches from Prussian Lands*, which was at once confiscated by the police. The publisher refused to reveal the identity of the author, and was condemned to six weeks in gaol. The death of the Emperor Frederic brought him respite. The same years saw the appearance of a book of poems called *Baltica*.

Leaving on one side the educational writings of the Headmaster, we can only note that he had always studied the Irish question with interest, and was an admirer of Daniel O'Connell. He published serially in the same *Toruń Gazette* a short life of the Irish patriot leader, and admitted later that he saw much in common between the fate of Ireland at the time and that of his own Oderland. To a younger colleague he said in later years:

"When will a fairer sun shine on our Silesia, and lighten its woes? We lack an O'Connell. I have been waiting for years for him to appear."

To escape the severer Baltic climate, Damroth asked to be moved back to his beloved native province in 1883, and here he served another eight years, first in Oppeln, and then in Pruszkow. In 1891 he was given leave to retire, and spent the last four years of his life in quiet. Inwardly at least; since all around him was ferment. In 1886 Bismarck initiated the second phase of his attack on the Poles living in Prussia, when a special fund of 100,000,000 marks—a lot of money in those days—was set aside for the expropriation of Polish farmers along the eastern borders, and the settling of German colonists in their place. The news startled Europe, in particular, the Slav world. Would the plan succeed? If so, where was the hope of Poland's survival?

Damroth was spectator of it all, though Silesia was little affected

He had his own opinions, and he put them briefly in a poem called *Might and Right*. One verse ran thus :

A hundred millions ! Certainly no joke :  
With them whole provinces might well be bought.  
No simple thing to war on the Polish folk,  
Here even German might will come to nought.

Clearly this teacher-poet was no quietist. He was not minded to hide before the storm like the philosopher under the wall, and wait for better days. No wonder then that he said to his younger colleagues not long before the end :

" You must be prepared for further persecutions . . . The younger generation must itself take a hand in the defence of our people. . . But the spring is at hand. Work for your people, and better days will come ! "

In 1893 Damroth saw through the press a collected edition of his poems, two volumes, under the title *From the Silesian Plain*. The work has long been out of print, and it is well that at last a new edition is in the press. The men and women of today need the message of Father Damroth's work.

And now the question : how about the man's art ? Certainly it was for him an end in itself, as well as a means to an end. He did indeed disavow any special calling as a poet, in verses that are playful as well as sincere. But elsewhere he laid claim to a right to sing, since the music was in him not less than in the birds of the wood. He uses phrases almost identical with Tennyson's. All that he wrote flowed from the abundance of the heart. His love for, and appreciation of, the beauties of the visible world, his deeply religious nature and almost mystic faith in God and man, his feeling of devotion to his people—their past, present, and the hope of their future. This latter comes out everywhere, notably in ballads, whose raw materials were patriotic in essence. He could write good prose, whether Polish, German or Latin ; but verses came to him as naturally as prose.

A recent critic has written on what he calls traditionalism in Damroth's poems. By this he means the elements built into them that came from studies—at the University or later, or from travel in Polish lands. Closer analysis shows how much he knew of Polish legend and history, and what it meant to him as a patriot compelled to be a Prussian citizen. On the one hand the note of knight-errancy, revealing itself on every hand, on the other the social dynamic centred in the hope of an awakening for his own

province, and indeed, for his nation. For him the cities he visits are "Polish" cities, the rivers "Polish" rivers, even the Baltic a "Polish" ocean, etc. It is not proved that he was ever untrue to his Prussian citizenship, though he certainly did not like the Prussian system (the priest in him could never accept that with enthusiasm). But he was a true disciple of Herder and Rousseau, and Mickiewicz and others, in putting first the ties of nation and homeland. For this alone his name and fame will be remembered.

#### IV

When we come to the fourth of our poets we are conscious at once of a difference. A long generation younger than his predecessors, Jaroń entered into their inheritance in a very real way, and was what none of them was—a poet and dreamer by calling. Born in 1881, he was schooled in the Oderland, but was refused his leaving certificate on account of quarrels with his teachers. He then finished at the Gymnasium in Baden, and in 1905 entered the Faculty of Law in Breslau. Far from robust in health, he had to earn his way, and spent some years as private tutor in various families of the upper classes. In 1910 he switched to the University of Lwów, where he won the attention of the poet Kasprówicz, who had also been at school in Silesia. Glad to be free of Prussian dominance, he sought Austrian citizenship, but the Great War intervened before he completed the change. Unfit for military service he found work elsewhere, and in time was employed in the Austrian Consulate in Breslau. At the end of the war he took his place as a plebiscite worker in his own Upper Silesia, and carried a weapon in the third insurrection. In June, 1922, he saw the Polish troops enter the land under General Szeptycki; but the joy was too great for him, and he died six weeks later.

Jaroń was, as I have hinted, a poet by the Grace of God. Nothing else mattered to him, except what he put into his poetry—that is, his beloved Silesia. For it he lived, toiled and suffered; for it he died. During twenty years he was writing about it—the land and people, its traditions, its hopes, its sorrows. His literary legacy consists of lyrics and ballads, of a few satires, of short stories, and of four dramas.

For his lyrics Jaroń found his materials first in his environment, and then in his attitude to it. He knew the Polish poets well—read while at school in Beuthen, of course, in secret. He had been much influenced by the Warsaw publicist Świętochowski, leader of positivist thought in the country. Among the Germans he loved



Goethe and Lenau, while of the ancients his idols were Catullus and Horace. All of this, however, was simply grist to his mill. He was a Silesian, and his great hope was to lift the regional literature of his land to the level of Polish letters as a whole. This was no easy matter, if he was to write so that his simple farming and mining contemporaries could see what he was driving at. His guiding ideas went into a short preface of the year 1906 :

While Silesia has been purely Polish it has also been peasant, free, and without either the nurse to care for her nor the step-mother to exploit her which the Polish *szlachta* has been elsewhere. In Silesia there was no gentry. Such families as came here from outside . . . had long since died out . . . So the Silesian peasant had to manage for himself. . . . He has had no sense of being different from those around him : the Germans who have been trying to make him one of them. "I'm a Prussian, I must do what the Prussian government wants of me!"—that was his view. Till, at last, the rise of the younger, democratic Poland opened his eyes. Then, with an effort, he roused himself, a strong people of free peasants and of workers born of their stock. . . . In ever-widening circles there is now growing the consciousness and recognition of their *polskość*.

In these words may be felt the whole of Jaroń's life-horizon. Scarcely less than Mickiewicz with the dismembered Poland of his day, did Jaroń identify himself with the subjected Upper Oderland. Hence his lyrics, hence the tales he wrote, hence the power of his dramas. Of the lyrics I offer three in English versions. Each in its own way reveals the feeling heart of the poet. The stories I must pass over entirely. For the dramas, a few words about each.

Earliest of all was *Eleusis*, still unpublished—a comedy in three acts. Then *Exmission*, published in Lwów in 1912, under a pen-name. Then *Konrad the Curly-Headed*, written before *Exmission*, but not published till 1920. (A new edition followed in 1931, with a critical introduction by Vincent Ogrodzinski.) Finally *St. Hedwig's Army*, written during the troubled plebiscite months, and published also in 1931. No attempt will be made here either at criticism of the literary side of these creations, or at an estimate of the poet's dramatic technique. We shall limit ourselves solely to the cultural significance of the works themselves.

*Eleusis* was written when the poet was barely in his twenties. His model was one of Fredro's comedies, but the whole atmosphere is Silesian. We have a meeting at a Spa of several types of folk, of different classes and of varying interests. A wealthy landowner with a marriageable daughter, a pastor, the local physician, who

is a disciple of Lutosławski's four-fold abstinence program (the name of the play is taken from the Society founded in Cracow by Lutosławski at the turn of the century), and a wager that ideals will win out over the natural man. The poet introduces in places the local dialect, but public issues are virtually not admitted.

Much the same sort of folk appear in *Exmission* a few years later; but now there is serious business on hand. We get the life and death struggle of a peasant, Pieszok, to maintain his right to his homestead in the teeth of Prussian restrictions. Jaroń is giving us the incident from the year 1906, when a retired N.C.O. named Chroszcz was forbidden to build a cottage on a bit of land he had bought near Psów. He dug a cellar and lived in it till a gendarme arrived to turn him out by force. Then in anger he fired at the intruder and killed him. Shocked at what he had done, he at once took his own life.

Around and behind this tragic event Jaroń wove a love story of a Polish landowner, Count Zmudski, and a Kurland princess, whose mother was English. As part of the company we have again the pastor and the priest, the former of whom is set on marrying the young lady to the German Governor, von Hamilton. It comes to a duel between the suitors; but this is not the real clash. What follows is the work of the Governor's agent, who has roused the common folk to burn the manor-house by way of revenge for real and imagined wrongs done them. The end is sorrow for all except the lovers, who are saved together.

"Here we have," says Ogrodzinski, "a broadly sketched canvas of the actualities of Upper Silesian life in pre-War years. We see the forces at work both on the Polish and the German side, engaged in settling whether land and people shall remain Polish or succumb to Germanisation. The peasants are not all nationally enlightened, but they have certain raw materials towards this end: their speech—the persecution of which only begets bitter opposition, their faith, in which they differ from most Prussians, and their hatred of the big landowners. There is also a fourth factor: a sort of spirit of revolt that breaks through the usual peasant caution, and this needs only a spark to set it off."

This struggle for the possession of the Oderland, as Jaroń well knew, is an heritage from long generations. Early in the 11th century German colonisation began to make itself felt, and in time the lower and middle reaches of the river passed wholly under German control. With this in mind Jaroń used in 1905 an essay of Professor Sobieski of Cracow, entitled *A Forgotten Silesian Hero*, as the

basis of his *Konrad the Curly-Headed*. The date of the action is the thirteen hundreds. Henry the Bearded, Prince of Breslau, and his wife, later known as St. Hedwig, had two sons. The younger, favoured by his mother, was German in sympathy; the elder felt himself a Pole. When this one, Konrad, saw that he was to be dispossessed, he resolved to fight for his rights and those of his people; but the weaker Polish forces were beaten at Liegnitz, and Konrad escaped with difficulty. Later, while hiding in remoter forests, he fell from his horse and was killed.

Thus ended his short life; the last of the Silesian branch of the Piast line, who tried to withstand the oncoming wave of German aggression. Jaroń has portrayed him in dramatic fashion. Beside him stand out two of his helpers: Zdisław, his retainer, and the jester, Kwiatek. Into their mouths the poet puts tellingly the views of the common man.

Silesians of pre-War days would at once recognise in this old-world tragedy not a few features of the life they saw about them: the inevitable experiences of a *Zwischenland*—the rending of family ties, the fear of a foreign yoke in the minds of the indigenous population, the seeming hopelessness of resistance. As Pampuch has put it, Konrad is at bottom a projection of the poet himself into days long past. Across six centuries come the same great clashes, the same play of human passions, the same hopes and disappointments. In 1905 Jaroń foresaw clearly what was to come on the collapse of the German Empire fifteen years later; the will of the common people to be free, expressed in resolution both of word and deed, and the readiness of many to die for the cause.

This brings us to the last of the plays: the five acts of *St. Hedwig's Army*. Long before the War Jaroń toyed with parts of the tale, putting into ballad form his *Enchanted Horsemen*. To a ruined castle with a deep well, whence sounded at times music like that of the clashing of arms in battle, there came a shepherd to draw water. Curiosity set him exploring, and his touch brought the world of long ago to life; the owner, his daughter and his retainers. Holy Mass is sung in the chapel, and then a chance is given to the visitor, as representing the common man, to state his needs. Conditions will not allow them to be met, however, and he withdraws. The castle is again a dead ruin as before.

In the heat of the plebiscite struggle the poet returned to ideas surrounding this theme. He saw the cult of St. Hedwig being used, and abused, by the Germans for propaganda purposes, and he decided, if one may use the phrase, to rehabilitate her. For the

purpose his chief help was the belief so common in parts of Europe that the warriors of some hero of other days, whether a Barbarossa, a Gustavus Adolphus, or a John Sobieski, or a Napoleon, are all hidden away in some great cavern, sleeping, till the time for their waking comes, at the call of the proper person, when they will arise again in might and win the cause. At the outset of the play the dying St. Hedwig begs of heaven the chance of returning to earth again to live a better life. Her prayer is granted, and she returns in three crises of Silesia's story. The third time is in the day of decision after the world war. Her two sons are with her, the younger as a miner, no longer friendly to the German cause, but eager to break away and join Haller's troops just over the still prevailing border in Dombrova. He is caught by the German police, however, and sentenced to be shot. When the mother refuses to betray her elder son, she is also slain, and the role of avenger falls to Konrad, this time with more success than of old. The wrong is thus righted, but after terrible losses.

We see how Jaroń refuses at any point to be separated from his beloved Silesia. Boy and man, citizen and poet, he stands and falls with her. Curiously enough, he never interested himself in the Industrial Triangle, with its wealth of mine and foundry; but always in the open countryside and the simple folk who tilled it. Nevertheless, he did feel the social and economic subjection of the workers, and never forgot to be an apostle of their liberation too. It is this abundance of this love that makes him great.

Not only in time, then, but in all he did and wrote, Jaroń stands between the past of Silesia and the new future. He looked over into the promised land, but did not set foot in it. But he left all who have done so a witness that will not and cannot die.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

# POLISH SILESIAN LYRICS

(English Versions by W. J. ROSE)

*Ligon, Juliusz*—Blacksmith Poet.

## *An Apology*

Learned folk write works imposing,  
Mine is but a humbler pen ;  
All the world must know—Silesians  
None the less are counted Polish men.

Let our land be not forgotten  
But of honours have her share !  
Take then, reader, my mean tribute ;  
Rude, rough-hewn, but none the less sincere.

You, my comrades, it will profit.  
(Learned works not yours to see.)  
From my heart it comes, a witness  
Fit to serve the likes of you and me.

In God's name my verses flowing  
Shape for memory thoughts that cling.  
May He make of this my effort  
What to all shall inspiration bring !

*Damroth, Father* (Lubinski, Czeslaw)

## *To Lompa*—1863

A sample you have given us of valour,  
Of zeal, of fortitude that heartens others :  
You roused in us again the dying embers  
Of passion for the language of our fathers.

You had no thought for gain, or earthly glory,  
But valiantly revived forgotten causes :  
And, battling for our simple speech, you have shown us  
That fire of youth the poet never loses.

## *Polish Days*

I've wandered up and down the land  
We all hold sacred. On the way  
Verses have come—a host of them,  
But chiefly set in minor key.

Yet others knew a happier note :  
Of hearts I held sweet converse with,  
Of Polish friends, and their goodwill  
And memories that cling till death.

*Apologia*

But in parting—let me ask you,  
 Can the untaught fashion verses ?  
 With no gift—creating couplets,  
 With no wit—yet piecing poems ?  
 With no wings—essay the Heavens ?  
 Sing new hymns—though unanointed ?  
 When my skill and inspiration  
 Scarce for doggerel are appointed !  
 What is worse : full little knowing  
 Grammar's secrets or æsthetics—  
 How can one weave verses pleasing  
 All the specialists and critics ?

*Jaroň, Jan Nikodem**I Sighted You*

I sighted you in the meadow,  
 The wind made sport of your hair ;  
 I gave you chase when I saw you,  
 You fled—as a hind to her lair.

Sweet hind, with those golden tresses,  
 Stay your flight at my cry !  
 Queen of my heart I'll hold you,  
 Your willing captive, I.

Look, how our hands are trembling,  
 Our eyes, how bright they shine !  
 Why ? For our lips are sealing  
 Sweet union—your's and mine.

*Tears Are on Me*

Tears are on me. At the organ  
 Of my heart an angel plays  
 In a solemn, stately measure,  
 Making choral melodies :  
 And the striking of his fingers  
 Is the beating of my heart ;  
 Till, in sorrow at his music,  
 Bells are wakened with a start.

At the sound the spirits gather  
 Taking pity on my state.  
 Pale they hover, and their moaning  
 Is a dirge of human fate :  
 Till a tomb is raised on high,  
 Where my happiness must lie.

*Silesian Folk*

I have loved Silesian folk,  
Who have borne a grievous yoke  
But survived it, till our foes,  
Striking, died of their own blows.

I have loved the clang and smoke  
As the hammers rend that yoke ;  
While my comrades, night and day,  
Gird themselves to join the fray.

I have loved the fields that sing  
While, intent, the Heavenly King  
Hears the swell of Polish song  
Rising from the assembled throng.

I have loved our quiet homes,  
Where, year in year out, there comes  
Echoing our Polish tongue :  
Heaven keep it ever young !

## THE SORBS OF LUSATIA

AMONG the national minorities of Europe the Sorbs of Lusatia occupy in two respects a special position. They are a racial group which lacks a mother-state, being entirely settled within the bounds of the German Empire: but they are also what the Germans call a *Restvolk*, a last fragment of the Polabian Slavs, and as such are an individual national group, which has sunk legally and politically to the status of a national minority. A short survey of their history shows that they are a "national minority" only according to external indications and the modern terminology which has grown up in the period of international protection of minorities. Their present situation is characterised by the fact that they enjoy neither this international protection, nor any legally assured status in the German Reich.

The Sorbs are the last of the Polabian or Elbian Slavs. Till the coming of Christianity and wars of conquest during the succeeding Carolingian and Saxon period (9th to 13th century) these Slavs of the Elbe formed three tribes—the Weletans or Lutizians, on the Baltic coast between Elbe and Oder, the Bodrizians or Obotrites, in what are now Mecklenburg and Holstein, and the Sorbs or Wends, in the modern Lusatia between Elbe and Oder. It is with the last surviving fragment of the latter group that we are concerned.

The first two of these tribes and the greater part of the latter after long centuries of defence and resistance, fell a prey to the process of Christianisation and colonisation under the Carolingian (800–918), Saxon (919–1024) and Franconian (1024–1125), dynasties, and were assimilated by Germanism. Their downfall was hastened by the fact that the Weletans and Obotrites had not yet formed a well knit state of their own, but were loosely grouped together on federal lines. The permanent aggression of the German conquerors also prevented the Sorbs from achieving independence or the military power which might have guaranteed their existence. The cause of their defeat was not the incapacity to form a state of their own, as later German historians maintained, for the Federative system of the Polabian tribes was in full accord with the individualism of the Slavs. This form of state had all the preconditions of further development, as is seen from the history of all other Western Slav nations. The decisive factors that wrought their political downfall were (1) the geographical, or geopolitical, situation of the Polabian Slavs, which exposed them to most powerful attacks of the German offensive; (2) the federalist basis of their political structure, which



could not resist the onslaught of centralised German Imperialism ; (3) the very inadequate co-operation between the different groups and their consequent military weakness.

The struggles of the Polabian Slavs with the Germans had both a negative and a positive effect. On the one hand two of the Polabian groups and a large portion of the third were wiped out and ceased to be a factor in the political, cultural and national development of this area, even though it did not prove possible to bring about a complete racial and biological assimilative and to assimilate the East Elbe population altogether. For the result which we see today after all these centuries, is not a "German" nation, but a mixed race which finds its most pregnant expression in Prussianism and the Prussian character. The negative results have also persisted right up to the present day, in the sense that 400 years of defensive struggles served as a first barrier to stave off the first onslaught of advancing Germanism from the other Slav peoples east of the Elbe, and thereby contributed to their rise and consolidation, enabling the Poles to form the Piast Kingdom and the Czechs the Great Moravian State.

The Lusatian Sorbs of today only escaped the fate of the other Polabians owing to their geographical situation to the south of the East Elbe area, on the very edge of the territory really contested, and also because they offered less resistance to Christianisation (though those of them to the west of the Elbe went under in the process), and because they had been subjected to the Polish or Moravian states at a time when both had considerable native forces capable of resisting the "Drang nach Osten."

Without some such brief incursion into the historical past the problem of the national minority of today could hardly be understood : but it is of course impossible in the present article to deal with the kindred problem of colonisation beyond the Elbe or even with the social and cultural history of the Sorbs, although this is of special importance for their present position. This is, however, intimately connected with the tendencies and aims of that distant colonial period. The story of the Sorbs as a "people without a history" is unscientific and prompted by political motives, and needs no refutation : that this history is only faintly noticeable, or interpreted on partisan lines in the general European framework, does not mean that the Sorbs have no history, but only that it has been imperfectly written.

Alike from the linguistic and the historical point of view the Sorbs belong to the group of Western Slavs, as do the Poles, Slovaks

and Czechs. Their present territory is smaller than the historical Lusatia, as it existed under Charles IV (1316-1378) and comprises an area of about 7,500 km., stretching longitudinally for 150 km. from a point about 50 km. south of Berlin to about 20 km. from the Czechoslovak border, and attaining from West to East a width of about 50 km. According to the official census of 1925 the Sorbs of Lusatia numbered 72,000, divided between Saxony (Saxon "Oberlausitz") and Prussia (Prussian "Oberlausitz" in Provinz Schlesien and "Niederlausitz" in Provinz Brandenburg). A private census carried out in 1924, though not officially authorised, reached the figure of 120,000, even though the greater part of Prussian Lusatia had to be omitted. Without dwelling upon the details of German racial statistics, it may suffice to point out that a knowledge of the German language, which under the circumstances is an absolute matter of course—in other words, in practice, bilingualism—is treated as a recognition of German, and renunciation of Sorb, nationality.

As in the case of all national minorities, the legal position of the Sorbs in education, in the administration and in the Church, is of decisive importance. It is at present determined by two factors—the official attitude of National Socialism to the problem of Minorities in general, and the attitude of the German authorities to the Lusatian problem in particular. First of all, it is to be noted that in the German Reich constitutional protection of minorities inside its borders is only provided for under paragraph 113 of the Weimar Constitution of 11 August, 1919, but that this was regarded not as a positive right, but as a direction for special minority legislation, which has never come into being. The National Socialist régime has announced—in place of the Weimar Constitution, which still exists formally—an unwritten constitutional law, which lays down and alters the "constitution" according to the requirements of the State. What value article 113 possesses, is not clear: it certainly is put into effect as little now as formerly. But the German Reich is not bound by rules of international protection of minorities, so that the Lusatian Sorbs occupy a specially unfavourable position among the minorities of Europe. Neither the National Socialist party programme nor the authoritative pronouncements of its Leader take up any general attitude on the question of minorities. The former puts in a word for Germans abroad (*das Auslandsdeutschtum*), from the angle of "German community of race" (*Volksgemeinschaft*), while Adolf Hitler has in quite general terms repudiated the idea of future Germanisation. No special minority law exists for the Sorbs, and

there is no legal basis for the regulation of their cultural and national status.

The result of this lack of any legal basis is that all cultural requirements and demands of the Sorbs are treated from an *exclusively political* point of view. The practice of the educational and administrative authorities is in direct conflict with Adolf Hitler's denial of any idea of Germanisation. There seems to be a tendency to maintain that the Sorbs are neither a national group (*Volksgruppe*), because their partially bilingual character makes them part of the German cultural community, nor a national minority, because they have nowhere a mother-nation or state, but only live inside the German State.

The consequence of this fiction in the field of education is that instruction in the mother tongue, which is provided in Saxon Upper Lusatia in the school plan, is being more and more abandoned. As there is no scientific provision for the training of Sorb teachers in the Training Colleges, and as students in the Sorb language are discouraged, the number of teachers capable of teaching in the mother tongue is steadily diminishing. Moreover, numerous Sorb teachers are employed in purely German districts, while in schools attended by 60-90 per cent. of Sorbs, German teachers are appointed and the curriculum is becoming increasingly German. All representations and complaints addressed to the central school authorities by the Sorb cultural organisations, have been disregarded. A memorandum on the position of the Sorbs, addressed in July, 1935, to the Chancellor, and containing suggestions for its improvement, has hitherto remained unanswered. As a result, about 6,000 out of the 8,000 Sorb school children (or 75 per cent.) remain without any teaching in their mother tongue, while the remaining 2,000 are very inadequately taught. It is to be presumed that the responsible leaders do not approve of such injustice, and it can only be hoped that the subordinate authorities will be brought to put into effect Adolf Hitler's own words.

Ecclesiastical conditions in the Reich are so acute, that neither the Catholic Church, to which about 15,000 Lusatian Sorbs belong, nor the Evangelical Church, to which the remaining majority belongs, can do justice to the linguistic and cultural needs of a national minority. In the latter there has always prevailed a Germanising current, though it should be added that it is less strong among the adherents of the Confessional Church. But as the Protestant pastors in Sorb territory are almost exclusively German (in Prussia there are only five or six Sorb clergy) or are adherents of

National Socialism, it is impossible to speak of a Sorb cultural mission through the medium of the Church. In Saxon Upper Lusatia there are still twenty Sorb Protestant parishes, served by Sorb clergy : but the services are held in both languages, and some parishes are already becoming Germanised.

The new principles of provincial and communal administration do not entirely exclude minority representation, but render them dependent on the decisions of the National Socialist Party organs (NSDAP). As the administration, down to the smallest village unit, follows exclusively Nazi lines, there are no means of assuring minority interests even where a Sorb adherent of the party may chance to sit in such a body. From the higher and middle posts the Sorbs are virtually excluded, since these are filled only by Germans and members of the National Socialist party. Thus there is not a single Sorb school inspector, still less a Landrat, Amtshauptmann or Regierungspräsident, and in the field of justice not a single district judge or higher official.

The Lusatian Sorbs have created an organisation of their own, consisting of cultural societies, which for some years after the War were represented by a People's Council (*Volksrat*), and at present by the "Domowina" League, which is also their central organ. Its existence is gravely endangered by the principles and political aims of the authoritative National Socialist régime : for it presses for the absorption of Sorb societies in the corresponding German and National Socialist bodies, as a result of which their independence and special national character would be bound to disappear. It has not yet been finally decided, how far this tendency is to be pushed : but its direction is clear from the Statute which the authorities have themselves drawn up and presented to the "Domowina," to the effect that it may no longer be described as "Zwjazk tužiskich Serbow" (League of Lusatian Sorbs), but as "Bund wendischsprechender Deutscher" ! If they should refuse to comply with this official order, their organisation is to be dissolved, and all Sorb societies incorporated with National Socialist organisations.

The use of Sorb national emblems and colours is forbidden. Their own daily paper, *Serbske Nowiny*, now in its ninety-fifth year, is under repeated threat of confiscation, in case of its dealing with minority questions. For instance, it dare not write that the Lusatian Sorbs are a minority or belong to the Western Slavs ; it may not point out distinctions between Sorb and German "Volkstum" ; and reports on lectures or meetings of the "Domowina"—which of course cannot be held without notification

of the subject and names of speakers and sanction of the political authorities—can none the less not be published until they have been submitted to the Censor. On placards, entrance cards, programmes, and so forth the German language must be used: Sorb may, it is true, be added, but then only in the second place.

All these measures and threats and the employment of strong German resources to denationalise the Sorbs, only serve to demonstrate that in the political conceptions of National Socialism a Sorb minority question does exist. It is true that it is officially denied that such measures in school, administration and public life are directed against the survival of the national minority. Appeal is made to the principle of authoritarian conduct of the State, which can only permit the existence of an unitary German *Volksgemeinschaft*. The contradiction is too obvious to require special emphasis. As the Sorbs are an entirely isolated group, the only political effect of such contradictions, however, is to provide fresh impetus for denationalisation.

In such circumstances an improvement in their lot is only imaginable in two directions. The one possibility is that the leading political factors renounce their idea of Germanisation and accord to the Sorbs the position that is their due as the last fragment or "Restvolk" of the Polabian Slavs. The other, which could only be considered if the first should remain unrealised, would consist in internationalising the problem, and so giving it a political character. The Sorbs themselves desire a settlement within the Reich, because they regard their problem as one of right and of culture.

SORABICUS.

## THE CULTURAL SITUATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA<sup>1</sup>

THE distinction between "culture" and civilization is an unfamiliar one to most English readers and is rather discredited by a war-time use of the German word "Kultur." But the distinction in itself is a real and useful one. There is a real difference between the state of a country from the point of view of the amenities of civilization (bath-rooms, transport facilities, hotels, etc.), and again of its culture, which seems to be a convenient term to include its scholarship and science, its art and religion and all the institutions for their promotion, such as the educational system, libraries and the press. In judging the cultural situation of present-day Czechoslovakia I shall limit myself to a description of these social phenomena and avoid as far as possible generalisations on the nation's genius and character. Such generalisations are either meaningless or very precarious, based as they are either on old prejudices and traditions or on superficial impressions. I shall therefore refuse to be pinned down to such descriptions of Czech national traditions and character as assert that the Czechs are the Prussians among the Slavs, because they show a certain "driving" power and talent for organisation rare among the other Slavs, at least before the Soviet Five Year Plans. The opposite romantic conception of the Czechs, as a people meek as doves, as purely disinterested lovers of humanity, as a historic sacrifice in the cause of pure evangelical Christianity, seems to me to be supported by equally insufficient evidence.

I shall rather try to analyse the factors capable of objective presentation, though, of course, a large share of subjective experience and subjective values must go into every individual judgment. Being neither a scientist nor a lawyer, I shall be unable to give more than a second-hand account of Czechoslovak achievements in these fields.

Obviously the basis of all arts and sciences is the system of education prevailing in a country. The educational system of Czechoslovakia, at least in its Western districts, is based on what had been achieved in pre-War times. Austria in many ways hampered the development of the Czech school-system, but on the whole this was outweighed by the advantages. Education was free and general even before the War, and there are practically no illiterates in Bohemia and Moravia. The liberation of Czechoslovakia meant, first of all, an enormous expansion of the school-system,

<sup>1</sup> A lecture delivered at the School of Slavonic Studies on 25 Feb. 1936.

which was extended to Slovakia and increased everywhere in Bohemia and Moravia. It also weakened the influence of the Catholic clergy on school-teaching, an influence which was strong before the War in theory, though in practice many Czech school-teachers were strongly anti-clerical and frequently openly anti-Austrian. The methods of teaching continued to follow the lines laid down before the War. Reforms are being introduced, especially in elementary school-teaching, but they are gaining ground rather slowly.

Education is compulsory and free from the 6th to the 14th year. Almost all schools are day schools, maintained by the State. There are fees at secondary schools, but they are quite small. About £4 a year is charged and very frequent exemptions are granted on grounds of good progress, or again of destitution. The fees at the universities are almost nil—only 2s. 8d. for an hour a week during the whole academic year and again exemptions are granted very liberally. Even the poorest boys can work up to the University, and there they are mostly supported by small scholarships or find refuge in students' hostels or pay their way by giving lessons, doing secretarial work, etc. A recent examination of the social conditions of the students at the University of Brno (which has, it is true, probably more poor students than Prague) has revealed that out of 3,000 students 1,370 did not pay any fees, and that about 700 were working their way through college. So education is practically free and general. There are no expensive private schools, no "public schools," no colleges. Democracy is taught practically from childhood, as the sons of high officials or manufacturers sit on the same school-benches with the sons of labourers and tradesmen. This opening of all doors and abolishing of any discriminations on economic and social grounds has not altogether prevented a lowering of scholastic standards and an overproduction of intelligentsia and white-collar proletariat. After the War, of course, huge numbers of intellectuals were needed: hundreds and even thousands of teachers went to Slovakia and the newly erected schools in districts where before the War only German schools were available, two new universities had to be staffed, new ministries and other government offices absorbed masses of law students and there was plenty of work for doctors, engineers and architects. But the saturation point was reached even before the depression, and the depression has sped up the process of unemployment among the educated classes. The younger engineers and architects are out of work, the state has practically stopped taking on new men and even the school authorities expand

their staffs very slowly. An investigation made in 1934 shows that 73 per cent. of those who finished in 7 secondary schools in 1933 were unemployed and 49 per cent. of those who finished in 1932. Unemployment means proletarianisation, and proletarianisation means radicalisation in political ideas. Only a general improvement of economic conditions could really bring about a turn of the tide.

The elementary schools in our country take children from 6-11 years. Up to this age there are kindergartens which are not compulsory, but have spread remarkably since the War. There were 2,587 such institutions in the country, with over 110,000 children. But this is little compared to the 15,236 elementary schools which taught 1,853,000 boys and girls. There were 44,300 elementary school teachers, men and women, and of the women, many were married. New methods of teaching are being introduced, which stress more the active part of the pupils, and some attempts have been made to introduce American methods of testing, which are, however, more or less confined to Prague. Most pupils, after 11, proceed to the Citizens' schools (Bürgerschulen), where pupils between 11 and 14 (the school-leaving age) are taught. There are 1,911 schools of this type with 418,000 pupils and 12,200 teachers. The teachers are mostly recruited from the elementary school teachers and specialise in groups of related subjects, while the elementary school teachers have to teach all subjects, including drawing and singing. The teaching is more advanced, but does not include any foreign languages except German (which is not compulsory), as this type of school is mainly designed for pupils who enter practical life immediately on leaving. Those pupils who show higher promise and whose parents intend them for a scholastic career, do not as a rule proceed to a Citizens' school, but to one of the several types of Secondary schools which usually have an 8-year course and take in pupils from 10 to 18. At the end there is a final examination, which is in itself a sufficient certificate for enrolment at the university or technical college. There are two main types: "gymnasia" and "reálky." The gymnasia have nothing to do with gymnastics, but are rather schools with a strongly humanistic curriculum. Eight years of Latin and six years of Greek are taught besides German. The "reálky" teach French and German mainly and stress Mathematics and Science. As a decision on a child's bent at the age of 10 or 11 is difficult, a mixed type called "Realgymnasium" has been steadily gaining favour, and to-day attracts the majority of pupils. There Latin is taught for 8 years and French for 6. There were 290 schools of this type in the country, with



118,000 pupils, of whom 72,000 were of the mixed type. The curriculum provided is very rigid, as practically no choice is offered, so that every student has to pass a pretty severe training, e.g. both in Mathematics and Latin. The schedule is very full and leaves little time for leisure, recreation or games, though vacations in summer are ample. On the whole, a large amount of factual knowledge is imparted, far surpassing the average English school training: while on the other hand comparatively little is done for the development of independent judgment, or of a school and group spirit. The secondary schools have changed least in their methods since the War, and various reforms of the curriculum have rather led to a lowering of standards while lightening the burdens of the students.

Besides these main types of secondary schools there are a number of training schools for pupils after the school-leaving age. There are the Teachers' Training Colleges, taking pupils from 14 to 18. There were no less than sixty of them in the country, which taught 10,000 pupils, of whom over 5,000 were girls. Stress is laid on pedagogical subjects, but otherwise the curriculum is modelled on the same lines as other secondary schools. The Commercial Academies provide a four years' curriculum, with special stress on modern languages (there English is taught) and commercial subjects. There are 38 schools of this type, with 8,500 pupils. More specialised training of less value for general education is provided in the numerous agricultural schools, with 8,600 pupils, and in the huge system of training schools for mechanics and apprentices, with almost 45,000 pupils. There are also one-year commercial schools, and numerous schools for women's occupations, as dressmaking, cooking, etc. The state-system is diversified enough to do the work done by private schools in England. Such private schools as still exist in Czechoslovakia are very specialised, and their standard is generally lower than that of the state-schools. Most of our schools are co-educational—for instance, of the elementary schools, no fewer than 14,000, as compared with about 640 girls' and 600 boys' schools. In the secondary schools, which are not compulsory for all, the proportion of girls attending naturally falls below the fifty-fifty relation in the elementary schools. But 44,000 girls out of about 128,000 pupils are a high percentage, showing that women take a large share in the country's educational opportunities, even in districts and social classes where higher female education used to be unknown.

Schools of university standing are divided into "Universities," with their traditional Faculties of theology, philosophy, science,

law and medicine, and engineering schools, called "technika." There are four universities in the country: two in Prague (the Czech and the German) and one each in Brno and in Bratislava. They altogether had 21,600 students, of which over 10,000 were at the Czech University in Prague. They employed a staff of over 900 teachers. Before the War only two universities existed, descended from the university founded by Charles IV in 1348: the Czech and the German universities in Prague. After the War two new universities were founded, in Brno and in Bratislava. The task of equipping them and manning them with an adequate staff was an heroic undertaking just after the War and in general has been successful. Both smaller universities have done splendid work and even established local traditions in certain fields: but sometimes an influx of inferior men could not be prevented. On the whole, the universities have preserved a very high standard and the work of expansion was also beneficial, as competition between them is keen, and openings for younger men were numerous just after the War. The teaching at the universities is done largely by lectures or in small research groups called seminars. There is practically no individual teaching comparable with the English tutorial system, and there are no colleges providing social contacts. These deficiencies are partly remedied by hostels provided for the poorest students coming from the country districts, and by numerous students' organisations, which maintain cheap luncheon places and libraries and smoothe the way to social contacts by debates, dances, etc. We have nothing comparable to the German beer-drinking and duelling "Corps-studenten." Our students have much stronger political interests than the average English students and frequently join a party organisation, mostly of radical convictions. Recently considerable interest in sports is developing. Co-education seems a matter of course to us. There were over 4,000 women students out of the 21,000, and women were especially numerous in arts, preparing for the teaching profession. On the whole, teaching results might be better. The transition from the rigid curriculum of the secondary school to the sudden absolute freedom of the University has its disadvantages, and many young men and women drop out simply for lack of proper guidance. All sorts of remedies have been applied against this evil, but it cannot be abolished so long as the staff is kept small and the tradition of "freedom of teaching and learning" is upheld. On the other hand, the universities very properly object to a transformation into higher training colleges and insist on their function as centres of research.

They thus fulfil this double function, in each case a little half-heartedly : but the situation cannot be changed, since professional training has to be given and research is concentrated almost exclusively in the universities. Academies and similar institutions are valuable, but they have not enough money and no permanent staff, and cannot, therefore, be leaders in scholarship.

The engineering schools are organised on similar lines, though they have more rigid curricula, providing training in mechanical and electrical engineering, chemistry, architecture, forestry, etc. There were four such institutes : two Czech in Prague and Brno, and two German in the same places. They have over 9,000 pupils, of which only 300 are women. There are besides a number of smaller specialised schools which are considered to be of university standing : the Schools of Agriculture, of Veterinary Medicine, and of Mining, an independent Catholic Faculty of Theology at Olomouc and a Protestant Theological Faculty in Prague. An Academy of Fine Arts in Prague and Conservatoires in Prague, Brno and Bratislava should also be mentioned. Thus a very complete school-system has been built up, all state-supported and state-controlled, open to all, fairly uniform in its standards and certainly democratic in spirit. All the minorities have their own school system closely corresponding to their share in the population. There were, for instance, 90 German secondary schools out of 350, and 3,300 German elementary schools out of a total of 15,000.

The situation described applies to the western parts of the country : things are different in Slovakia and Carpathian Russia. There before the War scarcely any save Magyar schools existed. There were only 276 elementary schools in Slovak and no secondary schools, not to speak of a university. Only 30,000 children received instruction in Slovak. After the War the situation changed completely and a huge school-system in Slovak has been built up : over 3,000 elementary schools teach 430,000 pupils to-day in Slovak only, and there were 49 secondary schools with about 15,000 pupils. A university at Bratislava with over 2,000 students crowns the new educational system of the country. All this enormous expansion could not have been achieved without the help of hundreds of Czech teachers, who came from Bohemia and Moravia after the War. Before the War only 10 secondary school teachers in the whole of Hungary declared their Slovak nationality. To-day a new Slovak generation trained entirely in Slovak schools is growing up, and illiteracy, which before the War was high (about 27 per cent.), will in a few years be a thing of the past.

The same spirit of expansion and organisation permeated the huge activity in adult education after the War. There are special state-supported adult education centres in almost every town and market-place, and these have done an enormous amount of work by giving free lectures, courses, arranging exhibitions, encouraging amateur theatricals and instructive excursions. The statistics for one year (1932) show that 51,000 lectures were delivered to over 4,000,000 persons, and 3,500 courses were attended by over 102,000 pupils. 26,000 amateur performances bear testimony to exceptional zeal for theatricals. Besides this huge organisation there is the parallel educational activity of the gymnastics associations, especially the Sokols: they, too, arrange lectures, debates, recitations, concerts, theatricals, etc. We must add the great efforts made by the military authorities to use the term of service for educational purposes as well: there are many lectures given, concerts and theatricals for soldiers, and libraries and reading rooms have been erected in the barracks. An enormous effort has been made to establish public libraries, even in small places. Many of the good intentions of the law of 1919 could not be carried out owing to the lack of funds, but libraries are spreading rapidly and some of them, like the Public Library in Prague, are up to the highest American standard of efficiency. Libraries for the purposes of scholars are in a more backward condition, though huge strides have been made towards increased efficiency and better stocks of books. The University Library in Prague contains over 700,000 volumes and has moved into vastly improved quarters, but Brno and Bratislava suffer from inadequate accommodation. Finally, the wireless should be mentioned as an influential source of popular education. It had 700,000 subscribers in Czechoslovakia, a small number compared to Germany or Great Britain, but large compared to France or Italy. The programmes, of course, are not always educational, and too much space is given to brass-band music, but the lectures and the better class of music, which includes concerts by first-rate artists, must have helped to spread valuable information and musical appreciation.

With this expansion of education the expansion of the book-market and the press keeps pace. In 1930 alone over 7,900 non-periodical publications appeared—a number which far exceeds the numbers of much larger states, like Poland and Spain, and is relatively higher than in England or France. Though obviously editions are comparatively small, there were “best-sellers” selling as much as 50,000 or even 100,000 copies in a few cases. The press

has also expanded in a way quite unprecedented: over 3,000 periodicals are being published and some newspapers have sales which would be large even in England. One evening paper sells over 500,000 copies daily. Moving pictures have expanded rapidly: there were over 2,000 cinemas in 1934 and over 800 different films were shown. Concerts have been growing more numerous in Prague: 400 concerts were given in 1934, of which 59 were by the Czech Philharmonic Orchestra. There are 23 theatres in Prague alone, of which two were repertory operas and three theatres exclusively devoted to serious dramatic art.

These figures show conclusively the extent of Czechoslovak cultural activities. But obviously the question arises whether the quality corresponds with the quantity. Is this enormous expansion a sign of vigour, and of a real renaissance, or merely a proof of industrialisation and commercialisation, of new riches flowing into the country? It cannot be denied that Czechoslovakia has not altogether escaped the baneful influences of mass-production, alike in education, scholarship and the arts. But there is also another side to the story. Education may be spreading too rapidly and must therefore be diluted. But there is a very widespread, genuine desire to learn, a zeal, even a pathetic earnestness of the masses to profit by what is offered to them, a sincere admiration and respect for real knowledge and art, however indiscriminating in practice. In Czechoslovakia, there is little of the contempt for tradition and the "low-brow" pride in ignorance so prominent in America. Scholarship may have been adversely affected by too rapid expansion and too much need for administrative work. But one should not underrate the "ideal" advantages of increased facilities: most of the universities have received new and decent buildings and laboratories, the libraries have expanded, the scholar has received more encouragement for his work. Possibilities for the publication of scholarly work have been rapidly increased since the War, and almost all Czech scholars are publishing in French, German or English to-day without being suspected of lack of patriotism. Though these material conditions do not, in themselves, guarantee high standards of scholarship, they certainly remove impediments. Czech scholarship is not only wider and more voluminous, it has also many more important achievements to its credit. It would be invidious to mention many names in such a slight sketch, and the main contention could only be proved by examining all the fields with an expert's knowledge. But a few hints may be of some use. The Czech renaissance in the 19th century was largely

a philological and historical movement, while science lagged behind for obvious reasons. The main strength of Czech scholarship is still in the humanities, though I do not want to underrate the individual achievement of Czech scientists, especially biologists and chemists. In the humanities the process of expansion was accompanied by a genuine sharpening and deepening of methods, by a new collective effort. Historiography, even before the War, has fought a relentless and courageous battle against romantic nationalism falsifying the national past. In recent years huge collective works have been undertaken to tell the story of our nation critically, but not unappreciatively, and frequent and valuable contributions to world-history are being made by Czech historians. Three names may be mentioned as beyond controversy: Josef Pekař, who has thrown entirely new light on the History of the Hussite movement and the conspiracy and fall of Wallenstein, and Josef Šusta, who has written brilliantly on Bohemian medieval history and the history of Europe since 1815. Lubor Niederle, in his six volumes on Slavonic Antiquities, has revised all older ideas on the prehistory of the Slavs. Pekař and Šusta are historians who, while commanding an extensive learning, know how to write works of art. I think there are very few countries in which history is in such a bustling stage of activity and keeps its high critical standards intact. New methods are slowly transforming traditional histories of war and diplomacy into general histories of civilisation which give due attention to the economic life and to the life of the mind. Philology and literary history are also in a turmoil.

After the War Prague was made into a centre, possibly *the* centre, of Slavonic studies, and recently much valuable research has been carried on on lines altogether new. The establishment of study circles<sup>2</sup> by advanced scholars is a healthy sign of the times. In some fields, such as linguistics, Prague has become one of the world's centres of scholarly advance. Members of the two other Czechoslovak universities are taking part in this work, and ways have even been found to bridge the gulf between the Czech and German Universities. Czech scholars have not forgotten their duty to the wider public, and recently two reviews have been established expressly for the purpose of spreading accurate and up-to-date results both in science and the humanities. Though Czechoslovakia has a sociologist of international rank in the person of President Masaryk, curiously enough social studies are still in their infancy. Moreover, little has been done in economics. Law seems to be very active, especially

\* The Prague Linguistic Circle was the first in the field.

a school of scholars at Brno, who are developing a new theory of pure law (Engliš, Kallab, Weyr). But philosophy (with few exceptions) has not been very fertile, possibly because the pre-War reaction against idealism led to sterile empiricism and agnosticism, which has not been altogether overcome. Czech scholarship, which is obviously concentrated on problems nearer home, has even made a few very valuable excursions into fields very remote from immediate national interests, notably in that of oriental studies (especially the work of Hrozný on the Hittite language).

Literature as an art is obviously based on a cultivated language. The Czech language has gone through a period of expansion unparalleled in its history. It has become also more pliant and subtle, and is far more stabilised than before the War. The influence of cheap "journalese" may be deplored, but in general pessimistic wails over its degeneration are based on romantic assumptions of language purity and contact with the soil. The expansion of Slovak was still greater, since for the first time in history it was put to administrative uses, taking a huge vocabulary from its near kinsman, Czech. Slovak is less stabilized than Czech, and a violent controversy is being waged between rival theories of spelling and of purity of the vocabulary.

Czech literature after the War cannot be described as experiencing a great renaissance. Its real foundations were laid during the 19th century (though there was a literature in Czech already in the beginning of the 14th century). Many prominent literary figures now living or recently dead did their work before the War and retired afterwards, sometimes discontented with new conditions. (Březina, Machar, Bezruč.) A new generation has risen whose achievements it is difficult to assess exactly to-day. Lyrical poetry has always been the main strength of Czech literature, possibly because it is least in need of a social background. After the War a wave of revolutionary, proletarian poetry (Jiří Wolker is the greatest name) showed the extreme reaction to war nationalism and a new sensibility for problems formerly little exploited in verse. But soon a reaction followed which proclaimed the rights of "pure poetry," and in practice experimented along the lines of futuristic, "sur-realist" and other most advanced movements in Paris. (Vítězslav Nezval.) It is curious to watch how large and how eager a public, even in far away country places, absorbs, or tries to absorb, the jugglings of sophisticated litterati in Prague, who would have a very limited coterie success in England. Recently a few very promising young poets have appeared, who tend toward

a new thoughtfulness and intellectualism. Poetry is still very much in the foreground of attention, and has apparently lost little of its importance in giving voice to the deepest feelings of the nation. Lyrical poetry is unhappily almost untranslatable, and Czech poetry will remain local in its appeal for a long time to come.

The foreign reader looks for novels, and the novel had not been very well developed before the War. The favourites of the public were writers of romantic historical novels or pictures of country life. Not one of them (though much solid work was done) can claim European attention. Somehow the social background was lacking, which is apparently necessary for the development of great novel-writing. However, since the War, conditions have changed considerably. Jaroslav Durych, a Catholic, has remodelled the historical novel on entirely new lines, Ivan Olbracht has written good novels from the life of the working classes and one very good book (Nikolaj Šuhaj) exploiting the traditions of Carpathian Russia, while Vladislav Vančura has experimented boldly with both the language and the structure of the novel. Finally, Karel Čapek, well known to English theatregoers, has in recent books, which are very much better than his plays, written novels which combine splendid traditional art with great subtlety in suggesting philosophical problems and exploring new possibilities of the form of the novel.<sup>3</sup> These are only a few outstanding names which prove that the Czech novel is in a stage of experimentation. A few very good out-of-the-way novels have been written, but curiously enough there is little of the solid handicraft and the pure story-telling which appeals most to a wider public. This can be proved by the flood of translations, especially from the English, which include not only first-rate authors like Galsworthy, Conrad, Lawrence, James Joyce and others, but also ordinary best sellers and crime stories. The home supply is utterly unable to compete in the last-mentioned field. The same is true of biography, which has become fashionable (though to a lesser degree), as everywhere in the western world. The home production is slight, if one excepts a successful novelised life of the Dutch painter, Van Gogh (by V. Drnák) and some scholarly biographies by Zd. Nejedlý on Masaryk and Smetana. Criticism has a great tradition in Czechoslovakia: the general standard seems to me higher than in England, where even excellent reviews seem to show little else but indiscriminate praise, and commercialisation seems to be very advanced. We have the great fortune of possessing a great critic in F. X. Šalda, who has rigorously applied high standards

<sup>3</sup> Especially in the trilogy: *Hordubal*, *Meteor*, *An Ordinary Life*.



and is still active in promoting not only good judgment, but an understanding for the spiritual values and responsibilities of literature. Moreover, the influence of President Masaryk, though less direct, in creating a genuinely critical atmosphere, should not be underrated. A small band of critical intellects is in process of formation, and does a great amount of self-searching and scathing criticism of provincial prejudices, a healthy symptom fostered by the genuinely liberal atmosphere of the country.

The theatre is the art in closest relation to literature, and again the picture is not one of mere expansion. Since the War, the National Theatre and the Municipal Theatre in Prague have set very fine standards of acting and stage production. The successes of Czech dramatists like Čapek and Fr. Langer were matched by excellent productions of Shakespeare, Calderón, and almost every great name in the history of the drama. For the average English taste acting in Prague is far more conventionalised, and methods of production follow violently modernist lines, but, on the whole, the theatre is much less in the grip of purely commercial enterprise and caters far less to mere after-dinner desire for shallow amusement than the London stage. This has been made possible only by generous support from the state. I am recording a personal impression that things have deteriorated in recent years, and that many great hopes seem to be incapable of fulfilment.

Music in Czechoslovakia is *the* national art. There is the great tradition of folk-music and the 19th century tradition founded by Smetana and Dvořák. But most of the great achievements of Czech music are pre-War. Though some of the best work of Suk, Novák and Janáček has been done since 1918, their roots are definitely in the past. The new generation, though very bold in experimentation and fruitful in talents, is rather dwarfed by the older men. I hope that the future may correct me, but hitherto I have the impression that the great turmoil in Czech music has not yielded corresponding results. The opera has achieved high standards of production: Italian, German and older Czech operas are performed remarkably well in Prague, in Brno and at Bratislava. Excellent singers have found their way from Prague to the Vienna Opera or the Metropolitan in New York. But the production of new operas seems to be at a standstill, as it is apparently everywhere in the world. The Czech Philharmonic Orchestra is one of the really good orchestras in Europe, there are several good quartettes and some very remarkable men choirs, but creative production does not seem to have kept pace with these developments.

It is only possible to glance at the Fine Arts. Architecture went through a great "boom" after the War, and buildings shot up in Prague and everywhere else with almost American speed. The slump has, however, restricted building activities severely. Architecture in Czechoslovakia has understood that it is impossible to continue building in the historical styles of imitation Renaissance and Gothic in modern business and government buildings. A severe new style has grown up out of the new building materials: concrete, glass and steel. Much remarkably successful, though also some bad, work has been done in these fields, mostly by private builders. The state has missed some splendid opportunities in Prague, and has commissioned many poor and pretentious buildings, uneasily compromising between the old and the new. But on the whole, Czechoslovakia is one of the leading countries in modern architecture, just behind the Scandinavian countries and Holland. Painting and sculpture are also in the very front ranks of modern movements. Conventional realistic painting rarely wins recognition. But painting can be criticised for its too close dependence on the latest Paris fashions and crazes. Cubism had many adherents, but some of the best Czech painters, like Zrzavý, Špála, Filla and others have succeeded in developing individual styles inside the French post-impressionist tradition. Sculpture has been deprived of its two most brilliant talents by the premature deaths of Štursa and Gutfreund.

Our survey would not be complete without a glance at the extremely complex religious situation. The country before the War had a large Roman Catholic majority, but many intellectuals belonged to the Protestant Churches, which have a long and very prominent tradition since the Hussite movement. It is no mere accident that President Masaryk is a convert to Protestantism since 1878, and that the present President Beneš showed strong leanings towards freethinking. The present Premier, Hodža, is the son of a Protestant clergyman. After the War a sharp reaction against the Catholic Church set in, as the Church had identified itself with the policy of the Austrian court and many Czechs could not forget the horrors of the Counter-reformation. So, mainly for political reasons, a considerable number of Catholics left the Church, either to become Protestants or to join the newly established "Czechoslovak Church," or finally to become simply undenominational (Konfessionslos, as the Germans call it), which in practice amounted to atheism. This anti-Rome attitude had an important influence on politics. In 1925 the official celebration of the anniversary of

the martyrdom of John Hus led to an open conflict with the Vatican, and anti-Rome activities of the Czechs in Slovakia accounted for a great deal of Slovak discontent. In 1930 only 73 per cent. of the population were Roman Catholic, while the Protestant Churches reached almost 8 per cent. of the population, or 1,130,000 believers. The New National Church had over 793,000 members, while those outside the fold of any church amounted to 855,000, or almost 6 per cent. of the population.

The Protestant churches in the country are not organised uniformly. Under Austria there were Lutheran and Calvinist Churches, with their seats in Vienna, which did not differentiate between the nationalities. After the War the wish of the Czech Protestants was fulfilled: they organised an independent church, comprising both Lutherans and Calvinists, which they called the Church of the Czech Brethren, stressing thus the continuity with the Bohemian or Moravian Brethren and also definitely cutting themselves loose from dogmatic dependence upon Lutheranism. They almost doubled their membership after the War, but they now have no more than 300,000 members. The German Protestants remained Lutheran and have not increased their membership. The Churches in Slovakia also kept their pre-War organisation. There is a Lutheran Church, which is predominantly Slovak, but contains also German and some Magyar members: they have over 400,000 adherents and are organised on episcopal lines. The Calvinist Church in Slovakia is largely Magyar and has 220,000 members. Most of those who seceded from the Catholic Church joined the new Czechoslovak Church, which was established in 1920 by the secession of over 100 Roman Catholic priests. It adopted a Slavonic liturgy and allowed its priests to marry, but dogmatically their outlook still seems somewhat obscure. In the main the impetus behind the Church was political and has come to a standstill recently. In religious matters, rather liberal tendencies made themselves felt: a critical point of view towards the Bible was recommended and John Hus is worshipped as a spiritual forerunner. The Church did not spread to Slovakia, a sign that it is identified with Czech nationalism, and it may be doubted whether it has a great future. The number of non-denominationalists is quite unusual, and probably the largest in any country outside Russia. It is, for the most part, working men and teachers, especially in Bohemia, who have openly professed their indifference to Christianity. This open declaration merely corresponds to the

\* Mainly under the influence of the late K.H. Hilar.

actual state of affairs, whereas in other countries huge numbers, though hostile to the churches, remain inside their fold out of sheer inertia. In Prague today only 53 per cent are Roman Catholics, and, in general, one feels that the social role of the Churches is much smaller than in Great Britain, though this of course, would not be true of the rural districts.

In the most Easterly districts different conditions prevail. The Russians are mostly Greek Catholic, but also among them a movement has been started to sever the connection with Rome. Many have joined the Orthodox Russian Church, again mostly for nationalist reasons. There are over 585,000 Greek Catholics in the country, part of whom are Slovaks, and 146,000 Russian Orthodox. Finally, mention should be made of the Jews, amounting to 350,000 or 2 per cent. of the population. About two-thirds of them live in the Eastern parts of the country where they have mostly preserved orthodoxy and retain their old dress and customs. In the Western half of the Republic the Jews do not amount to more than one per cent. of the population just as in Germany, and, as in Germany, they live and dress exactly as the people around them. Most of them use the German language almost exclusively, though there were also Czech Jews even before the War. The anti-Jewish policy of Hitler has dealt a severe blow to the German language all over the East of Europe, and it is no wonder that Jews turn more and more to the Czechoslovak nation, which gives them complete freedom and causes no annoyance, if one disregards a certain amount of social discrimination in some circles.

The Roman Catholic Church is still preponderant in the country, with nearly 11,000,000 adherents, though, of course, large numbers of these were simply baptized by Catholic priests and do not trouble to leave the Church. But the Church has rather consolidated its strength since the War, as it was left by a large number of purely nominal supporters, and in recent years there are signs of a real revival of spiritual and material power, though not in numbers. The turning-point was the Millenary celebration of St. Wencelas's martyrdom in 1929, on which occasion the cathedral of St. Vitus in Prague was completed: and since then the *modus vivendi* with Rome smoothed the way for closer relations between the State and the Roman church. The *modus vivendi* settled the vexed question of the delimitation of dioceses in Czechoslovakia: till then the Vatican had not recognised the new frontiers and had allowed pre-War conditions to continue. Thus parts of Moravia and Silesia were still under the Archbishop of Breslau in Prussian Silesia, and the

whole of Slovakia belonged to the Hungarian Archbishopric in Esztergom (Gran). The *modus vivendi* provides for the establishment of an Archbishopric in Slovakia, and the diocesan boundaries now agree with the political frontiers. Recently the Archbishop of Prague has been raised to the rank of Cardinal, and there are other signs that the Vatican appreciates the stabilising work of Czechoslovak democracy. Catholicism has shown a renewed cultural activity, and many prominent writers like Durych are convinced Catholics. The Catholics try to attack the conception of Czech history, which stresses the continuity and predominance of the Protestant tradition, and they have established that the 17th and 18th centuries, long considered the "Dark Ages" of Czech history, were not as dark as has been supposed by anti-Catholic writers who were out of the sympathy with the traditions and values of the Church.

There is no established church in Czechoslovakia, but there is also no divorce between Church and State. The State exercises a certain right of supervision, especially in the appointment of bishops, but contributes also to the salaries of the clergy, which could not be maintained by voluntary contributions alone. On the whole, the fate of the Czechoslovak churches is tied up with the general fate of Christianity in Europe. Internal dissensions seem to be less important than the tide of modern paganism and indifferentism, which is mainly fostered by the development of modern science. But this is a battlefield in which Czechoslovakia is merely one of the many pawns on a huge chessboard.

Czechoslovakia has other special difficulties in her cultural situation. There is the problem of diffusion and democratisation with its danger of nivellisation. There is the problem of the commercialisation of cultural values, which is difficult to counteract in view of the tendency to urbanisation. There is the urgent problem of forming a cultural "élite," which at the same time would not be associated with discrimination against the poor. There is the vast problem of depression which affects the cultural situation as it leads to an unhealthy shrinkage which does not always eliminate the superfluous but cuts the roots of genuine new growth. There is the main problem of cultural orientation: West or East? History has long ago (actually with the coming of the Roman Catholic Church in the 10th century) decided that Czechoslovakia belongs to the West culturally, but relations with the East have been and are still intimate, for geographical, racial and linguistic reasons. In the past, Germany was the main intermediary and interpreter of

Western civilisation. But direct contacts with France, Italy and Great Britain existed even during the Middle Ages, and since the middle of the 19th century contacts have been cultivated consciously, as a reaction against German pressure. Against Germany at present Czechoslovakia has further reasons to be wary. But this cannot mean that she has to reject what has been great in the German past. Cultural relations with France and Britain are growing stronger. For the time being France is leading, but there are many signs that the relations with Britain will grow in intensity. Witness the recent extension of the teaching of English in Czech secondary schools, the floods of translations from the English, the success of English plays and moving pictures, and even the increasing influence of English sports and habits of life.

But the central problem of the Czech cultural situation is the main problem of all small nations. How can she preserve and develop her individuality in the midst of varying influences, especially as she lies in the very heart of Europe, at the crossroads between West and East, between South and North? There is no patent medicine for this. No solution can be found in increased seclusion, which would lead only back into provincialism. There is, no doubt, some sense in recommending a more intensive study of the past and a deeper knowledge of the national tradition. But the tradition is necessarily narrow and weak in certain fields of human endeavour which were unimportant for a nation engaged in a life and death struggle for its very existence. Today conditions are different: a freer attitude can be adopted, and new traditions have to be created out of nothing or almost nothing. Some of them are in the making: there is already something like a genuine tradition of Czech politics and scholarship and religion. Other traditions are still in their infancy, and cannot be properly called by this reverent name suggesting a long past. The only remedy is to be oneself, to express so far as possible one's deepest feelings, and then the so called national spirit will take care of itself. Czechoslovakia is fortunate in having so much before her and so little behind her. Her first efforts as a free nation bear testimony to her undiminished vitality, though they may not mean the fulfilment of every hope. Let us hope that the future will demonstrate that one of the smaller Slavonic nations can contribute a fine and individual share to the great heritage of Western civilisation.

RENÉ WELLEK.

## TWO LOSSES TO CZECH MUSIC

JOSEF SUK, OTAKAR OSTRČIL.

VERILY the Angel of Death casts its shadow on Czech music; Otakar Zich, a distinguished musical critic and composer, died on 9 July, 1934, and Jiří Herold, equally famous as a viola-player and a member of the Czech quartette, followed him soon afterwards, on 13 November, 1934. More recently two still more serious losses have followed, for the two composers who best represented—together with Vítězslav Novák—the generation which, at the beginning of the 20th century, gave a new turn to Czech music, have died in close succession: Josef Suk on 29 May, 1935, and Otakar Ostrčil on 20 August, 1935. Both were well-defined personalities, though their musical outlook differed.

Josef Suk, the son of a country music-teacher and choirmaster, was born on 4 January, 1874. He inherited the rich and spontaneous musical talent common in Czech teachers' families, and so favourably commented on by Charles Burney in his *Musical Journey of 1773*. This heritage determined almost the whole of his later artistic development. Throughout his life, even when he had reached the fullest maturity, Suk remained rooted in this tradition, and he always clung with an almost pathetic love to his native country and native village. The state in which Suk found Czech music when he came to Prague in order to study at the Conservatory was the second decisive factor in the formation of his artistic personality. It was about the year 1890 that Antonín Dvořák had reached the summit of his career and world-fame, and it was in recognition of this that in 1891 he was appointed Professor of the Prague Conservatory. It was only natural that the master should initiate the pupil into the world of music. Dvořák became not only Suk's teacher of composition, but also his highest inspiration—an inspiration which held him in thrall for many years. Suk became the most intimate and most eager of Dvořák's pupils, and he modelled his artistic creed on that of his teacher. He drank in the musical expression and colour of Dvořák. He discovered his own world of music in Dvořák, he fell under the spell of a mind so deeply akin to his own. Two spontaneous original musicians from the Czech countryside had found each other, and the close similarity of their talents explains sufficiently the profound influence of the older man. Next in importance to this influence we may quote another factor of importance for Suk's later artistic development: the extraordinary maturity, the precociousness, even, of

technique which Suk achieved even while still an eighteen-year old Conservatory pupil. One other factor is also extremely important—his early sense for instrumental colour, for orchestral sound. It may be said that he is almost exclusively a composer for instruments. All his musical ideas are bound up with instruments, especially with instrument groups and particularly with the orchestra. This characteristic of his was further emphasised by his study of the violin under that excellent teacher Bennewitz. In this respect, too, Suk shows his affinity with Dvořák, a great master of instrumentation.

Till about 1902, i.e. till after his 28th year, Suk grew up in the Dvořák tradition. His compositions of this period are almost exclusively lyrical. Events in his life gave the clue to this also; this was the period of his love for Dvořák's daughter Otylie, who afterwards became his wife. His music consequently overflows with happy melodies and young, romantic enthusiasm. The emotional side is definitely predominant and outweighs the intellectual. Suk had already so thoroughly mastered the technique of composition that he did not feel any impediment in expressing himself in terms of music. After a few immature works he published a string-serenade, op. 6, which is his most characteristic work of the period. Its lyrical grace and depth, the melodic wealth in the style of Dvořák, the astonishing technique and the sureness of design are striking, indeed, in a composer of only 18 years old. The same characteristics may be found in the quartette op. 11 (1896), which also reflects his affection for Dvořák, and in a number of minor compositions. The *Symphony in E sharp* op. 14 (1897-9) is, however, the masterpiece of this first period. It shows his unique sense of musical colour and his excellent instrumentation. Every note in this complete, finely woven musical web has a character of its own. But there are already elements in it which anticipate a later development. There are passages of extreme technical subtlety which transcend the Dvořák tradition, and there is the slow movement wherein loom the shadows of a tragic foreboding. In these passages Suk leaves the idyllic sources of inspiration on which he had drawn hitherto and seems to grow to a new stature. There is already a hint of Suk the reformer and innovator. And there is yet another new trait in these compositions: an echo of the mythical past of Bohemia and of the fairy tales placed by later poets in this past. From these foundations three works developed, all extremely characteristic for Suk's romantic outlook: the music to Zeyer's dramatic fairy tale *Radúz and Mahulena* (op. 13, 1897-98), which is



full of lyrical ardour; the music to Zeyer's dramatic legend *Under the Apple-tree* (op. 20, 1900-1); and his *Elegy* (op. 23, 1902), composed after reading Zeyer's epical poem *Vyšehrad*. Julius Zeyer, the poet of mystical romanticism, was then most dear to Suk's heart. At one time it seemed almost as if Suk might lose himself in the fairy world of the other's romanticism.

But his impulse to forge ahead after new conquests of sound did not allow him to rest. About the year 1900 the powerful echoes of European music began to reach him. As a member of the Czech quartette he had learnt of the latest developments in music during his frequent tours throughout Europe. Abroad, new ground was being broken in musical creation. The impressionism of Debussy, the constructivism of Reger and the beginnings of Schönberg's expressionist style clearly demonstrated that the sway of musical romanticism was at an end, and that music must launch out on uncharted seas. These inspirations could not be without effect on Suk's own activities. But he was too individual to succumb entirely to these influences. He assimilated them and welded them with the foundations he had built up in the Dvořák tradition. A second period now began in Suk's career: the quest for new sounds, new technique, new musical expression. Suk now became, next to Novák and Ostrčil, the chief pioneer of Czech modernism in music.

A new period in Czech music is heralded with these three leaders. The generation which had laid the foundations of Czech musical tradition, the great masters Smetana, Dvořák, Fibich and Janáček, had passed away, and a new generation had arisen clamouring for recognition when it drew on the new movements in 20th century European music. The first sign of the change may be found in Suk's violin *Fantasia* (op. 24, 1902-3). The work still shows the influence of the romantic Dvořák tradition, but there is something new. The work is boldly conceived, full of new and daring technical subtleties, new types of melody, and is instinct with joyous enthusiasm and expressive power. *Fantastic scherzo* (op. 25, 1903) for the orchestra has a similar character. The symphonic poem *Praga* (op. 27, 1904) cannot claim to be completely successful in the solution of the problems of form. But it shows the way towards great individualisation in expression and design, and is a further step in Suk's mastery of instrumentation.

It was now that two bereavements deepened the composer's inner life and armed him for new conquests. On 1 May, 1904, Dvořák died suddenly, and soon afterwards his daughter Otylie. Suk, who had never before experienced tragedy, was profoundly

stirred when both his second father and his beloved wife were taken from him. Life, with all its tragic significance, was suddenly revealed to him. New works were born of his sufferings, works which show a fresh advance in his powers. This is especially true of the symphony *Azrael* (op. 27, 1905-6). It was directly inspired by the deaths which put an end to his domestic happiness. After a period of joyous, almost idyllic serenity, when tragedy was only adumbrated but not yet suffered, Suk created a work of definitely tragic inspiration. The field of his inspiration has suddenly deepened and widened. A purely intimate supplement of the symphony is found in the cycle of piano compositions *Mother* (op. 28, 1907). Transition to a new period is shown in the symphonic suite *A Summer Fairy Tale* (op. 29, 1907-8), and the cycle of piano pieces *Through Life and Dream* (op. 30, 1909). In these works Suk is slowly freeing himself from the bonds of subjectivism and preparing himself for works of impersonal emotion.

He achieved this only in the last and greatest period of his career. Three works are the highest peak of his struggle. First of all, the one-movement quartette (op. 31, 1911). This is not a mere expression of a subjective state of mind. It is a work of a new style and is full of new ideas. The composer, who has already achieved a unique individualisation of the voices, now aims at a new and daring technique, a new and extremely complex expression which loses neither clearness nor balance. Perfect mastery of expression is combined with high ideas: a synthesis which, once achieved, remained always within his reach. This style—transferred to the orchestra—is found in the symphonic poem *Ripening* (op. 34, 1912-17). It is an admirable score, full of minute complexity and the scrupulous balancing of voices. As a feat of instrumentation and sheer mastery of technique, *Ripening* belongs to the greatest orchestral achievements of its time. Thanks, wholly unselfish thanks, for the gift of creative maturity, gives the theme perfect unity.<sup>1</sup> But the greatest of Suk's works is his last: *Epilogue* op. 37 (1920-1934), a symphony with barytone solo and choir. The fundamental idea is the reconciliation of mankind, brotherly love between all men. Here Suk has abandoned all subjective emotion, and has ascended to the regions where self is of no account. The purely musical side is, of course, bound up with this source of inspiration. Suk has reached the acme of orchestral possibilities and technical subtleties. Only here his personality is completed by the element of intellectualism which before was frequently

<sup>1</sup> Suk used a poem by Antonín Sova as starting-point.

suppressed in favour of an almost too luxuriant emotional life. Just at the very summit of his achievement both these elements are welded into a unity of exceptional grandeur.

Suk's development is an astonishing advance from a musician's spontaneity to a master's art of design, in which early melodic invention is combined with consistent and severe logic, and subjective sentiment has been replaced by impersonal objective fervour. Three works are specially characteristic for this development: *Azrael—Ripening—Epilogue*. They are an imposing cycle of symphonies which show the whole development of the composer's mind. Providence decided that the *Epilogue* should not only round off the work of the Master, but also his life.

Otakar Ostrčil, born on 25 February, 1879, at Smíchov, a suburb of Prague, represents a very different type of creative personality. His starting point was also different. While Suk carries on the tradition of the spontaneous musician so characteristic of Bohemia, Ostrčil has a strong heritage of intellectualism. His father, who came originally from Moravia, was a doctor at Smíchov. The social atmosphere in which Ostrčil grew up certainly influenced the noble reticence of his verbal and musical pronouncements. Also his starting-point in art was quite different. He became a pupil of Zdeněk Fibich, who represents the purest romantic type in Czech music. In his first works, which delighted all by the sureness of their expression and the wealth of their ample melodies, Ostrčil was completely under the spell of Fibich's romanticism. This is shown best in his symphonic poem *A Tale of Semík* (op. 3, 1899) in the string quartette *H sharp* (op. 4, 1899) and especially the opera *The Death of Vlasta* (op. 5, 1902-3). It is surprising with what sureness of touch the composer, then only 25, treated the dramatic material which Karel Pippich had drawn from the Czech myths of a war with Amazons. There is a great deal of Fibich's manner and technique in this opera, but there are reminiscences of Wagner and his *Valkyrie* also; this is natural enough, as the plot of the opera is rather similar to the *Valkyrie*. But some of Ostrčil's personal traits shine through, nevertheless; his rare ability for dramatic objectivisation, his struggle for monumentality and the noble fervour of his musical expression. Fibich's influence can be traced also in the melodrama<sup>2</sup> *A Ballad of the Dead Shoemaker*

<sup>2</sup> Melodrama is here used not in the Italian sense of opera, but as a name for a special *genre*, in which spoken words are accompanied by instrumental music. This form was cultivated successfully by Zdeněk Fibich, who followed the example of George Benda (1774), Robert Schumann and Franz Liszt.

and the *Young Dancing Girl*, (op. 6, 1904). The *Symphony in A sharp* (op. 7, 1906), showed that Ostrčil was capable of writing fine music independent of verbal inspiration or programme suggestions. Ostrčil here, too, is under the spell of Fibich's romantic symphonies, especially his first symphony in F sharp. But the slow movement shows that a new influence has already affected Ostrčil's development; it is that of Gustav Mahler, who had recently begun to attract attention by his symphonies. In them the last echoes of romanticism and decadence mingle piquantly with the beginnings of a new style in quest of an objective structure which is to be independent of subjective mood, a new order of design contained within the framework of an artistic production. Ostrčil, who was always attracted by those in whom he recognised moral as well as artistic greatness, became a fervent admirer of Mahler. The world in which he lived was inhabited by Beethoven, Smetana, Wagner's *Tristan*, and especially *Parsifal*. These names, and the whole artistic and moral atmosphere implied in them represented the whole of Ostrčil's world. He saw in Mahler a successor to these great men. From him he drew support for his sincere and unflinching pursuit of artistic ideals. From him he also derived inspiration on the technical side of music, for it was Mahler who inclined Ostrčil towards polyphony. Although he had always a feeling for polyphonic structure, he had never received any encouragement for his natural bent in the work of his master Fibich. Not until he began to study Beethoven's last quartettes and Wagner did he feel confident that his daring was justified. Nevertheless, he did not copy Mahler in either his grotesqueness or his demonism, but contented himself with those positive values which pointed to a severe objective structuralism. Ostrčil's reaction towards Mahler's work is therefore definitely independent, although the latter's influence is traceable in the melodrama *Czech ballad* (op. 8, 1906), which is based on a poem by Jan Neruda, and in *The Orphan* (op. 9, 1906), which is founded on a popular ballad. Both these works are testimonies to Ostrčil's rich melodic resources and his high idealism.

The new style is most marked in his second opera *Kunál's Eyes*, (op. 11, 1908), for which he went to a story by Julius Zeyer, and which marks a turning point in his development. He has here definitely abandoned his early conception of romantic melody and harmony. A new harmonic and melodic type and bolder technical subtleties are apparent. As a dramatic work, the opera follows the lead of Wagner's *Parsifal* in its thought, but in its conclusion especially it is similar to the apotheosis at the end of *Parsifal*. A

more coherent, and, therefore, the most important work of this second period is the comic opera *Bud* (op. 12, 1910), based on a comedy of F. X. Svoboda. In it Ostrčil shows originality in style and expression. The sincerity and warmth so characteristic of his melody are here combined with conciseness of design, logical arrangement and superb technical skill. It is a work admirably gay and fresh, and at the same time of great emotional depth, and in it we can undoubtedly trace the influence of J. B. Foerster, in whom Ostrčil took great interest. The psychological understanding shown in his depiction of the growing love of a girl is well illustrated in this one act opera. *Bud* has an important place in the history of Czech opera, and should undoubtedly prove successful abroad owing to the freshness of the treatment and its lyrical talent.

His later compositions show a further development. The style becomes severely objective. In externals this third period is marked by a leaning towards absolute music, i.e. music based on its own inherent laws, independent of the logical content of words. Ostrčil here is entirely individual; expression and style are all his own, and he has become, along with Suk and Novák, the greatest representative of modernism in Czech music. The chief trait of his personality, namely, intellectualism, comes out most clearly. His style is now polyphonic by principle. His musical imagination is linear, polymelodic, while his harmonies are rather the result of polyphonic combinations. He does not carry us away by the boldness and unexpectedness of his melodies, but by his strong sense of design and the gradation and formal conciseness of works constructed with rare sureness. Ostrčil has grown into a remarkable architect with bold musical conceptions. The first clear sign of the new trend is seen in his *Impromptu* (op. 13, 1911), and greater things were still to come. In the suite C flat (op. 14, 1912), he pays his tribute to Mahler, and in the fugue of the last movement he gives a masterly example of modern musical construction. The new style found even finer expression in the *Symphonette* (op. 20, 1921), which is known abroad from having been performed at the International Festival of Contemporary Music, held at Prague in 1924. The new style is applied to dramatic composition in the tragic opera *A Legend of Erin* (op. 19, 1920), again based on a story of Zeyer's. In modern musical drama this work takes an exceptional place by virtue of its severe style and its dramatic qualities. Other works of less importance, such as the choir for male voices, *A Czech Christmas Legend* (op. 15, 1912), and a cycle of choirs for male voices, *Simple themes*, based on poems by Jan Neruda, are

further examples of Ostrčil's new style. His pursuit of absolute consistency is achieved only in the last stage of his development. Two great works, *The Way of the Passion* (1928), and the opera *Jack's Kingdom* (1928-32), must be mentioned here. The first consists of symphonic variations. Noble inspiration and unremitting labour make this a really great work. Sympathy with the passion of Christ inspires its tragical tone and lyrical depth. Emotional intensity has created a work deeply moving by its monumental design and its noble content. *The Way of the Passion* is one of the greatest creations of modern Czech music. The last opera of Ostrčil moves along the same line of ideas. The main theme of *Jack's Kingdom* is sympathy for suffering and the ideal of eternal peace among men. The story is derived from a Tolstoy fairy tale. Ostrčil was a convinced believer in the Russian's ideal, and he has consequently created a work full of sincere and optimistic faith in goodness and truth. This proved to be the last of his productions, for soon after its first performance death overtook him, and he never finished a work he had begun shortly before.

Czech music mourns Ostrčil also as a conductor and director of the Prague National Theatre. Here, too, he pursued his aims methodically and conscientiously. He built up a consistent repertory by performing whole cycles of the operas of Czech composers : Smetana, Dvořák, Fibich, Novák. Through his endeavours Prague became familiar with all the latest developments of dramatic production, Czech and European. In the face of many protests he succeeded in bringing out Alban Berg's opera *Voyceek*. The conductor Ostrčil supplements the creative artist ; both together give the picture of a beautifully unified artistic character, whose fundamental qualities were systematic method, structuralism, monumentality and sincerity.

Brno.

VLADIMÍR HELFERT.

# PHILHELLENISM IN ENGLAND.

## II\*

### THE LONDON GREEK COMMITTEE

During 1821 and 1822 committees had been formed on the Continent for the assistance of the Greeks, both for the relief of suffering and the prosecution of the war, but it was not until the spring of 1823 that a similar organisation was established in England. The Scotch and Quaker subscriptions were designed solely for those in want; the general committee established in London was intended to have a wider scope. John Bowring, who became its secretary, was instrumental in persuading the Greek Government to send Andreas Luriottis to England in order to ascertain the sentiments of His Majesty's Ministers and of public opinion. Shortly after this deputy's arrival in February, the first meeting was held at the old Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, and a resolution was passed to form the committee "to consider of the best means of promoting the cause of the Greeks," and to "commence a correspondence with any individual or association who may have united themselves for the same object in different parts of the country."<sup>27</sup> This committee continued active for about two years.

It was made up of members of Parliament, and representatives of the literary, clerical, and military professions, as well as a few business men. The participants were predominantly of the Liberal, or Whig, Party, and some were leaders of the new group of social philosophers who advocated enlightened self-interest, such as David Ricardo, Jeremy Bentham, Joseph Hume, Sir James Mackintosh, and Lord John Russell. Old fighters in the Greek cause—Dr. Lempriere, Dr. Chatfield, and T. S. Hughes—became members, the last an exception to the party alignment.<sup>28</sup> The purposes were declared to be non-partisan and men of all political beliefs invited, but in practice the Tory faith proved an obstacle at the time of the formation of the committee, as later when a subscription was under way. Some Conservatives replied to the invitation issued that although they were sympathetic as individuals, they could not, as supporters of the Government, join an organisation that advocated even private intervention.<sup>29</sup>

\* The first part of this article appeared in the *Slavonic Review* vol. XIV, No. 41, January 1936.

<sup>27</sup> *Archives*, vol I, J.

<sup>28</sup> See complete list of members in *Nineteenth Century*, Sept., 1926 (compiled by Walter Seton and C. Hourmouzios)

<sup>29</sup> Several letters of acceptance and refusal are preserved in the *Archives of the London Greek Committee*. See, for example, vol. I, I<sup>2</sup>.

Immediately after the formation of the general committee, a "library committee" was appointed to watch over statements in the public prints, to prepare articles that might be likely to advance the interests of the Greeks, and to answer any injurious to them. Its first deed was the preparation of a lengthy notice and appeal for publication. The sub-committee was very active and for months after notices, articles, news, and letters appeared in London and provincial papers, prompted at least partly by this organisation.<sup>30</sup> Other means of attracting attention to the subscription were used in the ensuing two years: a banquet, exhibitions of pictures, a "sensational ascent" of a balloon. A dinner was planned at which the two deputies sent by the Greek Government, Andreas Luriottis and Jean Orlando, were to be guests of honour. As one of its organisers remarked shrewdly enough: "This scheme of a dinner would certainly take John Bull's curiosity and suit his stomach too. The very Tories will fall into the trap, and the more readily if you give a public notice of all the toasts, which will be proposed, and let those toasts be free from every political allusion which can offend the *delicate* ears of Toryism."<sup>31</sup> The "sensational ascent" on "novel principles" of a splendid balloon was proposed by its inventor and sanctioned by the Committee, the proceeds of admission fees to go to the Greeks. Very elaborate preparations were made, but on the great day the balloon failed to rise and the exhibitor was compelled to ask the Greek Committee to meet his expenses.<sup>32</sup>

At the meeting held on 19 April, the Committee passed a series of resolutions which declared its purposes and opened the campaign for funds. It resolved:—

"That the present state of Greece cannot but deeply interest the friends of humanity . . . and religion.

"That we have witnessed with ardent sympathy the process of events—all gradually tending to the enfranchisement of the Greek people—that we believe the tranquil enjoyment and the early recognition of their independence necessary to the general and lasting welfare of Europe—important in a commercial and political point of view—and likely to advance the best and most interesting of the human race.

"That the establishment of Committees in different parts of Germany, Switzerland and France—and even in the transatlantic States makes it

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III, I, Minutes of 25 April, 1823. The volumes of the *Archives* contain numerous letters referring to material issued to the Press and also testify to the coöperation of editors of both Liberal and Tory papers.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IV, K<sup>5</sup>, E. H. Barker to J. Bowring, 3 Jan., 1824; also VI and X *cursim*.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IX, T<sup>5</sup>, J. Smithies to "Gentlemen of the Greek Committee," 12 August, 1824; *ibid.*, IX, V<sup>5</sup>, W<sup>5</sup>, A<sup>6</sup>; X, F<sup>3</sup>.



incumbent of the people of England to join their view to the general voice of the friends of Greece.

"That a subscription be immediately opened. . . ." <sup>33</sup>

After this attempts were made to interest people of all classes throughout Great Britain, with varying success in different parts of the country. The movement received wide publicity in the daily press, magazines, and pamphlets of all sorts, and by the distribution of literature on the Greeks, past and present, by the central committee. Sometimes country committees arose as a result of spontaneous efforts of local Philhellenes, and sometimes after considerable work on the part of Edward Blaquiére, whom the London committee sent around for the purpose. The chief towns visited by him were Winchester, Southampton, Salisbury, Bath, Bristol, Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, and Dublin. His method was to induce as many prominent men as possible to support the movement and to secure the backing of the Press. In most cases he found editors of both parties ready to help him, and on his return to London said that he wished to thank the conductors of the daily and periodical press, especially mentioning those of Bristol, Manchester, and Liverpool, who, with one or two exceptions, uniformly advocated the giving of generous assistance to the Greeks. <sup>34</sup>

However, some notable checks were met. The universities were not as responsive as might have been expected and as many fervently hoped. In March, 1823, the editor of the *Scotsman* wrote: "Nothing has given me so mean an opinion of English University men as their indifference or rather hostility to the Greeks. I have not been slow to express the feeling in the *Scotsman*—partly from a hope that they might be shamed into more manly conduct." <sup>35</sup> Attempts to form a branch committee at Oxford were in vain, not even a subscription succeeding, on account of the strength of Tory politics. Dr. Routh, President of Magdalen College, although himself a Tory, gave his donation directly to the London committee. <sup>36</sup> At Cambridge the reputation of university men was somewhat retrieved; after some agitation the Philhellenes established a local committee which continued active for several years. Although the amount of money raised there was not large, the influence exerted was considerable, since its members were some of the most outstanding in the academic world. It was hoped that its activities would afford an example to all cultured persons. The address made at its inauguration was

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid*, vol. I, C<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> E. Blaquiére, *The Greek Revolution*, (London, 1824), p. 6

<sup>35</sup> *Archives*, vol. I, U<sup>5</sup>, C. Maclaren to Bowring, 30 March, 1823.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, vol. VI, O<sup>4</sup>, Barker to Bowring, 5 April, 1824

used by Blaquiére when he was touring the country, and *The Times*, on 17 and 19 December, 1823, said that all people with classical interests should follow Cambridge. Blaquiére was particularly delighted to find the name of the Chancellor of the University at the head of the subscription list; he declared that it was "nuts" to him for his circulars and would have an electrical effect.<sup>37</sup>

The chief opposition came from the Tories. In Birmingham, for instance, although a few of that party were won over at the beginning, it required several months of work before a committee could be formed, an open meeting held, and a subscription started. In July, 1823, Bowring received a letter from Birmingham that said then all but the "*ultra ultra* Tories" were united in supporting the matter, including both Church and Calvinistic clergy,<sup>38</sup> a triumph for the Philhellenes. In Manchester, Conservatives were likewise reticent; some expressed doubt whether they should assist, and others declined because those "whom they call the Opposition" had given their adherence.<sup>39</sup> In Suffolk, where William Kerr Brown volunteered to act as promoter, the strength of the "high party" forced him to conclude that it was useless to try to include its members, and only the "firm friends to civilisation and religious liberty" were addressed.<sup>40</sup> A public meeting was held on 24 February, but it was not "countenanced" by the Tories. In Norfolk, Essex, and Kent, where also Brown carried on the campaign, their opposition proved even more effective.

One outstanding exception to the usual party alignment occurred in Liverpool. There men of all parties concurred in the desirability of sending private assistance to the Greeks. A public meeting was held in the Town Hall, the mayor himself presiding. John Gladstone, a personal friend of George Canning, gave an address that was widely published in both English and Greek papers. He said that while the Government must remain neutral, individuals should send private relief. A reason given for one of the resolutions passed at the meeting is particularly significant; it was that if the people of Liverpool wished to protect their trade, to open up new channels for their commerce, and to obtain wider markets, they should come forward to aid the Greeks to independence.<sup>41</sup> This reasoning must have had some weight because the trade of Liverpool with the various parts of the Turkish Empire was of considerable value, and was on the increase. From five ships with a total tonnage of 1,013 in 1811

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IV, R<sup>3</sup>, Barker to Bowring, 5 Dec., 1823, *ibid.*, VII, U, Blaquiére to Bowring.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IX, V, J. Parkes to Bowring, 27 July, 1824.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IV, L<sup>2</sup>, G. Hadfield to Bowring, 18 Nov., 1823.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. V, Y<sup>2</sup>, W. K. Brown to Bowring, 9 and 24 Feb., 1824.

<sup>41</sup> *Morning Chronicle*, 21 Feb., 1824.

it had risen to nineteen ships registering 2,840 tons in 1824.<sup>42</sup> Liverpool had the largest trade with the Levant of any English port except London and was the only place in which the Tories were outspoken in favour of individuals encouraging the revolution. Evidently it was believed that an independent Greece would be more likely to prosper and to afford better opportunities for commerce.

The attitude of the clergy was disappointing to committee workers. Blaquiere complained that the class of the community on which the Greeks had every right to count for sympathy seemed insensible, that the support of religious bodies and their ministers was unsatisfactory.<sup>43</sup> From the provincial correspondence of the London committee, however, it is evident that dissenting clergymen were on the whole more responsive than those of the Church, who were inclined to take the point of view of the Government. A minor cause of clerical reticence in general was the fact that Lord Byron had gone to Greece and was there acting as an agent of the London committee. It was thought necessary to keep his name out of the campaign as far as possible.<sup>44</sup>

The business of the committee was not done when money had been raised. The question of expenditure of the funds and the disposal of other donations was a difficult one. Should the money be spent in England and the supplies sent out, or should the committee observe the wishes of the Greeks and send specie? The chaotic condition of Greece made the decision both complicated and important. Civil strife was going on between different sections of the country, and the rival *klephts* contended for power; no central government commanded the obedience of the whole country; there was no organised army or navy and no national treasury. The Government established by the constitution proclaimed in January, 1822, and revised by the Congress of Astros in December of the same year, was ineffective and commanded little respect. Consequently it was almost impossible to know to whom to deliver either money or supplies after their disembarkation in Greece.

In March, 1823, the London Committee sent Edward Blaquiere to study conditions, and in the autumn Colonel Leicester Stanhope followed as its agent. Also in the spring of 1823, when Byron's desire to go to Greece became known, the committee made him a member and asked him to represent them there,<sup>45</sup> but this information

<sup>42</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, 1824, vol. 18, 365, no. 7.

<sup>43</sup> Blaquiere, *op. cit.*, p. vi; see also *Archives*, vol. III, T<sup>3</sup>, extract of a letter of Sir James Smith, Norwich, 11 Oct., 1823, and V, H<sup>2</sup>, W. K. Brown to J. Bowring, 23 Jan., 1824.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. VII, S, Blaquiere to Bowring.  
<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III, I, Minutes of 25 April, 1823, *ibid.*, III, K, Minutes of 10 May, 1823, containing a report of a letter of Byron to John Cam Hobhouse.

was not made public in England. Money collected by subscriptions was not turned over to the Greeks themselves, but was spent either in England or in Greece by the committee or its agents. In Greece, Colonel Stanhope in particular was eager to make contributions that would be of permanent value to the future State, and imbued with the ideals of the new school of social reformers, tried to teach principles of enlightened government, justice, and virtue. He firmly believed that the essentials to promote liberty and internal peace were education and publicity, that virtue would triumph over corruption as the result of knowledge. Consequently, he immediately established three newspapers and did what he could to secure the opening of a school in Messolonghi and one in Athens. He also tried, although without success, to persuade the Greeks that a regular post would be of great value in uniting the country. His more practical schemes resulted in two hospitals, in Messolonghi and Athens, and an artillery laboratory in the former. For the hospitals the Greeks provided the houses and some of the equipment, the English medicines and medical attendance. For this purpose the committee sent two doctors, Millingen and Tindall, paying part of their expenses. Millingen understood that the Greeks were to support him, but when they failed, turned to Byron, who arrived in Greece in January, 1824.<sup>46</sup> The artillery laboratory was opened for the purpose of instructing the Greeks and to make some of the equipment needed for the defence of Messolonghi. With the aid of six mechanics sent from England and a Mr. Parry, who took charge, the laboratory ran for a short time, even after the mechanics had rushed home in a panic, frightened by an exhibition of temper by a band of Greek soliders in the town.

Although education was one of Stanhope's chief concerns, little was accomplished in Greece as the country was much too chaotic, but more was done for the Greeks in England. Jeremy Bentham volunteered to pay part of the expenses of two Greek boys whom Stanhope was to select,<sup>47</sup> and the committee further undertook to educate nine others. Unfortunately, one of the children died on his way to England, but the eight remaining were provided for at a cost of £500. The Society of Friends told Edward Blaquiere that it wished to confer with the committee about the best means of defray-

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid*, vol. V, G<sup>1</sup>, J. Millingen to the Committee, Metaxata, Cefalonia, 7 Dec., 1823. A note inserted by Byron into this letter said that "a medical man will succeed better than others, but all these penniless officers had better have stayed at home"

<sup>47</sup> L. Stanhope, *Greece in 1823 and 1824* (London, 1824), pp 207 and 288; *Archives*, vol. VI, G; VII, N<sup>2</sup>, and VIII, H<sup>2</sup>.

ing expenses,<sup>48</sup> and individual members of the committee, particularly Bentham, took a personal interest in the youngsters.

The accounts left by the committee are unsatisfactory; no official treasurer's report is preserved in the *Archives*, although a few scattered items are to be seen. In May, 1823, the amount collected was reported to be £3,657 os. 6d., and the list of subscribers was printed in both the *British Press* and the *Morning Herald*.<sup>49</sup> By June the sums had risen to £4,013 11s. od.,<sup>50</sup> and by 11 October was £7,022 14s. od.<sup>51</sup> One interesting donor was the City of London, £1,000, although the Lord Mayor refused to become a member of the committee on the grounds that it would be a breach of neutrality for him to do so.<sup>52</sup> Stanhope said in his book on *Greece in 1823 and 1824* that while he was in that country he spent £188 of the committee money. Among the items listed were £120 for a school, £10 to Captain Trelawny for the transfer of four guns to Athens which Stanhope had ordered to be sent to Odysseus, and £30 for the payment of an artillery corps of Europeans from 12 June to 12 July, 1824, assembled by him.<sup>53</sup> Further evidence of the way in which the money was spent, as well as the amount collected, is to be seen in the *Westminster Review* of July, 1826. This is likely to be authentic, as John Bowring was editor at the time. It was reported that committee expenditures out of voluntary subscriptions amounted to about £11,241 6s. 8d., itemised as follows<sup>54</sup> :—

	£	s.	d.
Paid for printing presses, surgical instruments, medicines, maps, expenses of hospital establishments in Greece, and sundry other objects not immediately warlike ..	1,767	0	8
Freights, insurances, and charges of shipment .. ..	803	1	8
For naval and military ammunition, stores, etc. ..	4,011	17	2
Wages to artificers, passage for surgeons, officers, and expenses attaching to persons in Greece .. ..	2,582	9	4
Charges of Committees' agents for travelling expenses ..	528	1	1
Clerks, Committee-room, postages, translations, and sundry minor expenses .. .. .	730	3	2
Printing charges, advertising, bills, stationery .. ..	318	13	7
Education of Greek boys .. .. .	500	0	0
Total .. .. .	11,241	6	8

<sup>48</sup> *Archives*, vol. XI, *cursum*.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III, Minutes of 31 May, 1823.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III, Minutes of 7 June, 1823.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. III, R, Minutes of 11 Oct., 1823.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. IV, I<sup>5</sup>, J. Hume to Bowring, York Street, probably 6 Jan., 1823.

<sup>53</sup> Stanhope, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-7.

<sup>54</sup> *Westminster Review*, vol. 6, July, 1826, p. 131.

## THE DECLINE OF PHILHELLENISM IN ENGLAND

After 1825 interest in the success of the Greek Revolution declined noticeably, primarily on account of circumstances connected with two loans raised in England for the Greeks in 1824 and 1825. A contract was signed on 19 February, 1824, for a loan of £800,000, to be quoted on the market at 59, and bearing an interest of 5 per cent. When the proceeds reached Greece the amount was disappointing, since some of the money had been spent in England and some had been wasted. The net results came to £454,700 : £80,000 for interest, £16,000 for a sinking fund, £298,700 remitted to Greece in specie, £9,900 in stores and ammunition, £2,400 paid for the relief of Messolonghi, £5,000 for the expenses of the Greek deputies for twelve months, £5,900 to Orlando on his private account, £4,000 repayment of a loan made by Lord Byron to Greece, £5,300 for sundry expenses of the committee, and £27,500 paid to the loan of 1825 as the balance of the first one.<sup>55</sup> In March, 1825, the deputies sought to bolster the credit of the Greek Government by the contraction of a second loan, although quotations of the first had dropped almost to nothing. The second loan was for £2,000,000, to be first quoted at 55½, and bearing an interest of 5 per cent. Its course followed that of the first, and investors lost heavily. The public began to suspect that the dealings had been incompetently handled, possibly even with dishonesty, and on 4 September, 1826, a public meeting of bondholders was called, with Colonel Stanhope in the chair. As a result a report of both loans was prepared and read to a second meeting, *The Times* characterising the report in its issue of 25 October as a timid compromise between speculation, indolence, and incapacity. No one seemed responsible for the management of the transactions, and large sums had obviously been squandered. From the first only £312,000 in specie, armaments, and stores ever reached Greece, and from the second only £291,000.<sup>56</sup> Everyone concerned seemed to have extricated himself at the expense of the Greek Government, and the deputies complained that they had been unable to control the course of events. The papers carried on bitter controversies over the action of the deputies, the contractors, the brokers, those who received commissions, and certain members of the committee. The committee had recommended the first loan, but disclaimed any connection with the second. Some of its members were investors in both and did not

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 127-8. Cf. *La Dette Hellénique* (pub. by the Banque d'Athènes, Athens, 1922), which says that £280,000 in specie reached Greece, and G. Finlay, *History of Greece* (London, 1861), vol. VI, p. 328, that the amount was £300,000.

<sup>56</sup> See report in *The Times*, 24 Oct., 1826.

escape from the battle unsullied. Consequently, interest in helping the Greeks was dampened and the committee fell into disrepute. When in the summer of 1826 certain Philhellenes in Geneva proposed that a third loan be raised with one of the members of the Greek Committee in charge, the organisation had already lost the respect of the public, as indicated in the *Morning Post* on 29 September: "the reputation of the Greek Committee cannot have reached Geneva. So gross has been the mismanagement of the two former loans that not one shilling more could be raised in England as long as *any* of its members are known to have a part."

Two especially glaring examples of incompetency that stirred bondholders and the Press were attempts to provide Greece with naval vessels. An engineer named Galloway was given the job of fitting six vessels with steam engines. The first was to have been ready in August, 1825. She left in May, 1826, and proved unsatisfactory in nearly every way; her boilers burst on the passage out, and soon corroded, the machinery rusted, the engines were said to be out of order about once a week, the sides would not withstand an eighteen-pound shot, the iron paddles were too numerous and too heavy, the guns and gun carriages could not be used properly, and she could not increase her speed under steam to more than seven knots per hour. She well earned her nickname of "Unlucky Karteria." Only two of the other five ever arrived in Greece, one in September, 1827, and one in September, 1828; the other three rotted in the Thames. Galloway wasted nearly £120,000.<sup>57</sup> The other case was that of two vessels built in America, although the deputies had instructed their agent to purchase two ready to sail. He arranged without their consent for the vessels to be built, but failed to sign specific contracts. When about 200,000 dollars more than the expected cost had been spent and the Greeks were in danger of losing both from lack of funds for completion, the American Government, moved by comments made in the Press and in Congress, stepped in and bought one of them. At last, the other, the "Hellas," was completed, a magnificent frigate of sixty-four guns, fitted to perfection, but much larger than the Greeks needed or wanted.<sup>58</sup> As usual, the Greek Government paid the cost of

<sup>57</sup> F.O., *Stratford Canning Correspondence*, 352, no 13; S. G. Howe, *Letters and Journals* (London, 1907), vol. I, pp. 189-192; T. Gordon, *History of the Greek Revolution* (London, 1832), vol. II, p. 275.

<sup>58</sup> F.O., *Stratford Canning Correspondence*, 352, no 10, extracts from the correspondence of the Greek deputies and their Government, *The Times*, 30 Sept., 7, 8, 9, 14, 25 Nov., 23 Dec., 1826, and 5 Jan., 1827, Gordon, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 276; Blaquiere, *Letters from Greece* (Egina, 28 Jan., 1827); Howe, *op. cit.*, I, p. 197 (5 Jan., 1827).

incompetence on the part of those responsible for the disposal of the loans.

One probable reason for the lack of supervision over Greek business in London was the loss of interest by members of the Greek Committee. Attendance at the meetings was becoming sparse, and even in the summer of 1824 the danger of the organisation becoming defunct was real. Bowring received a letter from one of its still active members urging him to continue the work: "If you can contrive to keep body and soul together as a committee for a few weeks or months, so much the better. The services of the committee as a mere name are valuable. As to the thin attendance of members, it is of little or no consequence."<sup>59</sup> The letters, minutes, and other documents that comprise the *Archives* of the committee gradually diminish in number and end with 1824, with no formal conclusion or explanation. The committee apparently was not dissolved; it simply faded out of existence. In 1826 an Italian Philhellene visiting England commented that "since in France and elsewhere constant mention is made of the London Greek Committee, it might be of good effect to recall it to life, or to reinstitute it, as Colonel Stanhope has just proposed to do; for in reality it exists no longer, except for those who wish to profit by pretending it does."<sup>60</sup>

In 1826 the majority of the public were again indifferent to the course of the Greek Revolution, this time on account of disillusionment and disgust; in 1821 and 1822 opinion on the subject was generally unformed or opposed for political reasons. At the later date a few individuals continued to urge the claims of Greece to further sympathy and assistance, but to no avail. Blaquiere was bitter about it. He remarked that at such a critical period as the one through which the Greeks were passing, when the enemies of Christianity were redoubling their efforts, England should not sleep, but should increase hers.<sup>61</sup> In July, 1826, an American who had been serving with the Greek navy, John M. Allen, returned to England after an absence of two years. He was struck by the complete change in attitude; the same people who formerly had been loud in their protestations of good will were in 1826 indifferent to the vicissitudes of good and bad fortune in Greece, and were forgetful of their promises.<sup>62</sup> A Philhellene from Geneva, Jean Gabriel

<sup>59</sup> *Archives*, vol. IX, A<sup>1</sup>, Barker to Bowring, 8 June, 1924.

<sup>60</sup> Count Alerino Palma, *Greece Vindicated* (London, 1826), p. 54.

<sup>61</sup> E. Blaquiere, "Greece and Her Claims," in *The Pamphleteer*, vol. 26, no. 52.

<sup>62</sup> *Morning Post*, 2 August, 1826, letter of John M. Allen, dated New England Coffee House, 29 July.



Eynard, who had done much on the Continent to further the cause of Greece, was grieved to observe the trend in England. He wrote to Sir James Mackintosh to try to secure British coöperation with the French and Swiss committees then active. He analysed the English attitude accurately when he attributed indifference (1) disgust at the deplorable results of the two Greek loans, (2) inexplicable accidents to the steamboats, (3) reports of intestine discords between Greek chiefs, (4) pecuniary defalcation as a result of these discords, (5) injury to trade caused by Greek pirates.<sup>63</sup> The last cause was at least as serious as any of the others; British cargoes had suffered much loss from this constantly growing menace, and the Greek Government apparently either could not or would not put a stop to it. Many people were inclined to believe the latter version. For these various reasons the Greek Revolution had irreparably lost its glamour and appeal to many persons, and practically nothing more was done in England to assist this country, although a few additional volunteers went out to fight.

#### THE ATTITUDE OF THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT TOWARDS PRIVATE PHILHELLENISM

Until 1827, when the Treaty of Intervention was signed by France, Russia, and Britain, the policy of the British Government was one of strict neutrality. Castlereagh, Foreign Secretary until his death in 1822, was determined that Britain should not become implicated in the war, and declared that the Greeks and Turks, whose deeds placed them on a par as far as inhumanity was concerned, should be treated alike.<sup>64</sup> George Canning, his successor in the Foreign Office, was no more desirous of having a clash with either Turkey or Russia, but he was faced with a stronger tide of public opinion in favour of the Greeks. In 1822 he recognised them as belligerents, since the only alternative on the sea was to treat them as pirates. He commented that "there is no denying they (the Greeks) are a most rascally set," and that England would "not dream of incurring war for the sake of protecting Epaminondas and St. Paul,"<sup>65</sup> but he was aware that non-interference could not be pushed to ultimate limits. In 1826, when he sent the Duke of Wellington to Russia to discuss the Greek question, he instructed his emissary to express "England's intent to prevent, if necessary

<sup>63</sup> *The Times*, 12 June, 1827.

<sup>64</sup> *Hansard*, VII, p. 1650, 15 July, 1822.

<sup>65</sup> H. V. Temperley, *The Foreign Policy of Canning* (London, 1925), p. 329; see also F.O., *Stratford Canning Correspondence*, 352, no. 13, private letters of G. Canning to S. Canning, 9 Jan and 5 Sept., 1826.

by force, the accomplishment of the plan imputed to Ibrahim Pasha, i.e. of depopulating and transplanting the inhabitants of the Morea." Canning added that "supposing the fact to be true," he did not see how it would then be possible for the ministry to justify to the country "a continued abstinence from all intervention."<sup>66</sup>

Arguments favouring private assistance to the Greeks continued to be made by many, even some adherents of the Government, in the face of official neutrality. Work done on their behalf and volunteering for the war were actually both illegal according to a law passed in 1819, the Foreign Enlistment Bill, which was still on the statute books. This Bill was enacted "to prevent the enlistment or engagement of His Majesty's Subjects to serve in Foreign Service, and the fitting out or equipping in His Majesty's dominion, vessels for warlike purpose without His Majesty's license."<sup>67</sup> Some volunteers were struck off the English army and navy lists, but not all. Colonel Stanhope escaped, although just before he received peremptory orders in May, 1824, from the commander-in-chief to return home, his family were alarmed by rumours that he might suffer the same fate.

In 1825 Canning declared to the Greek deputies that a new declaration of British policy was necessary in view of "the stir which had been made and was now making (in England) . . . to engage the King's subjects in the Greek contest against the law of the land and to procure succour of every description for Greece."<sup>68</sup> An Order in Council was published on 30 September, 1825, prohibiting the export of all arms and ammunition during the space of six months, and on 4 October a new proclamation was issued to enforce the Foreign Enlistment Bill. But nevertheless volunteers continued to go to Greece to fight, steamboats were equipped in the Thames for warlike purposes, money was raised in England by private subscription and by public loan, at least two prominent Britons, Thomas Gordon, of Cairness, and Admiral Cochrane, went to Greece in 1827 with considerable funds from the loan of 1825 with which to reinforce the Greek navy, while a third, Sir Richard Church, became commander-in-chief of their land forces.<sup>69</sup> However, strict neutrality

<sup>66</sup> Temperley, *op. cit.*, p. 353, quoting from *Wellington New Despatches*, III, pp. 85-93, 10 Feb., 1826.

<sup>67</sup> *Parliamentary Papers*, 1819, I, pp. 171-9.

<sup>68</sup> F.O., *Stratf. Cann. Corresp.*, 352, no. 11, memo of the conference of the Greek deputies with G. Canning, 29 Sept., 1825.

<sup>69</sup> See W. A. Phillips, *The Greek War of Independence* (London, 1897), p. 213 and T. Gordon, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 275. See also *The Times*, 24 Oct., 1826, for the sums as given in the public report of the expenditure of the loan of 1825.

was observed when the Government received information that the blockade of either belligerent was violated in Ægean waters, orders being sent out to enforce the rights of both.<sup>70</sup>

With the acts of private individuals Canning would not interfere. When reactionaries in Europe complained that he did not put a stop to pro-Greek demonstrations, he replied that the same manifestations had been made in favour of Corsica in 1768 and of Poland in 1792, and that the British Government had not then intervened.<sup>71</sup> His attitude towards the activities of Lord Byron and other Philhellenes was the same; he wrote to the British Ambassador to the Porte, Lord Strangford: "The supply of money said to be administered by Lord Byron is of an amount perhaps more serious (than £1,000), but neither law nor government can interfere with the voluntary sacrifice by an individual of his own unquestioned property."<sup>72</sup> The Government was in an awkward position when Philhellenism was at its height in England, but managed to avoid the issue by officially ignoring the movement, neither encouraging nor discouraging it.

When, however, Lord Cochrane arrived in Greek waters with a vessel purchased and equipped by European sympathisers in order to take command of the Greek fleet, British representatives in the Levant were considerably embarrassed; it was very difficult to explain to the Porte the working of English laws under which a subject could carry aid to the Greeks in direct contravention of His Majesty's declarations. Yet Cochrane could not be prosecuted unless he placed himself within reach of the British law. Since he could not be prevented from going to Greece, it was decided that he was to be treated as a Greek admiral and as such to be allowed to have no communication with British possessions.<sup>73</sup>

By applying the principle of non-interference when Englishmen found themselves in difficulties as a result of their participation in the revolution, Canning declared that "it can never be admitted that a British subject is at liberty to conduct himself in a manner directly opposed to the policy of his Government, and then to call upon the Government to put forth the whole strength of the State

<sup>70</sup> *Hansard*, vol. XI, p. 441, 22 May, 1823.

<sup>71</sup> F.O., *Turkey*, 78, no. 113, G. Canning to Lord Strangford, 12 July, 1823.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 195, no. 46, G. Canning to Lord Strangford, 24 April, 1824.

<sup>73</sup> F.O., *Stratf Cann. Corresp.*, 352, no. 15, S. Canning to Lord Hastings, 25 July, and G. Canning to S. Canning, 4 Aug., 1826; *ibid.*, no. 12, Cartwright, British Consul, to S. Canning, 16 Aug., 1826; *ibid.*, no. 16, S. Canning to F. Werry, British Consul at Smyrna, 23 April, 1827.

in his favour.''<sup>74</sup> This particular remark was caused by a man who was in trouble in Spain on account of his revolutionary activities there, but the same policy was followed in regard to persons in difficulties in Greece, for instance, Dr. Millingen, who was captured by the Turks when Navarino fell.

The anomalous situation created by the activities of the Philhellenes in both Greece and England in the face of declared neutrality and proclamations to curb them, lasted until 20 October, 1827, when an "untoward event" occurred. The British, French, and Russian fleets became involved with the Turkish in the Battle of Navarino and at last official intervention took the place of private. Philhellenism, as a movement, was dead in England, but the Government had taken its place.

VIRGINIA PENN

<sup>74</sup> *Archives*, vol. X, H, copy of a letter of G. Canning to Bowring, 21 March, 1824.

## RUSSIAN DOCUMENTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

### II. 17TH CENTURY—THE MSS. OF ENGELBERT KÄMPFER

In contrast to all the mysterious Italian names of the 16th century just mentioned, the name of Engelbert Kämpfer, the German explorer of the 17th century, is certainly well-known,<sup>25</sup> being particularly famous for his *History of Japan*, last re-edited in 1906. In fact, the whole personality of Kämpfer is very far from having any mystery about it.

The "Humboldt of the 17th Century," as one old biographer<sup>26</sup> ingeniously called Kämpfer, was born at Lemgo in Westphalia on 16 September, 1651, and studied at various schools and universities, first history, languages and philosophy, and later physics and natural history. In 1680, Kämpfer went to Sweden, but desiring to travel, he left Stockholm as early as 1683 as secretary of a Swedish Embassy to Persia. After travelling through Muscovy to Persia, Kämpfer went to Georgia, returned to Persia, and having joined the fleet of the Dutch East India Company as a physician, first visited the coasts of the Indian Ocean from Arabia to Siam, and finally spent two years in Japan. Kämpfer only returned to Europe at the end of 1693. He died near Lemgo on 2 November, 1716; after a short stay in Holland,<sup>27</sup> he had settled in his native town as a doctor. During this last period, Kämpfer made a great effort to arrange and edit all the manifold and valuable materials he had collected on his various journeys. But wearied by exhausting medical work and worried by constant matrimonial squabbles as well as petty troubles with publishers, he did not manage to carry through his scientific plans. Only one of the principal works appeared before the author's death, the *Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-mediciarum fasciculi 5, quibus continentur variae relationes, observationes et descriptiones rerum Persicarum et ulterioris Asiae*

<sup>25</sup> For instance, as recently as July, 1924, a popular article on Kämpfer and his work was published in the *Edinburgh Review* (vol. 240, No. 489, pp. 80-96), by Arthur F. Horst, "The Far East Two Centuries Ago," the biographical part being based on Scheuchzer's "Life of the Author" in Kämpfer's *History of Japan*, 1727.

<sup>26</sup> Falkmann, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. XV, 1882, pp. 62-64. The last unhappy years of Kämpfer's life are minutely described in an article by Schwanold, "Engelbert Kämpfer's Testament," which appeared in *Mitteilungen aus der Lippischen Geschichte und Landeskunde*, 1908, volume V, p. 41-61.

<sup>27</sup> See note 16 *re* Leyden.

(1712) The famous *History of Japan* was first published considerably later, in 1727, when all the manuscripts of Kämpfer had already been purchased by Sir John Sloane.

Even to Russian historiography Kämpfer's name was not new; long before Burtsev had mentioned it, Adelung had not only included it in his posthumous survey of Foreign Travellers in Russia (II, No. 135), but had also intended to publish the full text of Kämpfer's Russian itinerary preserved in the British Museum (Sloane 2923) : *Engelberti Kaempferi Diarium Itineris ad Aulam Muscoviticam indique Astracanam suscepti Anno 1683*. To this MS. Adelung's attention was first drawn in 1814 by the preface to Kämpfer's *Amoenitates*. With the aid of Sir Joseph Banks, the eminent scientist, who, in 1791, had edited Kämpfer's botanical drawings, Adelung soon obtained permission to copy Kämpfer's Diary for Rumyantsev. This complicated task was accomplished as early as 1816 by Antonin Schlichtegroll, who, according to Adelung, copied not only the text, but the illustrations as well, and added a detailed introduction concerning the author and his various manuscripts. Thus Adelung was in 1818 enabled to give in the 14th Appendix to his book on Herberstein a preliminary description and some specimens of his discovery, expressing the hope that the complete text would follow within the same year.<sup>28</sup> This promise was, for some reason or other, never fulfilled; for after a long delay, Adelung published in 1827 not the whole Diary, but only one long coherent fragment and several single notes from it, as an Annexe to his work on Meyerberg.<sup>29</sup>

Adelung's publications—in particular the edition of the Diary, though incomplete—were naturally bound to make Kämpfer's name familiar also to Russian historians. Nevertheless, when speaking of unknown documents of the 17th century, we must still mention his name among the first; for the Diary copied for Adelung represents but a small part of Kämpfer's material on Russia, quite apart from the fact that the Diary, as we have seen, was never published in its entirety, while the printed fragments, as will be shown, are full of gaps and faults. In the Russian edition of Adelung's *Meyerberg*, re-edited by A. M. Lovyagin in 1903, the annexe containing the fragment of Kämpfer's Diary is even omitted altogether, as the editor was rightly of the opinion that it would only be reasonable to re-edit Kämpfer's Diary "separately and after a new collation with the manuscript preserved in London." On the other hand, the

<sup>28</sup> Adelung, *Herberstein*, pp 502–505.

<sup>29</sup> Adelung, *Augustin Freiherr von Meyerberg und seine Reise nach Russland*, 1827, pp. 331–380.

fragment contributed by Adelung had only a small circulation in historical literature. In fact, quotations, as for example, the exceedingly vivid and fascinating description given by Kämpfer of the ten-year-old Tsar, Peter,<sup>30</sup> or the minute account of the printing house visited by Kämpfer in Moscow,<sup>31</sup> are quite exceptional. In Bestuzhev-Ryumin's *Survey of Sources on Russian History*, Kämpfer's Diary is simply treated as a source of minor importance,<sup>32</sup> and in V. O. Klyuchevsky's remarkable dissertation on *Reports of Foreigners*<sup>33</sup> it is not even mentioned.

The lack of real interest prevailing with regard to Kämpfer's Diary as published by Adelung will not seem strange when we remember that the coherent fragment reflects, both as to time and distance, but a small part of Kämpfer's journey through Russia. Kämpfer departed from Stockholm on 20 March, 1683, and having, on the way, joined Ludwig Fabricius, the Swedish Ambassador to Persia, to whom he was appointed secretary, arrived, on 12 May, at the Russian frontier. Here, in Moravino on the river Luga, the travellers were delayed until 6 June owing to disputes with the Russian commander (Voevoda) of the frontier region. Having therefore only reached Novgorod on 15 June, they left for Moscow on the 22nd *via* Valday, Vyshny-Volochok, Torzhok, Tver and Klin. The Embassy remained in Moscow nearly two months: from 7 July until 5 September, when it resumed its journey to Persia by the ordinary ship route down the rivers Oka and Volga and across the Caspian Sea. After short stays in Kazan (1-3 October), Simbirska (5-6 October), Samara (8-10 October), Saratov (14-16 October), the party arrived at last at Astrakhan on 1 November.

Kämpfer's Diary comprises the whole journey from the moment of his departure from Stockholm until the arrival at Astrakhan, for the author began his notes immediately and continued them throughout the whole time, with the greatest accuracy. Of this long narrative, Adelung merely published—besides a few single notes—the part beginning with Kämpfer's arrival at Torzhok on 30 June, and finishing with his departure from Moscow on 5 September. The reason that induced Adelung to begin just at that point is not quite clear. It is true the beginning of the Diary primarily concerns

<sup>30</sup> Alex. Brückner, *Peter der Grosse*, 1879, p. 79.

<sup>31</sup> P. Pekarsky, *Nauka i Literatura v Rossii pri Petre Velikom*, vol. II, 1862, p. 638.

<sup>32</sup> K. N. Bestuzhev-Ryumin, *Geschichte Russlands*, translated by Th. Schieman, I, 3 (1873), p. 141.

<sup>33</sup> V. O. Klyuchevsky, *Shazania Inostrantsev o Moskovskom Gosudarstve*, 1866.

Sweden and Finland; for Kämpfer was going by land to Muscovy and, as mentioned, he had started making notes immediately on his departure from Stockholm. But even this part of his Diary is of interest to Russian historians—not only when he approached the Russian frontier of the time, but even long before that—as, for example, Kämpfer's detailed description of Viborg,<sup>34</sup> where the author stayed from 18 to 21 April. Further, there is the exceedingly valuable account of Nyenskans, the little Swedish town on the future site of Petersburg, where the author also spent a few days from 22 to 24 April. His notes, made just twenty years before the foundation of the new Russian capital, in particular confirm the knowledge we have of the sea trade of Nyenskans and its rapid growth at the expense of Viborg.<sup>35</sup> Some vivid details concerning the old Swedish commander of Russian descent and in general the mixed population of the frontier regions are also of very great interest.

The information given by Kämpfer from the moment he arrived in Russian territory is certainly no less important than his notes after his departure from Torzhok. The three weeks of his involuntary sojourn on the frontier had already enabled the author to describe plenty of interesting scenes, and he naturally obtained a still greater variety of impressions during his week's stay in Novgorod.

Perhaps it is easier to explain the ending of the fragment published by Adelung; for the author himself seems to begin a new chapter of his Diary on the day of his departure from Moscow, heading it, "Von Mosko bis Astrakhan."

But worse than the arbitrary choice of one fragment or another is the circumstance that the small part of the manuscript published by Adelung is edited most unsatisfactorily: when collated with the original manuscript in the British Museum, the printed text turns out to be full of unexpected alterations, varying from arbitrary transpositions and interpolations based on other parts of Kämpfer's manuscript to words replaced by synonyms and whole sentences omitted without any annotation. Without the copy actually used by Adelung, it is impossible to say who or what was responsible in each instance for the alterations—which are sometimes very essential. It may well be that some of the mutilations arose from a mere gap or unintentional mistake made by the copyist; the more

<sup>34</sup> In his book on Herberstein, Adelung quotes only the account of the "Infernal Boiler," by means of which the Russian attack was averted.

<sup>35</sup> A Hipping, *Neva och Nyenskans intill St. Petersburgs Anlaggning*, vol. II (in Russian), 1909; and C. v. Bonsdorff, "Nyen och Nyenskans," in *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicae*, vol. XVIII, 1891.



so, as in some other cases all omissions are carefully indicated and even explained as results of the original manuscript being either spoilt or illegible. There is, however, one category of alterations which are in no way annotated and which clearly show one common tendency. For instance, in the exceedingly plastic account of the audience given by the two young Tsars to the Embassy on 11 July, 1683, the enthusiastic description of the fascinating appearance and charming vivacity of the ten-year-old Peter is followed by a gap in the description of the elder brother Ivan, whose words of welcome made upon Kämpfer the impression not of human speech, but of inarticulate sounds: "Non loquebatur sed (sit vena verbis) blatratum aliquid sonitum non vocem dabat." Despite the author's apology, such a judgment seemed no doubt too disrespectful even in the editor's time, although Kämpfer's opinion of the dull, mole-eyed elder Tsar in no essential point exceeds the usual impression which he made on foreigners. In another instance, in the extremely lively picture of the dinner party attended by Kämpfer in the house of Prince Vasily Golitzyn, some amusing but not quite savoury details of the behaviour at table of the mighty Boyar and his son are omitted. Finally, in almost all the numerous reports dealing with the Russian priests the German word "Pfaff," evidently lacking in reverence, is replaced by one of the more respectful terms "Pope" and "Priester." There can scarcely be any doubt that alterations such as these have not occurred casually, but have been dictated by the desire to modify the text and that Adelung himself was consciously guilty of them; for, as his preface shows, he was not sure that it would ever be possible to publish Kämpfer's Diary in its entirety. It is, indeed, easy for us to understand his pessimism, in view of the strict standard of censorship in the times of Nicholas I, demonstrated to us twenty years later by the fatal consequences of the attempt made to publish a complete translation of Giles Fletcher's *Of the Russe Commonwealth* (1591).<sup>36</sup> Nevertheless, Adelung's doubts concerning the future will not only make every reader of the original MS. smile, but may seem a bit exaggerated even for the time

<sup>36</sup> A Russian translation of Fletcher's book, which was printed with a preface by Prince M. A. Obolensky in the first number of the *Chteniya* of 1848, by order of Count S. G. Stroganov, President of the "Moscow Royal Society for Russian History and Antiquities," caused a storm of indignation on the part of Count Uvarov, the Minister for Public Instruction. Prof. O. M. Bodyansky, the Secretary of the Society, eventually became the victim of the long series of actions and inquiries, losing his professorship at the Moscow University. See N. Barsukov, *Zhizn i trudy M. P. Pogodina*, vol. X, 1896, pp. 157-177, and S. A. Belokurov, "Delo Fletchera, 1848-1864" in *Chteniya*, 1910, No. 3 (234), II, pp. 1-40.

when they were uttered, notwithstanding the rigid ideas of the period on political and religious matters. The Diary, in any case, contains neither unseemly words or questionable descriptions, nor malicious attacks or charges on the state of things in Muscovy. There is even no contemptuous or presumptuous view of the Russian people; the favourable comments are, on the contrary, by no means limited to the enthusiastic description of Peter mentioned above. In paying special attention to incidents of Russian life which were alien to him, Kämpfer certainly sometimes does not conceal his disapproval of them, as, for instance, when describing the weeping and lamenting of women and the behaviour of visitors to cemeteries on All Souls' Day, but even in such cases the author tries to reproduce all he saw with photographic exactness and without any derision or distortion.

Extreme minuteness is in general the characteristic feature of all notes made by Kämpfer. Abstaining entirely from hasty generalisations, he concentrates his whole attention on describing events and scenes, not forgetting, for example, to register how a dog that had suddenly appeared in the cemetery was driven away by the visitors there on All Souls' Day. Such exquisite accuracy and detail naturally gives a special value to Kämpfer's writings as a historical source. One feels that every word of his is based on reliable observation made by an attentive and impartial investigator who is anxious not to omit the tiniest detail. But, on the other hand, this does not mean that Kämpfer's account is hopelessly tedious. Besides the sympathetic references we have already noticed of different people he met, there are numerous remarks inspired by a deep love of Nature as well as by an admiration for architectural monuments, and some of the comments on scenes which he witnessed show a fine sense of humour. The difficulty with Kämpfer's manner of recording lies in quite another direction, for in some cases the extreme compactness of his accounts produces a quite overwhelming accumulation of all sorts of information. Particularly hard to follow are his frequent inventories of names and numbers: Kämpfer registers all through with the greatest care the names of even the smallest places as well as the distances between them. But this is not all: he also adds astronomical calculations and gives the dimensions of historical monuments, noting at the same time with unremitting care all heterogeneous objects of Nature—fauna, flora, etc. In fact, being a genuine encyclopædist, Kämpfer is equally interested in humanistic and natural sciences. Making his own archæological researches, he opens a tomb near the river Luga, investigates the traces of the Scythian bulwark in South Russia near Tsaritsyn, copies a com-

plicated Russian inscription on an obelisk erected near the Nikolo-Ugrezhsk Monastery in 1669 in commemoration of the return journey of the Patriarch of Alexandria, Paisy, after the trial of Patriarch Nikon in Moscow. Wherever he goes, Kämpfer collects historical reports and rumours, notes the customs and habits of the population, comments on language, conditions, etc., and at the same time, as we have seen, describes all the natural resources, accumulates materials on geology, anthropology, ethnography, medicine, etc.

Besides the short notes to be found in the Diary itself, materials on all these questions are preserved in many other manuscripts of Kämpfer's. Until now utterly unused and even partly unknown, some of them seem to form systematic appendices. One book (Sloane 3063) contains, for example, drafts and copies of diplomatic documents and official papers written by Kämpfer during his journey to Swedish and Russian officials, as well as of private letters sent by him from different places to friends and acquaintances. Included among them is also a rather long and rugged piece of German poetry dedicated to the author's friends on his departure from Moscow and showing that the travellers left the German Suburb with great regret, having been very happy there.

The greater part of the material, however, is scattered among different volumes of manuscripts and was evidently taken down by chance in a hurry on single scraps of paper. Centring round the Diary, this mass of material in every way completes the short notes given therein, at the same time reaching far beyond the places actually visited by Kämpfer, many notes dealing even with Eastern Siberia (Sloane 2910).

Particularly striking is the enormous amount of geographical material, which yet awaits some special survey in the style of Zamylovsky's fundamental monography on Herberstein.<sup>37</sup> Its quite exceptional value is due not only to its abundant detail, but also to a number of drawings, sketches and plans made by the author on the actual spot.

Knowing Kämpfer's exactitude, it is impossible to admit the slightest doubt as to the validity of all his communications. Moreover, he never forgets to point out the source of all his second-hand information, mentioning all the various persons he spoke to and questioned: native and foreign travellers, officials, cossacks, soldiers, etc. Besides this, he often compares his own observations with the reports of Adam Olearius, whose famous *Voyages and Travels* he evidently had with him on his travels. In making corrections and

<sup>37</sup> E. E. Zamylovsky, *Gerberstein i ego Istoriko-Geograficheskia Izvestia o Rossii*, 1884.

additions to Olearius's book, Kämpfer gives us the quite unique opportunity of tracing some of the geographical changes which took place during the fifty years between the observations of the two eminent travellers, for the divergencies noticed by Kämpfer can scarcely be attributed in all cases to mere errors of his predecessor.

Exceedingly precious are the Russian views drawn by Kämpfer representing over a dozen different places, mainly provincial towns. There are about twenty sketches scattered about the text of the Diary which are particularly lively and fascinating, while some views in another manuscript album (Sloane 5232)—evidently completed later—perhaps with a view to publication—seem much more conventional and differ from the primary sketches in the matter of detail.

Kämpfer's illustrations form in every respect a most essential supplement to the comparatively small number of Russian views of the 17th century at present known,<sup>38</sup> for besides adding to the number, almost all of them also add new subject-matter. In selecting the places he depicted, Kämpfer was obviously guided by Olearius, repeating, it seems, only such views that for some reason or other did not satisfy him as represented in the *Travels*, as, for instance, the Virgin Hills (Devichii Gory) on the Volga.

In view of the exceptional value and abundance of Kämpfer's Russian material, one is naturally puzzled at their having until now attracted so little attention. Particularly amazing is the fact that even the copy of his Diary which had found its way to Russia,<sup>39</sup> beyond the fragments published by Adelung, was evidently never used by anybody, although the importance of this historical source was fully appreciated not only by Adelung, but also by Ustryalov.<sup>40</sup> As to the original manuscript of the Diary and Kämpfer's other materials on Russia preserved in the British Museum, the lack of attention can possibly be explained to a certain extent as due to the very nature and condition of the manuscripts. Written in haste, Kämpfer's itinerary notes are often not only illegible owing to precipitous writing, but also extremely difficult to decipher because—for the sake of saving space—they are usually in the smallest handwriting and full of abbreviations and signs, the solution of

<sup>38</sup> There is a very interesting note on one of the drawings, indicating that it had been given by Kämpfer to be copied for Witsen, the scholar and Mayor of Amsterdam and friend of Peter the Great.

<sup>39</sup> The copy was preserved in the old Rumyantsev Museum in Moscow; R. Minzloff, *Pierre le Grand dans la Littérature Étrangère*, 1872, p. 160.

<sup>40</sup> N. Ustryalov, *Istoria Tsarstvovaniia Petra Velikago*, vol. I, 1858, p. lxi. The desirability of editing Kämpfer's manuscript was also emphasised by R. Minzloff, *Pierre le Grand*, p. 160.

which is complicated by the oddity of Kämpfer's style. Being a linguist, Kämpfer made his notes partly in German and partly in Latin, changing his language quite suddenly and making full use of a terrible mixture of both. In addition to the difficulties of writing and style which make the text at first sight full of surprising puzzles, a part of the manuscripts has been severely damaged. Having evidently been splashed with sea-water during Kämpfer's long journeys, whole pages are almost entirely covered with blots and obliterated by salt, which can still be seen glittering on some of the pages. The sheets being covered absolutely all over with writing, many lines have disappeared entirely, corners and edges having been crushed and torn, to say nothing of the drawback of the bad writing materials which were at the author's disposal during his journey—watery ink, blunt pens and crumpled scraps of paper, all of which increase the difficulty of reading them. It was therefore not without reason that Burtsev, after only a short acquaintance with some of Kämpfer's manuscripts, came to the conclusion that they "are probably very interesting, though very illegible" (p. 675). In fact, this historical source cannot be investigated without prolonged and minute study; but certainly the work would not be in vain. Several weeks spent in surveying and partly copying Kämpfer's manuscripts enabled the present writer to satisfy himself that this valuable source, in the variety and abundance of its information on Russia of the 17th century, is equal to any of the most important foreign works of the period, the only difference being that Kämpfer, who in his last days managed to edit only a small part of his works, left the Russian material in a perfectly rough and therefore hardly accessible state. One cannot help regretting that owing evidently to the unfavourable circumstances mentioned, no one has yet had the courage or the desire to investigate this historiographical treasure. It is to be hoped that men and means will eventually be found for the full and systematic work required to make the raw material, with all its drawings and sketches accessible to scholars.

In concluding these first notes on hitherto unused Russian Documents in the British Museum, I ought to emphasise the implication of the title of this article, that the documents reviewed are only examples and merely concern two centuries—the 16th and 17th.<sup>41</sup>

LEO LOEWENSON.

<sup>41</sup> The present writer would not like to miss the opportunity of repeating Mr. Burtsev's well-chosen words of gratitude and praise for the attention shown to visitors by the whole staff of the Museum, adding for his part as sincere a tribute of gratitude for the hospitality of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, the Institute of Historical Research and the Record Office.

## RUSSIAN POLICY IN ASIA (1838-9).

IN October, 1838, Anglo-Russian relations were approaching a crisis. Fear of war was strong on both sides. The policy of the two governments in Persia and Afghanistan clashed more openly than ever before. Russia was supporting an alliance between Persia and the Afghan rulers of Kabul and Kandahar. In retaliation England had seized the island of Karak, in the Persian Gulf, and was organising an expedition to overthrow the two Afghan princes and set up Shuja-ul-Mulk as puppet ruler of Afghanistan. If Russia gave her new allies military support, Russian and British armies might soon clash in Asia, despite the vast distances which separated their possessions. In this crisis Russia disavowed her over-ambitious agents and strove to conciliate England. Nesselrode's note of 1 November, 1838, denied any Russian aggression in Asia, and urged Palmerston to evacuate Karak and renew relations with the Shah's Government. At the same time, Simonich, who had exceeded his instructions as envoy at Teheran, was recalled. His successor, Duhamel, had a difficult assignment. He was to disavow Simonich's promises, break off all relations with the two Afghan princes, convince the Shah that he would receive no aid from Russia, and thus press him to seek a direct settlement with England.<sup>1</sup> To drive home the new Russian policy, Duhamel was to hasten the repatriation of the battalion of Russian-Polish deserters, the Shah's only European-trained unit. In spite of this change in policy, he was expected to maintain the great prestige which Russia had enjoyed in Persia since the last war.<sup>2</sup>

Once in Teheran, Duhamel's ideas evolved rapidly in favour of Russian intervention. By the end of February, 1839, he was convinced that Simonich and Vitkievich has not exceeded their instructions, in following an aggressive policy. "Count Simonich was incautious and made mistakes, I do not deny that; but at bottom he kept to the direction given him by the Imperial Ministry. Besides what the late Rodofinikin (director of the Asiatic Department, died in July, 1838) told Vitkievich orally (by the way he gave him to understand that our government was inclined to lend Dost Mohamed Khan two millions in cash and two millions in goods) it is sufficient to run through the instructions given by the Ministry to Vitkievich to be convinced that at that time we intended to take

<sup>1</sup> *R.A.* (Archive of Foreign Policy, Moscow), Nesselrode to Duhamel, St. Petersburg, 28 Jan., 1839 (o.s.), folio 204, no. 280.

<sup>2</sup> A. O. Duhamel, "Avtobiografia" (*Russkii Arkhiv*, 1885, ii, p. 104).

an active part in Afghan affairs. Why should we have sent an officer to Kabul if this mission was not to lead to any results? Why, you will agree that our commercial interests could only serve as a pretext; at bottom they are insignificant and will remain so for a long time to come." Unless Russia reversed her new policy of passivity, the British would establish their influence at Khiva and Bukhara, and from there send missionaries to fanaticise the Mohamedans within Russia's own borders. Then Russia would see the mistake of letting the English cross the Indus. Duhamel proposed a programme of his own: Khiva must be conquered; then six to eight thousand infantry could be sent to occupy Astrabad, the best Persian port on the Caspian; Russia would keep Astrabad if the English kept Karak, as seemed to be their intention; as a preliminary Russia could give subsidies to the princes of Kabul and Kandahar. Duhamel thought these vigorous measures would not provoke war with England, but would make her more open to persuasion.<sup>3</sup>

Although Duhamel advocated a militant policy in Asia, he was carrying out Nesselrode's orders. His first act was to recall Vitkievich from Kabul, whither he had been sent by Simonich as bearer of the newly concluded Afghan-Persian treaty and of a considerable sum of money, either of Persian or Russian origin.<sup>4</sup> In any case, the Persian war indemnity had furnished Simonich with large funds which he was free to lend, if not to give, for political purposes. His successor no longer had this discretion.<sup>5</sup> Vitkievich now returned to Teheran. Meanwhile, the sirdar of Kandahar had undertaken to capture Herat, which had successfully defied the long Persian siege, but on learning of the Anglo-Sikh advance he abandoned this project, and hastened to concert their common defence with his brother in Kabul. From Teheran Vitkievich was despatched to Petersburg, where he fell into the maelstrom of the struggle then going on within the Russian Government. Twelve days after his arrival he was found dead in his hotel.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Duhamel, "Avtobiografia," *op. cit.*, 1885, ii, 107-109.

<sup>4</sup> Mrs. Macalister, *Memoir of Sir John McNeill*, p. 245.

<sup>5</sup> Duhamel, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

<sup>6</sup> The director of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Senyavin, attributed his suicide to "Polonism, misanthropy, a decision made long before." (Duhamel, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 112). Terentiev laid it to some secret machinations of the British, but offered no evidence (M. A. Terentiev, *Istoria zavoevaniia srednei Azii*, I, p. 110). According to Lady Clanricarde, wife of the British Ambassador, Vitkievich was driven to suicide by the Tsar's own advisers (Lord Broughton, *Recollections*, V, pp. 281-2). Most probably he was overcome by the collapse of his plans, and felt his life-work was ruined.

Duhamel was not alone in pressing his government to resume an aggressive policy in Asia. Pozzo di Borgo, the Russian representative in London, soon perceived that Nesselrode's conciliatory note of 1 November, 1838, had come too late to forestall the British expedition against Afghanistan.<sup>7</sup> In January, 1839, Nesselrode realised that Palmerston would not allow Russia to mediate between his government and the Shah, but was still confident that he could serve as a "channel of communication."<sup>8</sup> This would at least give Russia considerable influence over the terms of the Anglo-Persian settlement. In March, Palmerston still refused to state his conditions, while McNeill, on passing through Petersburg, admitted that he did not know whether his government intended to keep Karak.<sup>9</sup> Early in March, Nesselrode finally made official explanation of the actions of Vitkievich and Simonich, admitting that they had been recalled because they had exceeded their instructions. This despatch was intended to compel Palmerston to present to Parliament the Russian side of the question, and to state the terms on which he was willing to evacuate Karak and renew relations with the Shah.<sup>10</sup> Palmerston received this despatch most condescendingly, and refused to accept Persian reparation through Russia's channel. Pozzo was convinced that the Persian dispute and suspicion of Russia were being deliberately fostered by the Ministry to justify its hasty and expensive projects in Afghanistan.<sup>11</sup> Pozzo's insistence on discovering the English terms was unsuccessful, and Nesselrode hastened to retreat once more. Russia wanted Persia to satisfy the British Cabinet. The Emperor agreed that reconciliation must be effected without even the appearance of Russian mediation, for he himself accepted no mediation in dealing with his own great interests in the East. In a reserved despatch Nesselrode implicitly condemned Pozzo's excessive insistence. "The English Ministers will be the first to hasten the return of the English Legation to Teheran, once they see that we have no desire to bring it back to Persia under our auspices."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> R.A., Pozzo di Borgo to Nesselrode, London, 11-29 Nov., 1838, folio 130, no. 106.

<sup>8</sup> R.A., Nesselrode to Duhamel, St. Petersburg, 28 Jan., 1839 (o.s.), folio 204, no. 280.

<sup>9</sup> McNeill, p. 242.

<sup>10</sup> R.A., Nesselrode to Pozzo, St. Petersburg, 21 Feb., 1839 (o.s.), folio 121, nos. 1591a and 1591b, *réservee*.

<sup>11</sup> R.A., Pozzo to Nesselrode, London, 24 Mar.-5 Apr., 1839, folio 119, no. 25.

<sup>12</sup> R.A., Nesselrode to Pozzo di Borgo, St. Petersburg, 17 Apr., 1839 (o.s.), folio 121, nos. 1688a and 1688b, *réservee*.



But Pozzo's alarm at England's policy continued to grow. From a conversation with Melbourne, who was usually more moderate than Palmerston, Pozzo understood that Great Britain tended to expand her frontiers to adjoin those of Russia. Melbourne could not say what limit his government proposed to set to its conquests. Pozzo now raised the alarm. England planned to occupy all the lands between the Indus and the Caspian. She was still playing with Persia in order not to alarm Russia prematurely. When all Afghanistan was in her hands, she would still have her quarrel with Persia as an excuse for carrying out that conquest of Persia which McNeill had urged in 1838 and was continuing to preach in London. It would then be too late for Russia to stiffen Afghan resistance, while the Shah lacked both money and men to oppose the British. Nesselrode considered Pozzo's prognostications too gloomy, but Nicholas was impressed. He replied to his vice-chancellor: "I agree with you, my dear friend; but it is a good thing to be on our guard, and if madness, for such it is, drove England to wish to measure herself against our troops in the deserts of Persia, I hope in God, and in the bravery of our troops, to make her repent of it."<sup>13</sup>

Meanwhile, an important decision had been made in Petersburg. On 24 March, General Perovsky's campaign to capture Khiva was officially approved. Both Nesselrode and Chernyshev, Minister of War, opposed it, but, when Perovsky assured the Tsar that he took the campaign on his own conscience, Nicholas replied: "Then go with God." Its connection with the British invasion of Afghanistan was shown by Article 3 of the resolution of the special committee: "Postpone the expedition until England has finished her work in Afghanistan, in order that the influence or impression of our action in Central Asia may have greater weight, and that England, through her own conquests, may deprive herself of the right to annoy our government by demanding explanations." The decision was to be irrevocable. Even if the Khan did the impossible, and returned all his Russian prisoners and slaves, he was to be required to pay the entire cost of the expedition's preparation, and with a very short time limit. It was understood that he could not fulfil these draconian conditions and avert the blow.<sup>14</sup>

Even this vigorous counter-measure did not end the agitation within the Russian Government, and probably in the Tsar's own

<sup>13</sup> *R.A.*, Pozzo to Nesselrode, London, 30 May-11 June, 1839, folio 120, no. 66.

<sup>14</sup> Terentiev, I, 114-115.

mind, at the obvious loss of Russian prestige in Persia and Afghanistan. To counteract this mood, Nesselrode, in April and May, 1839, drew up two interesting memoranda, reproduced below. One of them, a study of the British Blue Books on Persian-Afghan affairs (*Parliamentary Papers*, 1839, XL), analysed the new information which they offered, and argued strongly against interfering to support the Afghan chiefs, now overtaken by the consequences of their own duplicity. The second, written in early May, analysed acutely the difficulties of aiding the Afghans and Persians against England, denied that Simonich's personal guarantee of the Persian-Afghan alliance could be regarded as an obligation of honour, and asserted that the Khivan expedition would suffice to restore Russia's damaged prestige. Evidently, these arguments overcame in Nicholas' mind the pleas of Duhamel and Pozzo, and the pressure of his unofficial advisers. In any case, Nesselrode's policy was followed.

Within a few months the policy of conciliation with England bore fruit in the Brunnov mission to London, of September, 1839, while both Afghan and Khivan campaigns ended in failure. In 1838 and 1839 Russia was reluctant to engage in a decisive struggle with England for influence in the Middle East. That would have endangered her precarious hold on the Straits, a result of her treaty of 1833 with Turkey. From a military point of view Russia could spare from her western frontiers only 80,000 men for action in Turkey or in Persia.<sup>15</sup> A vast and vague enterprise in the Middle East would have freed the Porte from its fear of Russian attack, and sacrificed Russia's paramount position in Turkey. Confronted with this awkward alternative, Nesselrode and Nicholas I preferred to disavow their over-aggressive agents in Persia and Afghanistan. Even the realisation of Russia's declining influence in those regions, forced upon them in the spring of 1839, failed to shake their determination not to risk their general interests in a war for exclusive domination of Persia and Afghanistan.

PHILIP E. MOSELY.

*Union College, Schenectady, New York.*

<sup>15</sup> *Sbornik Imp. Ross. Istorich. Obschestva*, 1905, CXXII, pp. 383-5.

TWO MEMORANDA OF NESSELRODE TO  
TSAR NICHOLAS.

## I

[R.A , folio 229, Rapports à l'Empereur, 1839, pp. 64-72.]

. . . Durant tout le cours de la négociation, dont nous venons de retracer la marche, Dost Mohammed-Khan n'a eu qu'un seul objet en vue de regagner la possession de Peishaver et de refouler ainsi, sur la rive gauche de l'Indus, le Maha-Radja Roundjet-Sing, qu'il considère comme son ennemi implacable.

Il a espéré que l'Angleterre l'assisterait dans l'exécution de ce dessein et il a compté de préférence sur le concours de l'Angleterre, parcequ'elle était la plus à portée d'influer sur le sort d'une question, qui devait se décider sur les rives de l'Indus.

Mais tout en s'adressant au Gouvernement Britannique, il a entrevu qu'il y aurait en même tems un avantage réel pour lui, à former des relations directes avec nous et d'exciter notre intérêt en sa faveur, afin de mettre ainsi en jeu la politique opposée de deux Grandes Puissances rivales, et de pousser par là les Anglais à se prononcer plus fortement pour lui, à mesure qu'ils auraient à craindre de nous voir intervenir dans sa cause.

C'est dans ce but qu'il a tiré parti de la présence de Witkewitch; qu'il a communiqué les lettres dont cet agent se trouvait muni; qu'il a rapporté aux Anglais jusqu'aux moindres de ses paroles.

Nous croyons même avoir retrouvé, dans les actes publiés par le Gouvernement Anglais, plus d'un indice qui nous prouve, que Dost Mohammed-Khan, pour exagérer aux yeux des Anglais l'importance de l'envoi de Witkewitch, leur a rapporté à dessein, d'une manière peu fidèle, les assurances et les promesses qu'il prétendait avoir accueillies de la bouche de cet officier.

Nous citerons à ce sujet un passage digne de remarque, qui se trouve dans un rapport du Capitaine Burnes du 13 mars 1838.

"Jusqu'à l'heure qu'il est, je ne puis pas me permettre de croire que les promesses du Capitaine Witkewitch aient été données avec l'assentiment de l'Empereur, mais il n'en est pas moins vrai, qu'elles restent sans être démenties et qu'elles continueront à ne pas l'être encore pendant quelque tems, de sorte que dans l'intervalle ces promesses, bien qu'elles ne soient pas fondées, produiront tout l'effet qu'elles auraient eu, si elles avaient été réelles: il en résultera, que les Afghans iront droit à leur perte."

Il est facile, d'un autre côté, de se faire une idée de l'impression que devaient produire sur le Gouvernement de la Compagnie des Indes, les notions que le Chef de Caboul s'empressait de lui fournir lui-même, sur les relations qu'il entretenait avec nous.

Nous nous bornerons à rapporter à ce sujet, un seul exemple. Nous

le puisons dans une lettre adressée à Dost Mohammed-Khan par son agent à Téhéran.

“ L'Ambassadeur Russe, qui se trouve toujours ensemble avec le Schah, Vous a écrit une lettre que je Vous transmets. Mais voici la substance des communications verbales, qu'il Vous fait parvenir, savoir :

“ Que si le Schah fait pour Vous tout ce dont Vous avez besoin, tant mieux, si non, le Gouvernement Russe Vous fournira tout ce dont Vous pouvez manquer.”

“ Le but que l'envoyé de Russie veut atteindre par ce message, c'est de se frayer une route jusqu'aux Indes. Voilà son plus vif désir. Il attend Votre réponse et je suis sûr qu'il Vous servira bien.”

Nous laissons à penser quel est l'effet que de pareilles communications ont dû produire sur l'esprit du Gouvernement des Indes. En exploitant à son profit la jalousie et les inquiétudes que les Anglais nourrissent à notre égard, Dost Mohammed-Khan s'était flatté, qu'il finirait par leur arracher quelques promesses et quelques engagements en sa faveur, par la crainte seule qu'ils auraient de laisser le champ libre à notre influence politique.

Lorsque le Chef de Caboul a vu que cette manœuvre était vaine, il a pris le parti de rompre avec Burnes et de se rapprocher de la Perse dans l'espoir d'obtenir par là l'assistance et la protection de la Russie.

Mais il n'a adopté ce parti qu'à la dernière extrémité et en désespoir de cause. Voilà ce qui explique ces paroles remarquables qu'il a adressées à Burnes en prenant congé de lui : “ La Russie pourra me dire, Vous venez à nous parceque l'Angleterre Vous rejette.”

La conduite des Serdars de Kandahar a été dirigée par la même duplicité, qui a caractérisé tous les actes du Chef de Caboul.

Quand ils ont vu les Persans s'avancer vers Hérat, ils ont compris, qu'ils ne pourraient pas rester étrangers à la lutte qui allait s'engager dans l'Afghanistan.

Ils ont donc pensé, que pour se mettre à l'abri des Persans, qu'ils regardent comme leurs ennemis mortels, et par fanatisme religieux et par haine politique, ils n'avaient que le choix entre la protection de la Russie et celle de l'Angleterre.

Ils ont *commencé* par négocier avec notre Mission et demandé au Comte Simonitch sa *garantie*, comme un gage de sûreté indispensable, pour les mettre à l'abri de la mauvaise foi des Persans.

Dès qu'ils ont obtenu cette garantie, ils sont allés droit aux Anglais pour leur dire : voici ce que nous accorde la Russie. Que ferez-Vous pour nous ? Si Vous voulez nous protéger contre les Persans, nous sommes à Vous.

Voilà en peu de mots la conduite que les Serdars de Kandahar ont tenue. La garantie qu'ils ont obtenue du C-te Simonitch, n'a été entre leurs mains qu'un simple moyen de négociation pour traiter plus avantageusement avec les Anglais.

Ainsi le Comte Simonitch, tandisqu'il croyait se placer à la tête d'une

combinaison conçue dans l'intérêt de la Perse, n'a été que l'instrument et, pour trancher le mot, le jouet d'une intrigue ourdie par les Chefs de Caboul et de Kandahar, intrigue coupable, qui a commencé par nous compromettre gravement aux yeux des Anglais et qui a fini par attirer sur les Serdars Afghans eux-mêmes, les dangers dont ils sont menacés en ce moment.

Si nous reportons nos regards sur toute la série des faits dont nous venons de résumer l'ensemble, nous ne saurions nous empêcher d'en tirer les trois conclusions suivantes :

1. L'enchaînement des circonstances qui ont eu lieu dans l'Afghanistan a dû exciter contre nous au plus haut degré la méfiance du Gouvernement des Indes ; et cela, sans qu'il y ait eu la moindre faute, ni de la part de l'Angleterre, ni de la nôtre, mais simplement parceque les Chefs Afghans se sont fait un jeu odieux, d'exploiter à leur profit et mettre en présence la rivalité des deux grandes Puissances qui disposent du sort de l'Asie.

2. La mauvaise foi des Serdars de Caboul et de Kandahar a été si grande qu'on ne peut point en toute justice reprocher au Gouvernement des Indes, d'avoir rompu avec eux et dirigé contre eux des mesures de rigueur, que l'Angleterre a jugées nécessaires dans l'intérêt de la sûreté de ses possessions aux Indes. Enfin—

3. Le danger imminent où se trouvent aujourd'hui les Chefs Afghans est la conséquence inévitable d'une conduite pleine de duplicité et de perfidie, qui comme toute faute politique ne pouvait manquer d'attirer un malheur et de mériter un châtiment.

[R.A., folio 229, Rapports à l'Empereur, 1839, pp. 28-40, dated fin avril, 1839, o s.]

Dans la situation actuelle des choses, quel résultat pourrions-nous attendre d'une démarche que nous ferions à Londres, en faveur des Serdars de Caboul et de Kandahar ?

Les Anglais ont pris des engagements formels avec Roundjet Sing et Choudja-Oul-Moulk, l'ancien Souverain de l'Afghanistan.

Ils ont promis à ce dernier de le replacer sur le trône, en déposant les frères Baraksis, Dost Mohammed et Kohendil Khan, lesquels, à vrai dire, ne se sont emparés du pouvoir, qu'au milieu d'une révolte, par l'effet seul d'une usurpation.

Une fois que l'Angleterre a annoncé hautement l'intention de rétablir Choudja-Oul-Moulk sur le trône ; qu'elle a publié les transactions qu'elle a conclues dans ce but avec Roundjet Sing ; enfin qu'elle a employé à cet effet des sommes considérables et mis en mouvement des troupes qui déjà sont en pleine marche, elle s'est trop avancée aux yeux de la nation entière, pour qu'elle puisse s'arrêter ou revenir sur ses pas. Son honneur et ses intérêts parlementaires obligent le Gouvernement à employer tous ses efforts pour conduire heureusement à son terme une expédition qu'il a annoncée avec tant d'éclat, qu'il n'est plus en son pouvoir de s'en désister.

Dans cet état des choses, quand même il le voudrait, le Gouv-t Anglais ne pourrait pas déférer à une démarche qui serait faite en faveur des Serdars Afghans; il le pourrait encore moins si cette démarche était faite par la Russie, qui aux yeux du public Anglais, est censée avoir influé sur la conduite des Serdars dans un but directement opposé aux intérêts Britanniques aux Indes.

Il n'y a donc qu'une impossibilité *matérielle* qui puisse faire échouer l'expédition, que les Anglais dirigent aujourd'hui contre l'Afghanistan.

Si leur entreprise vient à manquer par les difficultés inhérentes à la nature même de l'expédition, les frères Baraksis y trouveront leur salut et se maintiendront, ou bien ils finiront par transiger avec leurs adversaires, sans notre intervention.<sup>1</sup>

Si, au contraire, la campagne se termine à l'avantage des Anglais, notre intervention deviendrait stérile; peut-être serait-elle tardive même, en ce moment; car à la distance où nous sommes du théâtre des évènements, le sort de cette expédition pourrait déjà être décidé dès à présent.

Dans toutes les suppositions dont nous venons de faire mention, il nous semble démontré, qu'une démarche que nous ferions à Londres en faveur des Serdars Afghans, quelque bienveillante et désintéressée qu'elle fût, risquerait en tout cas de ne pas être accueillie par le Gouv-t Anglais.

Or, comme il est invariablement dans les principes de l'Empereur, de ne jamais articuler une demande sans préparer d'avance les moyens d'appuyer et de faire respecter ses intentions, une fois qu'il les a hautement annoncées, il faudrait dès à présent nous mettre en mesure de pouvoir adopter une attitude plus prononcée envers l'Angleterre, si l'intérêt que nous lui aurions témoigné en faveur des Serdars de Caboul et de Kandahar rencontrait de sa part un refus direct.

En ce cas, quelle serait l'attitude que nous pourrions prendre et quels seraient les moyens que nous pourrions employer pour protéger les intérêts des Serdars Afghans?

Nous ne pourrions agir, en leur faveur, que par l'intermédiaire des Persans.—Mais pouvons nous compter sur eux? Et que pouvons nous en espérer?

<sup>1</sup> Lord Auckland, dans un rapport adressé au Comité Secret de la Compagnie des Indes en date du 13 Août, 1838, expose déjà son idée, de proposer à Dost Mohammed-Khan un *asyle honorable* dans le territoire du Gouv-t des Indes. Il annonce, qu'il en fera la proposition à ce Chef, dès que les préparatifs de l'expédition seront assez avancés. Cette information, que nous trouvons dans les actes publiés par le Parlement, nous démontre que le Gouv-t des Indes s'est déjà occupé éventuellement des moyens, d'assurer au Serdar de Caboul une existence, en fixant son séjour dans les états de la Compagnie. Par là, Dost Mohammed deviendrait un moyen puissant de contrôler encore à l'avenir, la conduite de Roundjet Sing et de Choudja-Oul-Moulk, en leur inspirant toujours la crainte de voir reparaître un jour leur rival, qui resterait sous la dépendance de la Comp-nie des Indes.—Ce plan paraît médité de longue main. Il nous prouve que le sort de Dost Mohammed-Khan est assuré en tout cas; et qu'il est de l'intérêt même du Gouv-t des Indes de le ménager.—Quant aux Serdars de Kandahar, L. Auckland réserve à Choudja-Oul-Moulk, de leur assurer un sort, d'un mutuel accord.—

Ils n'ont pas été en état de prendre Hérat, après un siège qui a duré plus d'un an et qui a fini par un échec sensible pour la puissance et la considération politique du Schah. Depuis, son armée s'est entièrement débandée, d'après le témoignage du général Duhamel, la Perse est aujourd'hui sans argent et sans armée.

Faudra-t-il lui donner l'une et l'autre? Et si nous lui donnons de l'argent, qui nous répondra de son emploi? Si nous lui envoyons des soldats, qui nous répondra de leur sûreté au milieu d'une nation perfide, qu'il vaut mieux avoir pour ennemie que pour Alliée?

Cependant, lors même que nous parviendrions à vaincre les difficultés inséparables d'une opération qui devrait avoir la Perse pour base et le Schah pour Alliée—pourrions nous adopter de ce côté une attitude militaire, sans que l'Angleterre la considérât comme une menace, dirigée contre elle dans un but ouvertement hostile?

Dans un pareil cas, tous les partis se réuniraient en Angleterre, pour soutenir le Gouv-t contre nous; parceque la cause qu'il s'agirait de défendre en serait une qui intéresse la nation entière. Jamais cause ne serait plus populaire, que celle où le ministère Anglais aurait à protéger la sûreté des possessions Britanniques aux Indes, contre les attaques ou simplement contre les menaces de la Russie. Nous risquerions donc de rendre le ministère actuel plus fort qu'il ne l'a jamais été, si nous lui prêtions des armes contre nous, aux yeux de la nation, en nous prêtant à une démonstration quelconque en faveur des Serdars de Caboul et de Kandahar.

D'ailleurs, ceux-ci ont-ils mérité par leur conduite à notre égard que l'Empereur leur accorde son intérêt? et la mauvaise foi qu'ils ont montrée envers la Russie, ainsi que les actes que nous avons sous les yeux, le prouvent jusqu'à l'évidence; est-elle faite pour conseiller à notre Auguste Maître d'engager les intérêts directs de son Empire, et de lui imposer des sacrifices réels, pour garantir les Chefs Afghans contre les dangers qu'a attiré sur eux leur duplicité?

Assurément, ils n'ont aucun droit de prétendre, que nous les mettions à l'abri des malheurs qui sont la conséquence inévitable de leur propre faute.

C'est en vain qu'ils voudraient se prévaloir de la garantie, que le C-te Simonitch a prêtée à la convention conclue entre le Schah et les Serdars de Kandahar.

D'abord, cette garantie n'a point obtenu la sanction de l'Empereur. Elle ne saurait par conséquent lui imposer aucune obligation.—Mais, nous dirons plus. Cette garantie, lors même qu'elle aurait été confirmée, et qu'elle serait valide, en quoi consistait-elle? Elle promettait, de notre part, de veiller à ce que le Schah remplit ses engagements envers les Serdars. Or, quels étaient ces engagements? Le Schah promettait de remettre la ville de Hérat aux Serdars de Kandahar, ceux-ci ayant concouru à la prendre; de plus, le Schah promettait de venir au secours des Chefs Afghans, après que ceux-ci auraient envoyé des troupes pour assister les Persans à réduire Hérat.

Mais les Afghans n'ont pas aidé les Persans à prendre Hérat. Donc le Schah se tient quitte de ses engagements envers eux. Cela est si vrai, que le Ministre Persan Hadji-Agassi a été le premier à déclarer au Général Duhamel : " qu'il considérerait de son côté la convention comme nulle et non avenue, parceque les Serdars de Kandahar n'ont rien fait pour assister les Persans à s'emparer de Hérat."

Voilà la meilleure preuve du peu de valeur que le Gouv-t Persan attachait à la convention qu'il avait conclue. Certes, nous aurions eu plus de peine et d'embarras à la faire exécuter fidèlement de part et d'autre, que de l'avoir annulée.

Entre les Persans et les Afghans, la mauvaise foi ne pouvait être que réciproque. Les uns ont trahi les autres. Les Serdars ont laissé le Schah s'épuiser en vains efforts devant Hérat. Aujourd'hui qu'ils sont menacés chez eux par l'expédition de Choudja-Oul-Moult, c'est le Gouv-t Persan, à son tour, qui les abandonne.

Ce n'est pas sur de pareilles alliances que la Russie peut baser un calcul sûr; ce n'est pas non plus pour de semblables alliés qu'elle doit porter des sacrifices.

Elle ne peut fonder son action que sur des intérêts clairement définis, et sur une base solide.

Or, il est certain, que notre intérêt bien entendu nous conseille de ne pas laisser tomber notre considération politique en Asie; parcequ'elle est une des conditions indispensables et l'une des garanties de la prospérité et du repos des vastes provinces de notre Empire dans cette partie du globe.—Pénétré de l'importance de cette réflexion, nous ne saurions être indifférents aux événemens qui se passent dans l'Asie Centrale.

Il n'est que trop vrai de dire, que l'enchaînement des circonstances récentes, qui ont influé sur la situation de la Perse et de l'Afghanistan, mérite de fixer notre attention la plus sérieuse et nous inspire une juste sollicitude.

La part que notre Légation en Perse a prise à ces événemens; la présence d'un Ministre de Russie au camp devant Hérat au moment même où le Schah a été forcé de lever le siège; enfin, la garantie intempestive accordée par ce Ministre aux engagements réciproques contractés entre la Cour de Téhéran et les Serdars de Kandahar; toutes ces circonstances réunies, ont dû produire un résultat fâcheux, dont nous avons été les premiers à reconnaître et à signaler les conséquences regrettables.

Ces conséquences sont :

1. Les difficultés survenues dans nos rapports avec l'Angleterre, dont la jalousie et la méfiance ont trouvé un nouvel aliment dans la conduite peu réfléchie de nos agens en Asie;

2. l'impression défavorable que doit produire sur les peuplades de l'Asie le fait seul de l'échec moral que notre mission a essuyé en Perse.

Quant aux difficultés survenues avec l'Angleterre, l'Empereur a réussi déjà à les applanir, par les assurances franches et loyales qu'il a données Lui-même à l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre dès l'origine de cette



discussion, ainsique par les explications subséquentes dont le C-te Pozzo di Borgo a reçu l'ordre de s'acquitter à Londres. L'effet de ces communications se fait déjà sentir et nous autorise à considérer comme éloignée pour le moment toute contestation sérieuse avec l'Angleterre au sujet de cette question, qui aurait pu compliquer gravement les rapports des deux états.

Il nous reste maintenant à réparer et à effacer l'impression défavorable produite par les derniers évènements sur les peuplades de l'Asie.

Pour atteindre ce but, il fallait adopter une mesure qui réunit en elle deux conditions.

Cette mesure devait être d'une exécution *possible*; de plus elle devait être *utile* à la Russie.

L'expédition projetée contre *Chiva* a paru remplir ensemble les deux conditions.

Elle est à notre portée; parceque nous avons entre nos mains les moyens d'en assurer l'exécution.

Elle est de plus conçue dans un but essentiellement utile à la Russie, parcequ'elle est destinée à détruire un repaire de brigands qui font la terreur de nos Caravanes; par conséquent elle tend à donner plus de sécurité à notre commerce; enfin, elle rétablira parmi les peuplades voisines cette crainte salutaire du nom russe, qui, en Asie surtout, est la meilleure garantie de notre repos.

Ces considérations ont milité en faveur d'une expédition qui sans doute n'est pas sans difficultés, et qui sous d'autres circonstances aurait pu être sujette à controverse, mais qui à la suite des derniers évènements en Perse nous paraît avoir acquis toute la valeur d'une mesure indispensable.

En effet, elle servira de contrepoids à l'expédition anglaise dans l'Afghanistan. Et comme c'est la Russie qui aura frappé le dernier coup, c'est elle aussi qui finira par produire l'impression la plus durable.

Mais, ce n'est pas dès aujourd'hui que nous pouvons espérer de recueillir le fruit d'une mesure que nous préparons en secret pour mieux en assurer le succès.

Jusque là, l'intérêt de la Russie nous commande de garder une attitude calme et d'opposer à la malveillance de nos adversaires politiques, ce silence imperturbable qui est le plus grand de leurs tourments, parce qu'il leur prouve que l'Empereur, plein du sentiment de Son bon droit et de Sa puissance, est indifférent à leur haine comme à leur blâme.

# SELECTED DOCUMENTS

## THE FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND

THE following documents were taken from the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna. Ever since the death of Augustus III on 5 October, 1763, Austria began to take a keen interest in Polish affairs, at first passively, then more actively, until Catharine's victories over the Turks, who had been dragged into the war on account of the Polish troubles, made Vienna prepare for war with Russia in order to preserve the balance of power in the East. The uprising of the Contederates, who were aided by the agents of Louis XV; Catharine's suppression of Polish liberties; and the intrigues of Frederick II in Poland, all made Prince Kaunitz give up his vaunted "systematic inactivity" in regard to Poland, and forced him to action. The Austrian Chancellor, realising that sooner or later he would have to take a hand in the Russo-Turco-Polish troubles, either on the side of Russia or on that of Turkey, kept in constant touch with Polish affairs. Ultimately the Russo-Prussian partition agreement of 17 February, 1772, made the reluctant Kaunitz and Maria Theresa join in the dismemberment of Poland. The documents given below were sent, at various times, by Austrian agents to the Chancellery at Vienna.

S. K. PADOVER.

### I. CHARACTER SKETCH OF STANISLAS AUGUSTUS PONIATOWSKI.<sup>1</sup>

Le Roi de Pologne est d'une taille au dessus de la médiocre. Sa figure en général est noble distinguée, et surtout l'air de sa physionomie. Il a de grands yeux noirs, ses cheveux bien plantés sont de la même couleur. Il a le nez aquilin, et la bouche proportionnée; mais le fond de son tein tirant sur le jaune et la vue fort basse repandent sur son visage un air sombre; d'où l'on peut conclure que son tempéramment est mélancholique, bilieux, ce qu'on retrouve assez dans son caractère. Le reste de corps sans être ce qu'on appelle exactement bien fait ne présente cependant aucune défformité ni désagrément; il a même la main belle, la jambe est forte, il a de l'embonpoint sans en être chargé, son age est de trente six ans, et sa constitution paroît bonne et saine. Ses manières sont telles, qu'on les acquiest par l'usage du monde, quoique son maintien soit un peu guindé. Il joint à tout cela un esprit solide et orné de beaucoup de connoissances utiles et agréables, avec le jugement net et sain.

Son caractère est principalement fondé sur la droiture et la franchise. Ces deux qualités estimables influent sur toutes les actions des sa vie et elles percent jusqu'à travers ses défauts. Difficile dans le choix de

<sup>1</sup> "Mémoire sur la personne et le caractère du Roi de Pologne Stanislas Auguste Poniatowski," in the Haus- Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Vienna—henceforth referred to as V.A.—Pohlen, Correspondenz, III, 1764.

ses amis, il n'a jamais varié à l'égard de ceux qui une fois ont gagné sa confiance, ce qu'il a témoigné dans plusieurs occasions et même à l'égard de ceux qui pendant l'inter règne lui étoient directement opposés, de quoi en particulier le General Mokronski attaché au Grand Général a eu des preuves autant que les circonstances pouvoient le permettre. Mais aussi d'un autre côté il ne cherche point à déguiser ses sentimens vis à vis de ceux dont il croit avoir à se plaindre, ou qu'il juge dignes de mépris. Sa conduite envers le feu Comte de Brühl tenoit à ce principe, l'esprit de parti la lui a fait outrer sans doute, mais il paroît que l'excès même sert à constater sa franchise. L'homme ne se montre à découvert que dans l'emportement de ces passions, où l'on reconnoît toujours l'empreinte du caractère.

De plus le Roi de Pologne est genereux, et l'on pourroit à cet égard citer beaucoup de traits, qui lui font plus d'honneur, qu'en rendant service son attention se portoit principalement à ménager la délicatesse de ceux qu'il obligeoit, consultant d'ailleurs plutôt le besoin d'autrui, que l'étendue de ses facultés. Un seul trait, qu'on ne scauroit passer sous silence, le prouvera mieux que tout ce que l'on pourroit dire. Une dame de condition déjà malheureuse par l'inconduite d'un mari méprisable, se trouvoit encore réduit à une telle nécessité, que loin de pouvoir fournir à l'éducation de plusieurs enfans en âge, elle avoit de la peine à pourvoir à leur subsistance et à la sienne. Le Roi de Pologne, alors Stolnik<sup>2</sup>, instruit de sa situation, se rend chez elle et sans entrer dans aucun détail toujours humiliant pour les malheurs, profite d'un moment où il n'est point observé, pour laisser sur une table une bourse avec 500 ducats, et part aussitôt. La dame en trouvant ce secours méconnut pas la main d'où il lui venoit; mais elle ne put avoir la satisfaction d'en témoigner sa reconnaissance, n'ayant jamais pu tière [*sic* !] du Stolnik l'aveu du bienfait, dont elle a joui sans autre charge que d'estimer son bienfaiteur et d'admirer sa délicatesse.

Les autres qualités de son cœur ne sont que des modifications de sa franchise et de sa generosité. Il est bienfaisant, humain, compatissant, bon maître, bon frère, doux dans la société, d'une conversation agréable et même enjouée, quand il se trouve à son aise, point médisant ni tracassier, extrêmement sensible aux bons comme aux mauvais procédés et en fin attaché comme il le doit aux devoirs de la religion, de sorte que l'on peut dire avec raison du Roi de Pologne, qu'il est vraiment honnête homme.

Avec toutes ces bonnes qualités il a comme tout homme ses défauts et ses foiblesses. Encore est-ce beaucoup dans le siècle où nous sommes, de n'avoir aucun vice déshonorant ou permanent à lui reprocher.

Ceux de ces défauts, qui ont le plus sauté aux yeux, et qu'on lui a reproché avec justice, sont l'ambition et la hauteur; mais ce dernier défaut doit disparaître aujourd'hui par son élévation, à l'égard de

<sup>2</sup> *Stolnik* was Poniatowski's title before his election to the Polish throne.

l'ambition elle doit être de même satisfaite au moins quant à sa personne, pour les autres desseins que cette passion pourroit lui inspirer encore. C'est une matière, qui passe le but de ces flemoire [*sic*] dont l'objet n'est que de faire connoître le personnel du Roi de Pologne.

Un autre défaut plus réel en lui et que paroît tenir à son tempérament bilieux, c'est une grand vivacité lorsqu'il éprouve de la contradiction, et qui pour le moment va quelquesfois jusqu'à l'empportement; cependant on l'a vu souvent se rendre à la raison présentée avec douceur. Malgré cela il est à craindre que son élévation ne serve d'autant plus à augmenter en lui cette opiniâtreté, que les rois trouvent rarement de l'opposition à leurs sentimens.

Tout ce qu'on vient de dire du Roi de Pologne ne regarde pas le roi, ni l'homme public. C'est de l'homme particulier de l'homme [*sic* !] dans la société civile tel qu'il se fait connoître à ses amis et à ceux qui vivent habituellement avec lui, qu'on a voulu parler. Il seroit injuste de juger quelqu'un d'après des instans de la vie, où souvent le parti qu'on a embrassé, quoique juste et licite par lui-même, entraîne à des mesurer qui ne peuvent en quelque façon être justifier que par la nécessité de soutenir ce qu'on a entrepris. L'ambition, ce ressort nécessaire dans tous les états, dégénère aisement dans les républiques, surtout en Pologne, où chaque citoyen, avec le droit de censurer publiquement le roi, peut lui même aspirer au faite de la grandeur. Il étoit permis au Stolnik d'y porter ses vues. Il lui étoit permis de se croire capable d'en remplir les devoirs, et la multitude toujours idolâtre des événemens extraordinaires l'auroit blâmé, s'il ne se fut pas servi des moyens qu'on lui a supédites [*sic*] pour y parvenir.

Il n'est pas douteux que rempli de grandes vues, comme il l'est, il ne cherche à les réaliser et à se faire la reputation d'un bon et grand roi, et d'après l'esquisse qu'on vient de tracer de son caractère, on doit s'attendre, qu'il cherchera à gouverner par lui-même et ne se laissera subjugué par personne, pas même par ses oncles le Chancelier de Lithuanie et le Palatin de Russie, malgré l'ascendant qu'ils ont eu pendant l'interrègne, et qu'ils devoient avoir sur le Stolnik pour la direction des affaires d'alors.<sup>3</sup>

Voilà ce que pense sur le compte du Roi de Pologne l'auteur de ce mémoire et quoique les circonstances ne lui aient pas procuré l'occasion de vivre assés familièrement avec ce prince pour pénétrer dans son intérieur, il croit n'en pouvoir pas moins garantir la réalité de ce qu'il avance. La source, où il a puisé, ne paroitra guère suspecte, quand on

<sup>3</sup> In connection with Poniatowski's ambition to be an independent ruler, it is interesting to point out that Catharine II, who placed him on the throne, intended him to be nothing but her tool. "Among all the pretenders," the Tsarina wrote to Frederick II in 1763, "he (Poniatowski) has the least means to win the crown; therefore he will be the more obligated to those from whom he has received it." S. Solov'yev, *Geschichte des Falles von Polen* (1865), 20.

réfléchira, qu'il n'a pu à beaucoup d'égards juger le Stolnik que d'après les informations tirées de ses ennemis.

## II. PROCEDURE OF THE POLISH DIET.<sup>4</sup>

I. *Ouverture de diete par l'officier à l'église et la séance du roi sur le trône.*—Après la messe du St. Esprit et les ceremonies d'église, le roi se rend pour un moment au senat, afin d'y donner du trône l'activité à la diete. Les nonces se rendent en suite dans leur chambre ou le Marechal de la Diete passée, en qualité de directeur de la chambre, fait l'ouverture de la seance, pour y proceder à l'élection du nouveau Marechal de la Diete, qui se fait à la pluralité des voix. Le Marechal doit, à la rigueur des loix, être dû dès le premier jour, cela n'empêche point, que la nuit survenant, sans que l'élection soit faite, on n'en puisse sursevir l'acte jusqu'au lendemain.

II. *Le Marechal élu, la chambre envoie une députation.*—Aussitot que le Marechal est élu, qu'il a preté serment, la chambre des nonces envoie une députation au roi et au senat pour lui en faire part.

III. *Legitimation des nonces.*—Après le retour de la députation, les nonces sont obligés de se legitimer devant le nouveau Marechal, ceux, à la charge desquels il y a quelques manifestes, protestations, condamnats, décrets, ou autres pretensions juridiquement prouvées, sont reconnus incapables de jouir du caractere de nonce, jusqu'à ce qu'ils ayent satisfait aux demandeurs.

IV. *Admission des nonces au baisemain après leur legitimation.*—Les nonces étant legitimés, et les difficultés qui souvent surviennent à cet égard se trouvant lesées, les nonces se rendent tous au senat, ayant le Marechal à la tête, ou ils sont admis à baiser la main du roi.

V. *Lecture des Pacta Conventa.*—Le Secretaire de la Couronne si la diete se tient en Pologne fait ensuite à haute voix la lecture des Pacta Conventa. Pendant cette lecture les senateurs et nonces ont droit de parler sur les articles des Pacta Conventa, aux quels ils croient avoir été contre venu.

VI. *Proposition des points de deliberation.*—Après la lecture des Pacta Conventa, le Grand Chancelier de la Couronne propose de la part du roi les principaux points sur lesquels doivent rouler les deliberations de la diete.

VII. *Examen des pieces . . . et lecture des . . . conseils de senat.*—On examine ensuite les pieces, qui ont été remise, ou enregistrées dans les archives de la couronne depuis la derniere diete, de même que les conseils de senat, qui se sont tenus depuis ce tems la, et l'on fait à haute voix lecture du resultat des conseils de senat, tenus depuis la derniere diete.

VIII. *Disposition des charges vacantes.*—S'il se trouve des charges

<sup>4</sup> "Règlement établi pour la tenue des dietes en vertu des anciennes et nouvelles constitutions nommément celle de l'an 1690," in V.A., Pohlen, Correspondenz, III, 1764. The accents, spelling and punctuation of the original are retained.

encore vacantes, le Marechal demande au nom de la chambre des nonces, qu'elles soient distribuées, et à cette occasion, il recommande distinctement à la grace du roi, ceux, qui lui ont été indiqués par la chambre des nonces.

IX. *Sentimens des senateurs sur les matieres proposees.*—Les senateurs et les ministres d'état donnent ensuite, selon le rang leurs sentimens sur les matieres proposees.

X. *Nomination des senateurs.*—Les harangues du senat étant finies, le roi fait nommer les senateurs et les nonces de chaque province, qui doivent assister, et veiller à l'arrangement des nouvelles constitutions, les senateurs nommés, pretent d'abord le serment usité entre les mains du roi.

XI. *Pareillement pour . . . des Grands Tresoriers . . .*—On nomme pareillement les senateurs et nonces de Pologne et de Lithuanie pour examiner les comptes des Grands Tresoriers et des Generaux del'Artillerie des deux nations.

XII. *Mimstres . . . aux cours etrangeres.*—On fait ensuite retirer les auditeurs pour oir à huis clos la relation des ministres envoyés aux cours étrangers depuis la dernier diete, s'il y en a eu, qui rendent compte du succes de leur negotiation aux états assemblés apres avoir preté serment selon le formulaire usité.

XIII.—*Audience . . . de l'armée.*—Après la relation des ministres envoyés audehors, on donne publiquement audience aux deputés de l'armée.

XIV. *Deliberation des nonces.*—Toutes ces formalités étant finies, le Marechal de la diete demande au roi la permission de se retirer avec les nonces pour deliberer dans la chambre des nonces sur les matieres dont on doit traiter. Apres quoi il retourne à la chambre accompagné des nonces.

XV. *Serment des nonces.*—Dès qu'on est de retour dans la chambre on fait prêter le serment usité aux nonces de chaque province, qui sont deputés pour assister à l'arrangment des nouvelles constitutions, et s'il y a des jugemens de la diete, le Marechal deputé des nonces de chaque province pour assister aux dits jugemens, qui se tiennent dans le senat, le roi present.

XVI. *Sessions provinciales.*—Si l'on trouve trop de difficulté à convenir des matieres dont il doit être traité dans la chambre des nonces, on regle les sessions provinciales qui se tiennent en trois differens couvens, c'est à dire que chaque province traite separement de l'autre des affaires de la diete. Les éveques et senateurs ont droit d'assister à cette sorte de sessions.

XVII. *Jonction de la chambre des nonces avec le senat.*—Les deliberations pendant les sessions provinciales étant achevées, les nonces se ressemblent dans leur chambre, ou ils doivent convenir des nouveaux établissemens à faire, dont ont lit les projets à haute voix, ceux dont la chambre convient unanimement sont d'abord signées par le Marechal de

la diete et les nonces députés pour l'arrangement des nouvelles constitutions, quand on a tout achevé, les nonces se joignent au sénat, pour y demander, l'approbation de nouveaux établissemens. Cette jonction de la chambre avec le sénat doit se faire pour le plus tard 5 jours avant l'expiration de la diete dont le terme est de 5 semaines complètes, en comptant du jour, auquel elle a été commencée. La jonction une fois faite avec le sénat les nonces ne peuvent plus retourner dans leur chambre, et l'heureuse issue de la diete est immanquable.

## CANON LIDDON AND BISHOP STROSSMAYER

THE Bosnian rising in 1875, the Bulgarian massacres of April-May, 1876, followed by the declaration of war by Serbia and Montenegro upon Turkey, made of the Southern Slav question, for the first but not for the last time, a European problem. As the news from Bulgaria leaked through, British opinion was deeply roused, and for a whole month before Gladstone's decisive intervention through the famous pamphlet *Bulgarian Horrors* (6 September) large meetings of protest had been held in every part of the country.

Specially prominent was a small group of High Churchmen, represented in the Government by Lord Carnarvon, and to a lesser degree Lord Salisbury. Canon Liddon preached at St. Paul's on 14 August against the atrocities, and he and his friend, Rev. Malcolm MacColl, then paid a visit to Belgrade to inform themselves as to the truth of the Balkan situation. On their way home they paid a visit to the great Croat patriot, Bishop Strossmayer, at Djakovo in Slavonia, to whom they had an introduction from Dr. Döllinger, of Munich. Strossmayer, in whose diocese Bosnia nominally lay, was keenly interested in events south of the Save, and it was on MacColl's initiative that he addressed himself, in the following October, to Mr. Gladstone, in the hope of winning his support for Bosnian no less than Bulgarian liberty. The correspondence which ensued was published by me in 1911 as Appendix XVII to *The Southern Slav Question*<sup>1</sup> (pp. 416-444), by kind permission of the Gladstone Trustees.

The first of the two following letters, from MacColl to Gladstone, is also from the Gladstone Papers (now in the British Museum);

<sup>1</sup> For Strossmayer's career see chapters in my book, in Laveleye, *The Balkan Peninsula*, and in Hermann Wendel, *Aus dem südslawischen Risorgimento*.

while the second, Liddon's letter of thanks to the Bishop, I owe to the kindness of my friend the Croat historian, Professor F. Šišić, who copied it from the Strossmayer papers in the Yugoslav Academy, Zagreb.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

I. MACCOLL to GLADSTONE, 25 Sept., 1876. Episcopal Palace, Diacovar.

My dear Mr. Gladstone,

I have delayed so long to thank you for the kind gift of your pamphlet, that I am now quite ashamed to write to you. I received it at Vienna, and you do not need to be told with what delight I read it. Since then Dr. Liddon and myself have passed through Croatia and Slavonia into Serbia, and are now paying a visit of three days to Bishop Strossmayer on our way to England. I have written three letters to the *Spectator* and have asked Hutton to send you a copy of the numbers which contain them; for your time is too precious to be taken up with long letters in manuscript. Otherwise I could give you volumes on all that I have heard and seen since I left England three weeks ago. I have written a short letter to *The Times* and a longer one to the *Spectator* on the Turkish atrocities, and I may possibly write one or two more letters before I reach England. Dr. Liddon gives his impressions to the *Guardian*.

One cardinal mistake which people at home make is to think that the Bulgarian horrors are rare and isolated outbreaks of Turkish fanaticism. On the contrary, they are only a specimen or tableau of what goes on regularly in the Christian provinces of Turkey. The property, the honour and the life of every Christian in the Ottoman Empire are daily exposed to the lusts and passions of the Turks. And there is no redress. A husband who remonstrates against the violation of his wife, a brother who complains of the violation of his sister, is exposed to the unbridled will of his Mussulman master; and it depends on the caprice of his oppressor whether he is killed on the spot or put to a lingering death. He has no help, no one to appeal to but God, no one who will succour him. I shall never forget the melancholy face and sad voice with which a Bosnian peasant the other day, after a vivid description of the sufferings of his people, added: "And England will not let us be free."

Your pamphlet and speech have done a world of good already. They have been translated into the Servian papers, and I believe that the thanks of the Servian people have reached you ere now. Bishop Strossmayer is also delighted both with your speech and pamphlet, and he has asked Canon Liddon and me to assure you how much he admires your eloquent championship of the wrongs of humanity, and how grateful he feels for the service you have rendered to "a just and holy cause" (these are his words). He is all on fire in his sympathy for the Christians in Turkey, and has some thoughts of going to England to do his best to enlighten public opinion there. But he fears that Austria, which at present means Hungary, would come down upon him and put obstacles



in the way of whatever good he is now able to do for the Slave populations. I have taken the liberty of saying to him that I would ask you to write to him on the Eastern Question, and he expressed the delight which he would have in corresponding with you. I am sure you would like him, and he would, of course, like you. He is one of the most charming and interesting men I ever met, and I wish you could afford the time to pay him a visit. I suppose there is hardly another man living who has gone more thoroughly than he has done into all the ramifications of the Eastern Question. He is, as you know, Bishop of *Sirmium and Bosnia*, so that his official duties take him often into Bosnia, and he is intimately acquainted with Serbia and Herzegovina. I wish you could hear his torrents of eloquence on the question. Dr. Liddon and I have listened to him with rapt attention for an hour at a time. He agrees entirely with your views on the subject. He says that to hope for any improvement in the Turk is a mischievous delusion, and he dwells emphatically, with a large personal experience to enforce his opinion, on the radical difference between the Turks and other Moslems. He says the Bosnian Mussulmans are nothing like so cruel as the Turks, and he thinks that there is good hope of their becoming Christians, if they were under a Christian administration. What he himself would prefer is that Bosnia should be given to Serbia and Herzegovina to Montenegro. He has the highest possible opinion of the Servians. He says—and I can confirm it—that they are about the most tolerant people in the world and are possessed of great political and administrative capacity. Ristich, the Servian Foreign Minister, he regards as one of the ablest politicians of the day. And certainly that is the impression which Liddon and I carried away from a long conversation with Ristich. "I am a Catholic," said Strossmayer, "and the Servians are Orthodox; but it is only a difference of unimportant details, and I should be well content to be under the political administration of Servia." Russia, he thinks, would be opposed to the cession of Bosnia to Servia, for Russia knows that Servia, like Sardinia, might become the nucleus of a great Christian State in the East. England, instead of checkmating Russia by encouraging the autonomy of the Christian populations of Turkey, has been playing Russia's game. Still it is not too late. England, "the first free power in the world," has the ball at her feet. Let her be prompt to carry out your policy and she will easily win. Russia will not dare to oppose her; Italy will act cordially with her; neither France nor Germany will oppose her; Austria, standing alone, would have to give way.

Bishop Strossmayer is building a grand Cathedral close to his palace, chiefly out of his own income. The foundation-stone was laid ten years ago, and he hopes to have it ready for consecration in five years. A pupil of Overbeck's is covering the walls with frescoes, the subjects being all out of the New Testament. It is a most striking and beautiful building, and quite on a par, as to size, with an ordinary English cathedral. It is roofed and looks quite finished from outside, and some progress has been

made with the frescoes in the chancel. When the Cathedral is finished, the Bishop intends to build residences for a Dean and Chapter. He has already built a seminary for the training of clergy for Bosnia. In addition to all this his hand is ever open to help any good work in his diocese and beyond it. There was some money required lately for the endowment of the University of Agram. Strossmayer gave £2,000 and also contributed largely to the formation of a picture gallery in Agram. This we were told in Agram by several persons, who added, somewhat bitterly, that the Archbishop of Agram, though his income was £80,000 a year, did not give a farthing. Strossmayer keeps open house. Twenty-five guests sat down at his table to dinner yesterday, and forty poor persons—sometimes many more—dine in the servants' hall every day. One curious relic of the rule of the Turks in this region remains in the household of the Bishop. The headman in the servants' hall, a picturesque person dressed in semi-oriental fashion, is called "Harem Pasha." Strossmayer gave the Servians £3,000 at the beginning of the war. He is a man who overflows with charity and hopes for the reunion of Christendom in spite of the Vatican Council. He has no scruples about our Orders or Sacraments. If only he were Pope! He has a weak chest, I am sorry to say, and talks sometimes in the tone of a man who does not expect to live long. The Cathedral, when finished, cannot cost much less than £400,000. Yet this man is frowned upon at the Vatican, while men like Manning are advanced to the highest dignities. The Vatican does not dare to do more than frown, for a man who is adored by some six millions of Croats and Slavs cannot safely be treated like Döllinger<sup>2</sup>—for whom, by the way, Strossmayer expresses the highest esteem and regard.

Dr. Liddon sends his respects. We start today for Vienna by way of Pest, and I must try to get to London by Monday, as I am down to speak on the Bonn Conference at the Church Congress at Plymouth on 3 October.

Yours very sincerely,

M. MACCOLL.

P.S.—Bishop Strossmayer says he will write you a short letter. I am so glad, as it will make an opening for a correspondence. He confirms the account of the impalings in Bosnia which I have sent to the *Times* and *Spectator* and adds some horrible details, e.g. that a woman was impaled on the eve of her confinement. These tortures are an amusement to the Turks.

2 Liddon to Strossmayer, 24 Oct., 1876, Ch. Ch., Oxford.

Très cher et vénéré Monseigneur,

J'ai reçu, il y a une semaine, la lettre dans laquelle Votre Excellence annonce la communication qu'elle a adressée à M. Gladstone.

<sup>2</sup> The great theologian who wrote against Papal Infallibility during the Vatican Council of 1870, and then, on its promulgation, seceded and helped to found the Old Catholic Church, while Bishop Strossmayer, also an opponent of infallibility, made his submission.

M. Gladstone m'avertit qu'il l'a reçu. Il en est charmé. Et, pour ma part, en obéissant le désir de Votre Excellence, j'ai prié M. Gladstone de ne pas la publier, au moins avec le nom de l'auteur.

M. Gladstone y convient. Il regrette, très naturellement, la nécessité sur laquelle Votre Excellence insiste. Il croit que la publication d'un tel document serait très utile aux intérêts de la cause chrétienne-orientale, dans l'état actuel de l'opinion publique en Angleterre. Il ajoute que la publication sans le nom de l'auteur ne pourrait suffisamment arrêter l'attention du public anglais. Mais il comprend parfaitement la nécessité sous laquelle Votre Excellence se croit obligé de ne pas autoriser la publication. Seulement il espère que les circonstances vont s'adoucir ; que les difficultés, —au moins un peu—vont disparaître ; et ainsi que les hésitations de Votre Excellence vont finir.

Pendant les quatre semaines qui viennent de passer, il y a eu en Angleterre une *espèce de réaction* contre l'enthousiasme chrétien du mois de Septembre. Cette réaction—je l'espère—je le crois, n'est que transitoire. Le public anglais, quoique effrayé par l'ambition (pour ainsi parler) de la Russie, dont les journalistes s'occupent sans cesse, est toujours bien résolu, au fond, de ne combattre une autre fois pour l'intégrité de la Turquie—cette étrangère barbare sur le sol de l'Europe.

En arrivant chez nous, nous avons annoncé les exécutions barbares qu'ont fait les Turcs sur les bords du Save. On a été très frappé par le récit de ces détails. Mais la partie turque (car elle existe en Angleterre) a niée hardiment le caractère de ces exécutions. Elle affirme que les Turcs, au moins récemment, n'ont jamais fixés les corps vivants sur les échafauds, en les y laissant périr lentement. M. Ostich, un prêtre dans la diocèse de Votre Excellence, que nous avons rencontré près de Mitrovitz, nous a assurés du fait. Si Votre Excellence daignera me donner des renseignements exactes sur ce fait, je serais très obligé—par exemple, le caractère exacte de ces exécutions, le nombre, les crimes (pour ainsi dire) qui les ont provoquées.

Il est bien difficile de convaincre le public anglais de la réalité des barbaries dont la Bosnie a été la scène.

A présent je m'occupe d'un cours des leçons que je fais dans cette université. Mon adresse est :

Rev. Dr. Liddon,  
Christ Church,  
Oxford.

Après le 1er Decembre je serai à Londres :

Rev. Dr. Liddon,  
Amen Court,  
St. Paul's,  
London.

Permettez, très cher Monseigneur, que je vous remercie, de tout mon cœur, et de la part du Rev. Mr. MacColl mon ami, pour toute cette hos-

pitalité si généreuse, si inespérée, dont nous avons partagé à Diakovar. Croyez-le bien, les souvenirs de ces jours,—du château—de la Cathédrale—des tableaux—surtout de l'esprit chrétien qui se répand partout—ne périront jamais.

Nous n'abandonnons pas l'espérance que l'exposition de Paris doit encourager Votre Excellence de faire le tour d'Angleterre. Je prie un tout petit souvenir dans vos prières et votre bénédiction épiscopale, avec le plus profond respect, et une affection très sincère en N.S.J.C.

H. P. LIDDON.

A son Excellence l'Évêque Strossmayer, à Diakovar.

## OBITUARY

### JAN MICHAŁ ROZWADOWSKI

WITH grim suddenness Polish (and European) learning was robbed of another master in March, 1935, when Professor Jan Rozwadowski, for more than a generation an honoured teacher in the University of Cracow, and for a decade President of the Polish Academy of Sciences, was taken in the prime of his powers. His passing leaves a blank not only in local circles, where in addition to his professional duties he had helped to found just after the war the "Society of Lovers of the Polish Speech," and to publish its journal, but throughout the world of philological studies. No detailed account of his contributions is possible as yet, but some general facts and a tribute to his memory will be welcomed by our readers.

The story of his service to comparative philology is really known only to the philologists themselves. The main reason is that Rozwadowski never wrote text-books, and rarely published books at all. He disliked long treatises, just as he could not abide pomp and circumstance in living. Brevity was, in truth, the soul of his wisdom, and apart from his *Historical Phonology of the Polish Language*, his work is to be found scattered up and down the scientific journals. It might stand comparison with the handfuls of formulas in which from time to time mathematicians gather up the work of a decade. "His achievement in printed materials," says Professor Wędkiewicz, "stands in no proper relation to the mass of his learning or to the profoundness of his scientific insight. That is why his fame has never travelled as far as his professional and civic virtues would demand."

In general his studies moved on three distinct, yet related, lines. First came his researches in the general field of the development of speech as such, where he advocated two factors rather than a single one, as making all language possible, and elaborated this theme in essays and lectures. Then come his studies of the etymology of expressions, particularly of the names of northern European rivers, and of the relations between Slavonic and Baltic tongues in general. Finally we have his grammatical studies proper, in which he gave special attention to the foundations of Polish accent and phonetics—including dialect studies. As a commentator on a series of ancient Polish texts and MSS, he found a rewarding field for sharing his erudition with others.

But the range of his interests covered the whole field of Indo-European tongues and their relations, in which he was as great an authority as Baudouin de Courtenay himself. A one-time pupil recalls with feeling his lectures on the historical grammar of the Greek language, and the hours spent, together with a small group, poring over the most abstruse of Sanskrit masterpieces. For Rozwadowski was a true pedagogue, unselfish to a fault, generous of his time and knowledge, sharing with all. It is recalled how often he would interrupt himself, after stating a fact or a proposition, with, "but I wouldn't like to swear to that!" That is the true attitude of the learner.

As president of the Academy he could clothe a high office with dignity without playing the, for him, unpleasant rôle of the executor or the commander. Modest, retiring, too much so as many felt, he was not as much in evidence during the fateful twenties as he might have been; when matters were being decided in connection with the rehabilitation of the Polish State in which his counsel would have been invaluable. Hence the view of some that the result was a tragedy for Polish learning, and a tragedy for Rozwadowski. Yet it would not be true to think of him as never coming out of his philologist's shell to speak in the market place. He was a citizen and a patriot, as one could see from what he wrote "from the depths of the heart" in 1925: calling on the Diet to give up its chatter and its dream of power and dissolve itself; to accept a "heroic death" *pro bono publico*. In the same way, a year later, he was of those who called on Pilsudski to take the headship of the State; while again in 1932 he belonged to those who, in the interests of freedom of thought and speech, opposed the plans of the administration for the reorganisation of the universities. His brief paper of two pages in the volume *A Defence of Academic Liberties* (where

others wrote ten or more each !) is proof enough that, where necessary, he knew his mind and would speak it.

Yet few of his acquaintances knew this side of his character, few of them detected the power of his mind and his will. They were the more surprised sometimes at the things his intimate friends could tell of him—how were they possible? Alas! for an age that wants promoters and organisers, or rather, alas! for an interest in such things. Rozwadowski was not one of these. The philologist in him brought proof of this. Unlike many others, he would never mingle politics with his profession. There was in him all the detachment of the pure scholar. No using of his researches for patriotic purposes: a dialect was Polish or was Celtic *per se*, and that was the end of it.

On the day before his death he delivered to a select group in Warsaw a paper on *The Truth of Life*, which was in a real sense his spiritual testament. It made a lasting impression on all present. One of them has left this record of it:

"From his words sounded the optimism of youth, though one could sense weariness in his features. One saw a firm faith in the future of our western culture, never thought of as menaced with collapse. In face of the power of the physical sciences and their inventions, Rozwadowski did not disguise a certain anxiety for the humanistic studies that are still childish in their methods. But he voiced the conviction that here, too, a change for the better is at hand. He uttered a call for united action to Polish scholars and humanists. He showed himself as champion of a healthy intellectualism which here in Poland can produce a surprising scientific fruitage."

W. J. ROSE.

## MARSHAL TUKHACHEVSKY ON THE RED ARMY

Speech by Comrade M. N. Tukhachevsky, Assistant People's Commissary for Defence, Marshal of the Soviet Union, made at the Second Session of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR on 15 January 1936.

Comrades, the figures concerning the military expenses to be voted in the State budget, which Comrade Grinko has mentioned, are, of course, considerable. But we have got to consider that, firstly, in percentages our military expenses in relation to the whole budget are considerably lower than those in the majority of foreign countries, not to mention those States which are especially busy in the preparation of an aggressive war. Secondly, we have got to consider the fact that these figures, from

the point of view of the practical task of organising our defence, are really moderate and minimal.

Comrade Molotov has pointed out, in his speech, how the Japanese militarists, carefully preparing military operations, are approaching our frontiers. Comrade Molotov has told you that there is some information as to a military agreement which has been negotiated by Japan and Germany and which, in some way, concerns Poland, too. Comrade Molotov added : " The Fascist rulers of Germany try to deceive credulous people as to their aggressive plans directed against the Soviet Union, by pointing to the fact that Germany and the USSR have no common frontier. But, on the other hand, we know that Germany, encouraged by some other countries, is feverishly preparing to occupy a dominating position in the Baltic and has entered into a special understanding with Poland, which has a long common frontier with the Soviet Union."

I have to remind you of the strategical views of the German General Staff, which are being recreated now. During the festivities held on the occasion of the opening of the German Military Academy of the General Staff, they confirmed the adherence to the strategical principles of the old General Staff, beginning with Scharnhorst and ending with Count von Schlieffen. You know quite well that Schlieffen, when preparing an offensive against France, directed the main attack on those parts where Germany had no common frontier with France. The German army, at the very beginning of the war, passed through Belgian territory, infringing the neutrality of that country, and invaded the northern French provinces. It is evident that under present circumstances, when between Germany and our country there are some States which have a special understanding with the Germans, the German army, if it should ardently desire to do so, will find means of invading our territory. What will be the outcome, that is another matter, and I will speak about that a little later.

Germany, while preparing her imperialist plans, is engaged now in a very serious military task. Comrade Molotov was quite right in saying that Germany has really been now converted into a military camp. Especially intensive work is being done for the development of powerful aviation. In her book on the air armaments in Germany, Dorothy Woodman names a large number of factories which are engaged in making planes and motors. Airplanes are manufactured at more than 50 factories. Besides, there are scores of factories which are engaged in manufacturing parts for the airplanes. Over 20 factories are employed in making airplane engines and spare parts, and about 20 factories make various appliances and devices for airships.

Thus, you see, Germany is making her powerful aviation industry work at full pressure and, owing to this, the development of the German air force is proceeding at a tremendous pace.

In the first instance, this air menace has influenced the British public opinion. Mr. Baldwin has said that, taking into account the achievements of modern aviation, the frontiers of Great Britain are now not at Dover,

but on the Rhine. The British Parliament has decided to increase its aviation enormously. Last year it was decided to increase aviation two and a half times. Britain had 52 squadrons, and she is going to raise 71 squadrons more.

France, too, has had to reply to the development of the German aviation. They have voted, supplementary to the normal budget, one milliard francs for the development of the material side of their aviation. A rapid development of aviation is going on in other neighbouring countries, too. In some countries, for instance, in Finland, we notice the development of a system of aerodromes which is in excess of the requirements of the Finnish air force.

Germany is making great efforts in the development of her artillery. The British General Spears, in March of last year, said in Parliament that, according to reliable information, the German industry is producing guns at the rate of 300 a month, and that in the near future the production will increase to 500 guns a month. I think the figures mentioned by General Spears are true.

Germany is not only strengthening her infantry and cavalry units, but is also creating powerful tank forces. In correspondence with the data on the production of guns and some other information published in the world press, we may reckon that Germany is producing tanks at the rate of not less than 200 a month. The programme for the formation of 12 army corps and 36 divisions is being carried out at a tremendous rate and much more rapidly than had been anticipated. It is necessary to bear in mind that the armed forces are kept up on a very broad footing, and this means that the German army will always be ready to start a sudden offensive. Its readiness for mobilisation is very great indeed. This fully corresponds to the statements which have been made by Gen. von Seeckt, the former commander-in-chief of the Reichswehr. I must add that Germany, in order to make preparations for a sudden attack, does a good deal of training in mass transportation, by cars as well as by railways. They make use for this purpose of various Fascist festivities and demonstrations, which also serve the aims of war preparations.

During last year's congress of the National-Socialist party in Nuremberg, on 8-18 September, the Germans transported to Nuremberg 850,000 persons in 532 trains. How intensive was this transportation, one may gather from the following figures: at the beginning of the War, in 1914, 40 trains a day were despatched to the French frontiers through each of the 13 arterial railways. During the War the intensity increased to 60 trains a day. During the festivities in Nuremberg the intensity was this: on 12 and 13 September, 140 trains arrived at Nuremberg daily. On 17 September 179 trains were despatched from Nuremberg. It is necessary to note that military manoeuvres were held in the neighbourhood of Nuremberg at that time, which necessitated additional traffic. The same kind of training we notice during the harvest festival near Mount Buckeberg on 6 October last year. In 12 hours they transported 300,000 persons in 160 trains.



Not less intensive preparation—I venture to say, even more evident—is being carried on in respect of road transport. First of all, they are building arterial roads. The arterial road is a road which has no cross-roads and gives enormous advantages for uninterrupted and unhampered traffic. According to the programme, during the next few years they will construct 7,000 kilometres of arterial roads. Three roads will link the western and eastern frontiers. Since the autumn of 1935, over 3,000 kilometres are under construction. Several hundreds of kilometres are already finished; 3·5 milliards marks were put aside for this purpose, of which sum about 30 per cent. is already expended.

If you will also take into account that an automobile corps is organised by the national-socialist party, composed of 150,000 cars and systematically trained in mass transportation, you will realise the importance of this matter for war purposes. Once in Tempelshoff this corps transported 200,000 persons in 17 hours. The automobile corps will, of course, play a tremendously important part in the period of strategical concentration.

The efforts of Germany to create a most powerful land army and air force go in step with the rapid development of her navy. Since the Anglo-German naval agreement, Germany has launched a large number of ships, and in 1937 her navy will increase two-fold in comparison with 1935. The naval programme is, however, twice as large.

It must be specially noted that Germany is now building such ships as were formerly forbidden by the Versailles Treaty. She was allowed to build battleships up to the limit of 10,000 tons displacement; now it is proposed to build ships of 26,000 tons displacement; the displacement of a cruiser was allowed up to 6,000 tons, now—up to 10,000 tons; torpedo-boats, correspondingly 800 and 1,650 tons. Germany was not allowed to build submarines; now she is building them. Germany was not allowed to build aircraft carriers; now she is building them.

Here, comrades, we have grandiose military preparations of German militarism on land, in the air and on sea. These preparations, in view of the National-Socialist political plans of which Comrade Molotov spoke, force us to consider most seriously the defence of our western frontiers, to reach the necessary standard of defensive measures.

The case of our Far Eastern frontiers is not less serious. Here we have to deal with a much older problem, and Japanese imperialism each year gives us new proofs of its intentions, which are far from being peaceful.

In today's *Pravda* are published extracts from an article by a Japanese economist, Sudzuki Mosaburo. This writer describes the development of the Japanese budget from 1931 to 1935, and we see that the expenditure on airplane construction has increased five times, and for the development of various kinds of artillery armaments—three times. The expenditure on field artillery has increased ten times, and so on.

This economist says that if the Japanese munition industry develops at such a rate, war will simply be inevitable. In today's *Pravda* is reproduced a summary of an article by a prominent official of the Japanese

Military Commissariat, Sigetomi. He says that the Japanese army must prepare itself for a prolonged war, and lays special stress on a suggestion that Japanese soldiers should be trained to eat the products of Mongolia and Siberia, because they are not accustomed to these products. Sigetomi quite openly speaks of an aggressive war and openly threatens the Soviet Union.

The development of aviation, artillery, and tanks is going on in Japan at a tremendous pace. Even more demonstrative are the preparations in regard to the railway transport in Manchuria. Anyone who would look at the map of Manchuria would see clearly that the railways are being built there not for economic purposes. The construction of railways has a purely strategical significance and tends to facilitate an attack on our Far Eastern provinces. In 1932 the Japanese constructed in Manchuria 280 kilometres of railroad, in 1933—500 kilometres, in 1934—900 kilometres and in 1935—1,200 kilometres. Over 1,000 kilometres of railroad are under construction.

The development of the Japanese navy is progressing very rapidly. During the last few years the Japanese have entirely renovated their navy. Their first programme, launched in 1930, is nearly completed, and they have already begun their second naval programme.

The conditions created on our eastern as well as on our western frontiers have demanded of us a most serious reconsideration of our defensive measures. We must be ready to face simultaneous, entirely independent attacks on both fronts, separated by a distance of some 10,000 kilometres. To this must be added the necessity of considerably increasing our military preparedness; we have had to reorganise our infantry and other army units on the basis of regular service; we have also had to increase the numerical strength of our armed forces—especially, in comparison with later years, on our western frontiers.

Up till 1935 the Red Army was composed mostly of territorial divisions. We had 74 per cent. of territorial divisions and only 26 per cent. of regular divisions. In order to enhance the fighting preparedness of the army, that is to say, to increase the preparedness for a general mobilisation, we have, on Comrade Stalin's initiative, reorganised our infantry units on another principle: 77 per cent. of regular divisions and only 23 per cent. of territorial divisions.

I must add that the complement of the regular divisions is approximately the same as in war time. This enormously strengthens the fighting capacity of our numerous infantry units, because it creates conditions in which the training can be done more thoroughly. I must state quite frankly that never before has the Red Army possessed such favourable conditions for improving its manœuvring and musketry capacities. At any moment, at the demand of the Government, we are able to put on our western and eastern frontiers a powerful, ever-ready armed force.

Apart from the reorganisation of our army, we have also strengthened

the defence of our frontiers by means of additional development of our mechanised and cavalry units. It is well known that mechanised and cavalry units are distinguished by special fighting preparedness and by their capacity for the most rapid and decisive manoeuvres. It is necessary to add that the location of the infantry, mechanised and cavalry units, from a defensive point of view, is now much more advantageous. We have increased our anti-aircraft defence. This, taken together with a powerful development of aviation, gives us exceptional possibilities of conducting military operations. You may rest assured that in case someone dares to infringe the integrity of our frontiers, the Red Army will reply with a crushing blow to all attempts to invade the Soviet territory.

During 1935 our aviation was developing rapidly. Quantitatively as well as qualitatively, training and auxiliary aviation have been increased, but an especially marked development has taken place in the fighting air-force. The air-force is undoubtedly the most powerful weapon of modern warfare, and all those who are thinking of the annexation of Soviet territories must carefully consider the power of our aviation. They must also consider the difference in distances in the respective countries. The distances of our Union create insuperable difficulties for attacking most of our industrial centres by an enemy air-force, while our possible adversaries have no such advantages.

The standard of training of our pilots is well known, and many foreign missions have had a chance of satisfying themselves in this respect during last year's manoeuvres. I want to add a few words on the parachute training of our army. Comrade Voroshilov has spoken about it in his speech at the first All-Union conference of the Stakhanov men, and he has given several instances to show how this particular branch of military operations is being developed. I have to add that many scores of thousands of Red Army soldiers now possess parachute badges. Apart from that, the Osoaviokhum has arranged over 16,000 jumps from airplanes, and over 800,000 jumps from parachute stands.

We are creating a powerful navy. First of all, we have concentrated our efforts on the development of the submarine navy; but in future, together with the construction of submarines, we shall constantly increase our surface navy. Our navy must be strong, powerful and on a level with other branches of our armed forces. The shore defences have been considerably strengthened in respect of guns. Hydro-aviation, which plays a very important part in modern naval warfare, has been augmented by new planes of the latest design and numerically increased several times over. Vast work is being done for the improvement and enlargement of the shore bases of the navy and of the aerodromes. New constructions are being contemplated. It must be understood that, while developing our navy, we are carrying out all the necessary conclusions as to the defence of our shores in the East as well as in the West.

All these defensive measures have led to an inevitable increase of

the numerical strength of the armed forces. In 1936 the numerical strength of the Red Army, including all services, will be 1,300,000.

While following Comrade Stalin's instructions as to the training of highly qualified specialists, the People's Commissariat for Defence and, first of all, Comrade Voroshilov are paying a good deal of attention to the creation of cadres highly specialised in military technique. The introduction by the Government of military ranks will give a firm basis for the formation of officers and technicians in the army. The increase in the numerical strength of our armed forces has led to a considerable increase in the number of military schools and the number of students therein. The military schools are specialised in full conformity with the vast and up-to-date technique of the Red Army. The number of aviation, tank, artillery, infantry, cavalry, engineering, liaison and other schools, is growing, and special attention is being paid to the improvement of their equipment and to their supply with laboratories, appliances, etc. The existing naval training schools have also been considerably increased in the number of students and in their equipment.

The training of specialists in reserve, in all branches of military science, is rapidly making way. This training has to do not only with the middle ranks of the army, but also with the non-commissioned officers and rank-and-file specialists. The Red Army has 13 military academies of various specialities and 6 military colleges attached to the universities. In the military academies alone the number of students is over 16,000. The course of training in technical academies has been raised from 4 to 5 years, in order to achieve a fuller training.

The network of aerodromes, training grounds, rifle ranges, etc., for facilitating tactical and firing efficiency, is being considerably increased.

A considerable part of the expenditure is demanded for the improvement of cultural and social conditions of the Red Army. The general rising of the cultural standard and the improvement of general conditions in the country must, of course, first of all affect the improvement of life in the Red Army. It must be said that the Tsarist barracks which we have inherited are very obsolete. We have to spend large sums to ensure proper water supply, heating, lighting, etc. We are building new barracks and military settlements equipped with clubs, libraries, dining rooms, etc. Today we have about 1,000 clubs in various army units. We have a large number of Red Army homes, and are building 26 new homes. Several Red Army theatres are under construction. We have in the Red Army over 2,000 libraries, which possess over 12 million books, not counting several scores of thousands of pamphlets. All this has cost a good deal of money. I must add that, in order to improve the housing conditions of the officers, we are going to build a large number of houses, which will contain over 47,000 rooms. The pay of the personnel of the Red Army has been increased. The wages bill of the Army for 1936 will be increased by 57 per cent.

Comrades, we are now obtaining men of better education in the Army than before. But we are not satisfied with the standard of culture of the recruits. We require a much higher standard, and we think that the quality of recruits as to literacy and culture will gradually improve. But even today the young men whom we get in the army are more educated; they have among them many Stakhanov men, and they make our commanders, our political instructors, our party organisations take their duties more seriously, more attentively, and strive to improve the standard of their military preparedness. Undoubtedly the young men entering service in the army are increasing their capacities of organisation and improving their discipline, which, as everybody knows, rests on the development of conscientious but strict and organised effort. These young men will leave the army with a good sense of discipline, and will bring their knowledge and habits acquired in the army to the factories.

But I must say that we in the army do not like to boast of our achievements, and we are never satisfied with these achievements. Thanks to this, we are improving our work every year. Noticing our shortcomings, we fight them, and are organising our work in such a way as to ensure progress. This self-criticism is a sure guarantee that the fighting readiness of the Red Army will be at such a high level as cannot be attained in any other country of the world.

I trust, comrades, that the present Session will pass the army estimate submitted to you by Comrade Grinko, and the Red Army, every member of its personnel, all its party and non-party Bolsheviks, will make every endeavour with enthusiasm, in order to master the complicated art of modern battle and military operations. They will deal a crushing blow, under the command of our marshal, Comrade Voroshilov, and under the direction of the Party and of our leader, Comrade Stalin, to all those enemies who dare to attack our frontiers.

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## SOVIET LEGISLATION (XV)

*(Selection of Decrees and Documents)*

*Decree of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks).*

**On the Organisation of Instruction and Internal Order in the Elementary, Secondary and Higher Schools.**

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), in a number of their decrees on school education, have ordered the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction to establish a unified organisational

structure of schools, to strengthen order and discipline among students, to organise properly the whole system of technique and to ensure a concrete, actual and differentiated management of each separate school.

The People's Commissariat for Public Instruction of the RSFSR and also the Commissariats of other republics, up till the present, have carried out these most important instructions of the Party and of the Government unsatisfactorily. The three types of schools (elementary, secondary and higher) established by the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and by the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) are superseded, in a number of cases, by "grades" and "concentrated" schools. The curricula are changed annually, so that the stability and system of school teaching are upset and infringed. All this results in the disorganisation of teaching, interferes with teachers, and, owing to all this, the standard of knowledge acquired by the pupils still remains on an unsatisfactory level, and pupils who have passed through secondary or higher schools display insufficient preparation for receiving (further) training in universities and technical colleges.

The time-table is overcrowded (6 or 7 lessons a day), and on some days of the school week the pupils are required to do very difficult work.

The system of estimating the progress of the pupils in acquiring the knowledge required by the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction fails to give an idea of the actual amount of knowledge acquired by them, and very often actually tends to lower the standard of teaching.

The People's Commissariats for Public Instruction have not issued, up till now, regulations on the behaviour of pupils in school and outside it; they have not drawn up standard school regulations to define the rigid internal order in schools and be a guide to the school administration, teachers, school organisations and pupils.

The admission of children into the schools is organised unsatisfactorily, as well as the transfer of pupils to upper forms and their passing out of the school. The rules set up by the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction on admission into schools, which involve the presentation of numerous documents, are creating unnecessary difficulties for the admission of children into schools. "Individual questionnaires," which enumerate in advance the questions which the pupils will have to answer at the examination, tend to lower the importance of the examination and do not give a right idea of the real standard of knowledge acquired by the pupils.

The People's Commissariats for Public Instruction and their local departments and also the directors (headmasters) of the schools have failed to devise measures for introducing tidiness and external order in the schools, which is one of the principal means of ingraining cultural habits in the children.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) state that the above shortcomings in the educational work of the schools testify to the

fact that the Commissariats for Public Instruction do not fully realise the necessity of properly organising and strengthening the schools; this attitude is the consequence of the stupid anti-leninist theory of the inevitable "gradual dying out of the school," still cherished by a considerable number of educational workers.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) decree :

*I. On the Organisation of the School Curriculum and of the Regime in the Schools—*

(1) To fix in all schools of the USSR the beginning of the academic year from 1 September and the end, for the first three forms—on 1 June, for the forms 4-7—on 10 June, for the forms 8-10—on 20 June; winter vacations—from 30 December till 10 January; spring vacations—of six days' duration.

(2) To fix as from the academic year 1935-1936 the following number of daily class lessons : in the first four forms 4 lessons a day (it is permitted to have in the 4th form five lessons a day twice a week), in forms 5-10, 5 lessons a day (and 6 lessons a day twice a week). The additional lessons are to be only in handicraft, singing, drawing and physical culture. In the allied republics (except in the RSFSR) and in the autonomous republics and also in the non-Russian schools of the RSFSR to permit, beginning with the 5th form, one additional sixth lesson a week for additional study of the Russian language and literature. To instruct the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction of the allied republics, in agreement with the Schools Department of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki), to approve uniform curricula for all schools of the USSR. To fix the duration of a lesson in the town and village schools at 45 minutes. To fix the duration of intervals : first, third and fourth—10 minutes, second—30 minutes; on special occasions the duration of the second and third intervals can be 20 minutes each.

(3) To establish the following order of admission of pupils; applications in respect of the admission of children in schools are to be received between 1 June and 1 August, and the actual admission is to be decided between 10 and 25 August. To instruct the directors (headmasters) of schools to make sure of an attentive and sympathetic attitude towards parents and children, to receive the documents from the parents in person, to ascertain, by means of informal talk with the children seeking admission, all the necessary data about them (standard of intelligence, state of health, etc.). To forbid any demand from the parents to present any other documents and certificates apart from those enumerated by law (application for admission to the school, document certifying the age of the child and medical certificate as to vaccination). The People's Commissariats for Public Instruction and their local departments are to prosecute, in conformity with the law on general and compulsory education, parents or persons responsible for the education of children, for sending the children late to school without sufficient

reasons. Admission of children to the school after the beginning of the academic year is to be permitted only in exceptional circumstances (transfer of parents from one town to another by the Government).

(4) The eight forms of higher schools are, as a rule, to be brought up to the number of pupils of these schools who have completed the seventh form; up to 15 per cent. of vacancies in the eighth form should be left for the pupils of secondary schools.

(5) Pupils transferred from one school to another should be admitted into the corresponding form without examination. The director (head-master) of the school shall be entitled to transfer such a pupil to a lower form should it become evident, within one month after his admission, that the pupil's standard of knowledge does not correspond to the demands of the curriculum of the higher form.

(6) To put an end to the existing anomalous practice of "individual questionnaires," under which system the teacher draws up in advance the questions for each separate pupil, thus preparing him for the answers to these questions. To ensure proper tests of the standard of knowledge attained by the pupils at the final and annual examinations within the scope of the whole of the corresponding curriculum. The theses of final examination papers in the native language and mathematics in the higher schools are to be prepared by provincial or area (in large towns by the urban) departments of Public Instruction and to be sent to the school directors in due time. The directors hand over the theses to the teachers on the day fixed for examination.

(7) Pupils who finish the higher school successfully are to be given corresponding certificates in which the marks for all the subjects studied should be entered. Pupils transferred to the upper forms are to be given corresponding certificates where the marks for attainment and behaviour should be stated. Pupils who have passed the final and annual examination with special credit are to be rewarded with certificates. Pupils who pass out of the higher schools and receive a certificate with the mark "excellent" for each main subject, and for other subjects (drawing, singing, music, physical culture) not less than "good," are to be entitled to enter the universities and technical colleges without entrance examinations; this should be specially mentioned in the certificate. The Schools Department of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, in collaboration with the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction, are to prepare and present for the approval of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR a model uniform certificate for the whole of the USSR both of final and annual certificates (in the various national languages).

(8) To establish in the schools the following five grades of estimates of the attainments of pupils (marks): (1) "Very poor," (2) "Poor," (3) "Mediocre," (4) "Good," (5) "Excellent." To instruct the Schools Department of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), together with the People's Commissariats of the allied republics, to prepare standards of estimate, obligatory for all the schools



of the USSR, of the attainments of the pupils, so that a similar standard of knowledge attained is to be similarly estimated in all schools.

(9) To establish that the right of expelling students from the schools for special offences should belong to the district or town departments of Public Instruction, upon reasoned reports of the directors (headmasters). The re-admission of expelled students into the school is to be made in the usual manner.

(10) To instruct the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction of the allied republics to organise in large towns, in the first instance in Moscow, Leningrad, Harkov and Kiev, during the academic year 1935-1936, special schools for defective children and for those pupils who systematically infringe school discipline, disorganise school work and, owing to their anti-social behaviour, exercise a bad influence over other fellow-students; a special régime should be introduced in these schools.

(11) To permit special examinations for the 7th and 10th forms for persons who do not attend schools but who want to obtain certificates for having passed out of secondary or higher schools (external students). The People's Commissariats for Public Instruction of the allied republics are to draft regulations concerning the external students.

## *II. On the School Regulations and on the Rules of Behaviour for pupils—*

(1) To instruct the Commission composed of comrades Volin (chairman), Bubnov, Zatonsky and Chernushevich, assisted by practical workers in schools, to prepare and present for approval of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR not later than 1 January, 1936, a draft of the school regulations for each type of school. The regulations should be absolutely binding for the pupils as well as for the teachers. The regulations should form a basic document which is to define the aims and the tasks of the school of each type, the organisational structure of the school, rights and duties of the members of the school administration, teachers and school organisations, and also to firmly establish the school régime and the rules for internal order and rules of behaviour of pupils in the school and outside it.

(2) The basis of the rules on the pupils' behaviour should be: strict and conscientious observance of discipline, a polite attitude towards teachers, school-fellows and their elders, enforcement of cultural habits, a careful attitude towards school and public property, and also measures for decisively combating acts of hooliganism and anti-social offences among the children. The People's Commissariats for Public Instruction of the allied and autonomous republics are instructed to establish and introduce in all schools a uniform type of school book (in the native language) containing the basic rules on behaviour of pupils. The directors (headmasters) are to keep a personal file for each individual pupil from the moment of admission to the school till the pupil leaves it.

(3) To introduce uniforms for the students of the elementary, secondary and higher schools, as from 1936, and in the first instance in the schools of Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Harkov and Minsk.

The Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR and the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviki) instruct the People's Commissariats for Public Instruction and their local departments, as their primary task, to exercise an inspection and organisation of systematic control over the condition and work of the schools, and to control the actual fulfilment of the resolutions passed by the Party and the Government in respect of the schools.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,  
V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist  
Party (Bolsheviki), I. STALIN.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 4 September, 1935, No. 207-5760.)

*Decree of the Central Executive Committee and of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR.*

### **On Admission to the Universities and Technical Colleges.**

According to the existing regulations, persons deprived of voting rights and the children of non-workers are not admitted to the universities and technical colleges.

Whereas at the present time this restriction is not dictated by circumstances, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR decree :—

(1) To abolish all restrictions in respect to the admission for entrance examination to universities and technical colleges established for persons whose parents are deprived of certain rights or who, owing to their social origin, were previously denied admission.

(2) To admit in universities and technical colleges subordinated to the People's Commissariats of the USSR or to the People's Commissariats of the allied republics or to any other establishments and organisations, all citizens of both sexes who pass the entrance examinations established for these educational establishments.

(3) To instruct the All-Union Committee of Higher Technical Education, the People's Commissariats and other institutions to amend, in conformity with the present decree, the rules of admission to educational establishments and technical colleges.

President of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,  
M. KALININ.

Chairman of the Council of People's Commissaries of the USSR,  
V. MOLOTOV.

Secretary of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR,  
I. AKULOV.

Kremlin, Moscow. 29 December, 1935.

(Published in *Izvestia*, 30 December, 1935, No. 303-5856.)

# CHRONICLE

RUSSIA. (UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.)

## FOREIGN RELATIONS.

### *Franco-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance.*

THE Pact of Mutual Assistance between the USSR and France signed on 2 May last was approved by the French Chamber of Deputies on 27 February by a substantial majority. By Article I of the Pact, the USSR and France agreed that in the event of either of them being threatened with an attack by a European Power, they would consult immediately for enforcing Article 10 of the League Covenant. Should the League Council not reach unanimity and the aggression be unprovoked, the signatories should at once come to each other's assistance (Art. II). Art. III reiterated the obligation of assistance under Art. 16 of the Covenant. Art. IV stated that nothing in the Pact should be interpreted as restricting the duty of either party as members of the League. Art. V fixed the term of the Pact for five years after ratification, to be prolonged indefinitely unless denounced by either party at a year's notice. A Protocol was attached to the Pact. It provided that the Pact should remain open to Germany or any other country to join at will and thus consolidate security in eastern and north-eastern Europe, and that it was not to conflict with Locarno. To a casual observer, however, it would seem that if it did not do so by the letter, its spirit manifested a plain desire for the encirclement of Germany. As such it was received by the latter country, and relations between the Soviet Union and Germany have steadily deteriorated. In his survey of the USSR's foreign relations during the session of the Central Executive Committee in January, M. Molotov spoke with vehemence of Germany's "huge military preparations," which were a direct menace to the Soviets. Germany was rapidly becoming a vast armed camp and was trying to draw Poland into its anti-Soviet policy. Rumours, which he considered to be correct, were also current of a military agreement between Germany and Japan. On the other hand, the German government had made advances to Moscow for opening new and larger credits to the Soviet, as last year's credit of 200 million R.M. was exhausted.

The attitude of the USSR towards the Italo-Abyssinian war remained one of firm and unequivocal support and extension of effective sanctions.

### *Conflict with Uruguay.*

On 27 December the Uruguayan government broke off diplomatic relations with the Soviet government on the charge of evidence having been obtained that the Soviet legation in Montevideo was financing and conniving at subversive and revolutionary activities of the Comintern

in Latin America, such as the recent outbreak in Brazil, and preparations for similar outbreaks in Argentina and Uruguay. The Soviet Minister in Montevideo protested against the charge and repeated his government's customary declarations that the Comintern is completely independent of the Soviet government's control. The protest was not accepted, and M. Minkin and his staff were handed their passports.

M. Litvinov sent a protest against the action of the Uruguayan Government to the League of Nations, and the matter was referred to the League Council in January. After a long indecisive debate, the Council, taking no action, expressed the hope that the two governments would see a way to reconcile their differences and renew diplomatic relations at the earliest opportunity.

### *The Far East.*

The situation in the Far East was becoming steadily worse. Frontier skirmishes, both on the Soviet-Manchukuo and on the Mongolian border increased in number and gravity. Conditions became particularly aggravated after a whole company of Manchukuo soldiers, together with their officers, deserted into Soviet territory where, as officially stated, they were interned and disarmed. Next day, 30 December, detachments crossed the frontier and attacked Soviet guards. A fight ensued in which over 200 men took part, with casualties on both sides. The invaders retreated, leaving on the field ammunition and other materials of Japanese manufacture. Next day, two Japanese-Manchukuo companies occupied positions along the frontier and sent scouts across. These were fired on and withdrew, leaving one killed. An official statement of the incident was published by the G.H.Q. of the Soviet Far Eastern Army, to which a rider was added that the G.H.Q. would welcome the sending of a commission with neutral representatives to investigate the recent frontier occurrences. M. Stomonyakov, deputy commissary of Foreign Affairs, made a strongly-worded protest to M. Ota, the Japanese Ambassador in Moscow, against this violation of the frontier and demanded apologies and compensations. The Japanese version, as usual, differed from the Russian and asserted that the attack had been from the Russian side and with the participation of the Manchukuo deserters under Soviet command. In a second interview with M. Ota, who brought the Japanese reply to the protest of 30 December, M. Stomonyakov indignantly repudiated the Japanese version, which he said was deliberately falsified by the Japanese authorities in Manchuria in order to mislead public opinion in Japan. The Soviet government therefore renewed its protest and demands. M. Stomonyakov expressed his government's satisfaction that at last the Japanese government saw fit to accept Moscow's proposal to establish a mixed commission of inquiry into frontier incidents. On the border between Manchukuo and Outer Mongolia, which virtually stands in the same relation to the USSR as Manchukuo to Japan, the

frontier clashes have greatly increased, and the invasion of Mongolia by lorries full of Manchukuo-Japanese soldiers is a frequent occurrence, in spite of the protests of the Ulan-Bator government. The Prime Minister of the "Mongolian People's Republic," accompanied by the Minister of War, the head of the Foreign department and the secretary of the Council of Ministers paid an official visit to Moscow in December.

*M. Stalin's Interview with Mr. Roy Howard.*

On 1 March M. Stalin received Mr. Roy Howard, chairman of the American press syndicate "Scripps-Howard Newspapers."

Asked by Mr. Howard to give his opinion on the position in the Far East, and the consequences of the latest events in Japan, M. Stalin said it was difficult to formulate an opinion, as the situation was not sufficiently clear. What would be the attitude of the USSR if Japan attacked the Mongolian People's Republic? "The USSR would come to the assistance of its ally as it did in 1921." Would a Japanese attempt to seize Ulan-Bator then lead to action by the USSR? "It would." Mr. Howard then mentioned the USSR's apprehensions that Germany and Poland were preparing co-operation with aggressive designs against the Soviet Union, and asked from what quarter the Soviet Union visualised a German attack, in view of Poland's statement that it did not wish to permit its territory to be used as a base for operations against a third party. "History shows that when a Power wants to fight with another Power without a common frontier, such a frontier may always be found by the aggressor. The same would probably happen if Germany were to wish it." When do you expect a war to break out? "This cannot be foretold. Wars nowadays are not declared, they simply start. On the other hand, I consider that the position of the friends of peace is becoming stronger. Friends of peace can work openly; they rely on the power of public opinion and have at their disposal such instruments as the League of Nations. That is their advantage. Their strength lies in that their anti-war activity is supported by the will of the masses. Nowhere in the world is there a people which wants war. As to the enemies of peace, they are obliged to work in secret. Therein is their disadvantage. On the other hand, just because of this, they might suddenly decide on a military adventure. One of the most recent successes in the cause of peace is the ratification by the French Chamber of Deputies of the Franco-Soviet Pact of Mutual Assistance. This Pact does create a certain barrier for the enemies of peace." Which is the more immediate danger zone, East or West? "There are two danger centres. One in the Far East in the Japanese zone, as revealed by the various declarations and threats to other countries made by the Japanese military. The second centre is in the German zone. Which of them is the most menacing, it is hard to say. Compared to these two, the Italo-Abyssinian war is a mere episode.

Herr Hitler's interview with a French correspondent seems to indicate the possibility of the centre of danger shifting to Europe. Hitler appears to say peaceful things, but his 'love for peace' is so thickly interspersed with threats against France and the Soviet Union that nothing remains of it. You see, even when Hitler wants to speak of peace, he cannot abstain from threats. That is symptomatic." What is the fundamental cause of the present war menace? "Capitalism. In its imperialistic predatory manifestations . . . Capitalism, in its imperialistic phase, is a system which considers war a lawful method of solving international differences, a lawful method if not juridically, at least in substance." Don't you think that in capitalist countries, too, grounds may exist for apprehension that the USSR might decide to foist its political theories on other peoples by force? "There is no foundation for such apprehension. If you think that the Soviet people themselves wish to change the face of the surrounding states, especially by force, you are badly mistaken. Soviet people, of course, want to see the face of surrounding states changed; but that is the affair of those states themselves. I don't see what danger from the Soviet people's ideas the surrounding states can apprehend, if they themselves are firmly fixed in the saddle." Does this mean that the Soviet Union has in any way abandoned its plans and intentions to produce a world revolution? "We never had such plans and intentions." It seems to me that for a long time the impression throughout the world has been quite the contrary? "That is a result of misunderstanding." A tragic misunderstanding? "No, comic. Or, perhaps, rather tragicomic. We Marxists think that revolution will take place in other countries. But it will take place only when the revolutionaries of those countries find it possible or necessary. Export of revolution is nonsense. Each country, if it so wishes, will make its own revolution, and if it does not wish it, there will be no revolution. . . . But to assert that we want to make a revolution in other countries by interfering with their life is to say what does not exist and what we have never preached." Mr. Howard here spoke of the letters exchanged between President Roosevelt and M. Litvinov on the subject of abstaining from propaganda, and asked M. Stalin to explain why M. Litvinov signed this document if the fulfilment of the obligations stated therein was incompatible with the desires of the Soviet Union or beyond its powers. "The fulfilment of the obligations on the point mentioned is within our power; we fulfil these obligations and shall continue to do so." M. Stalin here spoke about the "right of refuge" existing in both countries, by which "White Russians" find hospitality in America and are even permitted to intrigue against the Soviet Union about the Communist party in America, etc.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These passages are taken from *Izvestia*, 5 March, 1936. The whole interview is available in English in the *Moscow Daily News*, 5 March.

## INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

*Meeting of the Central Executive Committee (Tsik).*

As a preliminary to the session of the Central Executive Committee, numerous conferences were held in Moscow with representatives of "eminent persons" (*znatnye lyudi*) of various professions. At an agricultural conference M. Stalin stated that the gross grain crop for 1935 amounted to 902 million centners. How much of this has actually been stored, has not been published. The normal losses are usually estimated at 10 per cent., but are probably greater, as M. Stalin admitted that where ordinary machinery was used, they reached 20-25 per cent. A special conference was also summoned to devise means of improving the work of the collective farms in other than Black Soil territories of European Russia, including the White Russian Republic. In spite of several favourable years and capital invested, the yield per hectare continues low, losses "enormous," the number of horses was falling and administrative abuses were rife. Incidentally these territories are precisely one of those where the pre-war agrarian small-holding reform took most root, and apparently even under the collective system peasants persist in farming individually. On the whole, as stated at the session of the Tsik (Central Executive Committee), both agriculture and stock breeding showed considerable progress.

The Central Executive Committee met in the Kremlin on 10 January. The main points on the agenda were: a political and economic report on the past year, the national economy plan for 1936, and the Budget. M. Molotov, President of the Council of People's Commissaries, gave a survey of the USSR's foreign relations during 1935, which showed no outstanding changes from a year ago. His reference to Germany was quoted elsewhere. Japan was another danger-point, and relations with her remained strained. The increasing frequency of invasions of Soviet territory by Japanese-Manchukuo armed bands necessitated unceasing vigilance on the Far-Eastern frontiers and a strengthening of the Red Army, with a substantial rise in the army estimates.

*The National Economy.*

The industrial output for 1935 had exceeded the Plan in practically all branches of industry except oil and coal. The increase over 1934 had been fixed at 16 per cent. and was actually over 20 per cent. Timber and light industries had achieved this for the first time, but as regards quality in the latter, the improvement, if any, was insignificant. In the heavy metal industry the discrepancy between the output of pig-iron, steel and rolled metal has been levelled. A special report was presented by the Commissary of Food industry, according to which "the food supply problem had been solved," thanks to the great progress achieved. Although the plan for 1935 was exceeded by 11.5 per cent., nevertheless, the actual additional supplies, if divided per head of the entire population

work out at slightly over 1 lb. of meat, 2 lb. of fish, 6 lb. sugar, somewhat less than 1 lb. of vegetable oil and less than one tin of tinned foods for the year. The total quantity of meat provided through the commissariat works out at about 8 lb. per head of the entire population. It is actually more, as one must deduct infants.

The Plan for 1936 provides for capital construction to the sum of 32,300 million roubles.<sup>2</sup> For the first time since the start of the Five Years Plans, investment in the production of capital goods is lower than for that of consumers' goods; investments in light industries have been doubled compared with 1935, and the increase in output is fixed at 29 per cent. The average increase for capital goods is fixed at 22.6 per cent. and for consumers' goods at 23.7 per cent. The average rise in wages is fixed at 10.2 per cent. and in productivity of labour at 20 per cent., and the reduction in the cost of production at 6.2 per cent.

Great hopes of intensive industrial progress are founded on the "Stakhanov movement" (so-called after the young worker who started it) for a more rational, scientific and efficient handling of modern machinery and methods. The movement is encouraged by progressive piece-work wages. The plans for substantially raising the productivity of labour in the new year are based on this movement and on the very important measure of the stabilisation of the rouble.

#### *Financial Reform.*

The most important step in 1935 was the consolidation of the currency through the abolition of rationing, introduction of uniform prices and stabilisation of the rouble at a uniform value for all categories of the population, thus making money earnings the sole stimulus to the worker. "Without the development of a monetary economy and the resulting increased importance of wages, particularly progressive piece-work wages," said M. Molotov, "the movement for increased output would never have spread to such an extent." And M. Grinko, Commissary of Finance, stated that "money wages have become the sole method for stimulating production, signifying a further widening of the sphere of monetary economy and the importance of money."

#### *Transport.*

Since the appointment of M. Kaganovich as Commissary of Transport, a marked progress has been maintained in the working of the railway system, and for the first time the programme has been exceeded both for construction of rolling-stock and actual traffic turnover. Extensive railway building is taking place in Siberia and the Far East, whither M. Kaganovich lately made a tour of inspection. Labour is largely drawn from the concentration camps which include women.

<sup>2</sup> All currency figures are in terms of the standard of 1926-27, but its relation to the new (1936) stabilised rouble is not indicated.



*The Budget.*

The All-Union State Budget for 1936 was passed as follows :—

Revenue	...	...	..	78,715,028,000 roubles
Expenditure	...	...	..	78,715,028,000 roubles

This shows an increase of 21·5 per cent. for revenue and 22 per cent. for expenditure. Principal revenue items are : profits, taxes and loans raised from socialised national economy, 71,118·8 mil.r.; state loans subscribed by the population, 3,950 mil.r.; agricultural and other taxes on the population, 2,130 mil.r. The increased revenue is to be drawn from the expanding socialised national economy, while direct taxes and loans from the population remain practically stationary. The main items of expenditure are state industries, 14,076 mil.r.; agriculture (including state farms), 7,700·6 mil.r.; transport (all branches), 7,907 mil.r.; public health, education and social services, 6,509 mil.r.; Commissariat and Internal Affairs (with the Department of State Security), 2,110·9 mil.r., national defence, 14,815·5 mil.r. (compared with 6,500 mil.r., estimate, and 8,200 mil.r., actual expenditure, in 1935).

*The Red Army.*

The rank of " Marshal of the Soviet Union " has been conferred on the Commissary of War and Marine, C. E. Voroshilov; his deputy, M. N. Tukhachevsky; the Chief of the General Staff, A. R. Egorov; the Inspector of Cavalry, S. I. Budenny; and the Commander of the Far Eastern Army, V. K. Blucher.

Speaking before the Central Executive Committee, Marshal Tukhachevsky reminded the members of Germany's huge military preparations and of the strained situation in the Far East. All this has necessitated the strengthening of the Union's armed forces. During the past year the peace strength of the Red Army has been brought up to 1,300,000 men, and the proportion of territorial and regular units has been reversed, so that now 77 per cent. are regular divisions, nearly at war strength. The development of the Air Force and mechanised units is being continued, and a naval programme is also in execution. The defence estimates were the minimum necessary to cover requirements.<sup>3</sup>

*Death of Professor Pavlov.*

Professor Ivan Petrovich Pavlov, the great Russian physiologist, died in Leningrad on 27 February, aged 86.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> This speech is printed on page 694.—ED.

<sup>4</sup> We hope to print an article on the work of this great scholar in a later number.—ED

## REVIEWS

*Healing Ritual.* Studies in the Technique and Tradition of the Southern Slavs. By P. Kemp. With twenty-five pages of illustrations. London (Faber and Faber, Ltd.) Pp. xiv + 335. 2rs. net.

UP to a very short time ago the Balkan peninsula was a happy hunting-ground for the student in Folk Lore and popular psychology. The people were left, as it were, to their own imagination to follow up old traditions and practices and to cherish as many beliefs as they liked upon all questions of life and death. They practised ceremonies of their own, had their own pharmacopœia; they gathered from the flowers of the field and from the leaves of the trees many means for healing their ills, and wise men and wizards were there, able to tell them about it. Things are changing now very rapidly—so rapidly, indeed, that from a primitive stage they are jumping at once to the latest form of the modern life of the west of Europe. It is a hot wind of so-called civilisation which blows from the West and withers all the flowers. Whether it will bring a new seed with it, is very doubtful.

Anyhow, Miss Kemp has, just in the nick of time, gone thither. She was lucky enough still to find some of the old life not yet uprooted. Her knowledge of the language, her sympathetic understanding of the ways of the people won for her that confidence so indispensable for anyone who endeavours to reach the back of the popular mind. She has also fully equipped herself for the task by being a student of Folk Lore. She also knew that her search would be fruitful if she limited herself to a definite line of investigation, and she has chosen one such subject which is almost the pivot of popular lore. Nothing touches men more deeply than the problem of life and death and the question of after death, the cause of illness and the way to get rid of it, the various means to be employed for the purpose, among others also spells and charms. The task was unquestionably a very complicated one. Nowhere can one find such a multiplicity of traditions, so many layers of practices and ceremonies superimposed upon each other and yet influencing one another.

In the problems dealt with in this compact and weighty book the people do not differentiate between old and new, between faith and race. They will take and assimilate everything, indifferent to the source from which it may come, so long as it can prove effective. Nowhere syncretism flourishes more fully than in the remedies to be applied when the question of health arises. Miss Kemp has endeavoured to sift the manifold traditions, and, scholar as she is, has avoided entering upon the almost insuperable task of tracing every remedy and every superstition to its remotest source. More than one volume would have been required if she had endeavoured to solve even a fraction of the vast problem which presented itself to her. But she has entered into the very soul of the people and is able to realise the spiritual forces, especially magic, which

are working among them. The whole domain of healing ritual, of whatever nature it may be, is treated by Miss Kemp in a most skilful manner in seven chapters. Very remarkable are the popular conceptions about the soul. Every part of the human body, every limb seems to have a soul of its own. The conceptions about the soul after death differ considerably from those religious conceptions which have been defined by the dogmas of the Church. That the Church exercised a deep influence cannot be denied, but all ceremonies are turned almost into magical performances.

After thus dealing in the first chapter with the fundamental principles of Folk Psychology, Miss Kemp proceeds in the next to discuss the Ritual of Healing, i.e. the ceremonies observed in order to obtain healing from sickness. The list of ways in which that ritual can be performed, given on page 75 *ff.*, is quite amazing, nor does she stop merely at a list—in the text itself she offers many examples of the practical performances of this ritual, without attempting to treat it exhaustively.

Extremely interesting is the following chapter in which one can see more fully the way in which Christianity becomes mixed up with popular traditions and practices. Much of ancient magic runs through it all; only small traces are left of definite dogmatic teachings. The people merely substitute one practice for another, without fully realising the difference between past and present. This chapter gains an importance which goes far beyond the mere problem of healing, by giving a full description of the Bogomil influences in the peninsula. Even now all the investigations concerning the extraordinary Manechean dualism and its spread from East to West has not yet been completely exhaustive, and every contribution to its elucidation, such as that which is given here, is highly welcome.

In the chapter on sources of ancient magic, Miss Kemp has been able to show the profound influence of literary medical sources, mainly of Greek origin. It shows, again, how written literature influences practices which seem to have been preserved only by oral tradition. At the end of the 18th century, however, German influence begins to be paramount.

Then a whole list of the magical uses of plants, minerals, etc., is given. Of course, it is impossible to disentangle the old from the new; Miss Kemp is quite aware of that.

In the next chapter we get examples of the local doctor who is rather a peasant healer using herbs and plants or following old traditions—the barber, whose activity is often not far removed from magical performances—wise men and women, etc.

Popular therapy, dealt with in the next chapter, shows its experimental character and depends chiefly on the visual discrimination of diseases. A whole list of medical prescriptions is given for the treatment of various diseases, such as fever, skin diseases, boils, tumours and swellings, and a host of others. A whole pharmacopœia is found here, and this part is almost a textbook of practical medicine. The book finishes by summing up all the fundamental principles, psychological, scientific,

traditional, technical, etc., which have guided the author in the compilation of this work. Many problems are here raised for the folklorist and for the future investigator of popular lore. They are envisaged here from a novel point of view, and thus complete a work of outstanding merit in every direction. The author has been able to pack into these five hundred odd pages almost an encyclopædia of popular medicine, and page after page is replete with suggestions for future workers, together with deep reflections on the ritual of healing among the South Slavonic nations. Nor has Miss Kemp neglected to utilise all the printed material which scholars, chiefly Serbian, have been able to collect. From time to time she glances across the Danube at the Russians and other Slav nations. She also refers, wherever required, to the medieval literature. Miss Kemp is to be congratulated on her admirable achievement. Her book will remain for a long time the standard work on the subject.

A work of thanks must be added to the School of Slavonic and East European Studies for the assistance which it has rendered in the publication of this book.

M. GASTER.

*England and the Near East: The Crimea.* By Harold Temperley.  
(Longmans.) 25s. net.

WE have had to wait for eighty years for a really authoritative book upon the origins of the Crimean War, and what Professor Temperley has given us is something much more than a mere diplomatic study. The Eastern question cannot be understood unless it be simultaneously treated from three quite distinct angles—from that of the conquering Turk, of the long-submerged but reviving Christians, and of the Great Powers with their conflicting interests and ambitions. It goes without saying that Professor Temperley takes full account of this axiom. His book contains a very vivid picture of the old, decaying Turkey of Mahmud II, and the blend of savagery and patriotic fervour which characterised his first reforms, and again a no less vivid picture of conditions in some of the outlying provinces of the Ottoman Empire in the first half of last century. The struggle between Constantinople and the great Viceroy of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, inevitably fills the foreground, but even more enlightening are the descriptions of the Lebanon revolt of 1841 and the chronic troubles in Bosnia from 1821 to 1853. The relations of Sultan and Pasha are tersely compared to those of "two robber barons with castles on opposite banks of a stream, in the Middle Ages. . . . Sooner or later one man would bite his thumb at the other, and a collision would ensue." This exactly hits off the position in Syria, both at the beginning and at the end of the thirties. The mentality of the haiduk or "broken men" of the Herzegovinian and Montenegrin border is illustrated by apt quotations from Serbo-Croat national poetry, which the author has long since known at first hand in frequent Balkan journeys; Čengić Aga and Omer Pasha are alive in his pages.

He gives us a very full account of the duel between Palmerston and Mehemet Ali, hitherto mainly known through such learned monographs as those of Herr Hasenclever, M. de Guichen and Professor Rodkey, which, of course, can only appeal to a limited public. The present volume draws from quite a number of hitherto untapped sources, French, British and Austrian; the Dutch archives have been used for the first time with considerable effect, and there is a large mass of new material from the private papers of Clarendon, Russell, Granville, Stratford and others. Yet with all its learning the book is eminently readable, and references are not intruded upon the reader, but marshalled at the end.

Not the least interesting section is that which summarises Palmerston's Near Eastern policy and his search for new routes to India and their proper control. Till the end of his life he was curiously blind to the possibilities of Suez as compared with the land routes from the Syrian coast. His main aim, it is convincingly argued, was to keep Egypt and Russia apart, on the ground that it was easier for Britain to fight the Pasha than the Tsar. The flatfootedness of Palmerston's original warning to the Pasha in 1838 is brought out more clearly than ever before. It is shown that Mehemet Ali's designs on Baghdad and Diarbekr were specially suspect to Palmerston, but perhaps not enough is made of the Pasha's desire to be on terms with England, rather than be a mere instrument of France (a fact which Professor Dodwell brought out very clearly in his life of Mehemet Ali, on the basis of our consular reports from Egypt). Full emphasis is laid on such essential factors as Mehemet Ali's blindness to the value of sea-power (alike in 1827 and 1840); on Lord Ponsonby's rôle as "the real difficulty in reconciling Egypt with Turkey"; on Palmerston's use of the Blue Book as a political instrument; on the corruption and perfidy of that eminent, but much overrated, Turkish statesman, Reshid Pasha. Stratford's losing fight for Turkish reform during the forties is sympathetically reported; here there is less that is new, since Mr. Lane Poole and Miss Malcolm Smith have already covered the ground. But no one emerges more clearly from these pages than Palmerston himself, and two hitherto unprinted extracts may be quoted for the interesting light they throw on his character. On 28 June, 1853, he writes to Clarendon: "Nothing is to be gained with the Russian Government or, indeed, with any other, by anything which looks like doubt, hesitation or fear, while on the other hand, a bold, firm course, founded on right and supported by strength, is the safest way of arriving at a satisfactory and peaceable result." Of the Tsar he wrote on 11 April, 1853: "The Emperor of Russia is ambitious and grasping, but he is a gentleman, and I should be slow to disbelieve his positive denial of such things as those in question."

It is on a slow growth of misunderstanding between Nicholas and the British Government (with elements so diverse as Aberdeen, Palmerston, Clarendon, Russell and Gladstone), and on the complicated interplay of Turkish intrigue and international rivalries at Constantinople itself, that

Professor Temperley above all concentrates; and it may be doubted whether much more can be gleaned from any save the Russian archives. In one of his many lucid phrases: "The early Victorian era was an age of optimism where history counted for little and abstract theory for much." And again: "Had Nicholas been weak, Aberdeen strong or Menshikov tactful, there might have been no war." Certain it is that the gradual process by which the strongest British Cabinet of the century was drawn into war, reluctantly and with its eyes open, suggests some such compelling action of the Fates as Hardy has imagined in his *Dynasts*. There are only two directions in which I would venture to plead for a certain alteration of perspective in Professor Temperley's clear, authoritative and convincing narrative. His attention is, of course, mainly concentrated on London and Constantinople, but I cannot help feeling that Paris, and especially Napoleon III, are allowed to recede too much into the background. On the other hand, his vindication of Stratford de Redcliffe is absolutely unanswerable up to a point, but leaves me unconvinced on the main issue. For instance, he is able to show for the first time beyond any doubt, that Stratford had no part in the series of military and naval demonstrations which did so much to produce the war (three in 1852, and two in March and May, 1853), and again that his successful effort to separate the question of the Holy Places from other questions at issue was not taken deliberately in order to place Russia in the wrong, but on the basis of explicit instructions (which for once he obeyed to the letter); and again that the decisive appointment of Reshid Pasha as Grand Vizier in May, 1853, was not his work, but strangely enough the work of the preposterous Prince Menshikov himself; and finally that the story of a secret league of Stratford and Palmerston to produce war is "a foolish legend." But the essence of the indictment against Stratford is that he could not really work either with Ministers at home or colleagues at Constantinople, with soldiers or sailors in the war or even with Turkish officials, that his imperious temper kept him perpetually at cross-purposes with all decisive factors and so blocked every chance of a *détente*, and that, like other Ambassadors after him, he showed that while acting on certain specific instructions he really thought otherwise. And this is admitted by Professor Temperley himself to be the simplest explanation (p. 347). It is also the crux, as Kinglake also once admitted.

To sum up, a book which is absolutely indispensable, thoroughly readable and not likely to be superseded. Two later volumes are to prolong the story to 1878.

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

*The Drama of Upper Silesia.* By William John Rose. (Stephen Daye Press, Battleboro, Vermont.) 349 pp. \$3.50.

THIS is a book of real value for the study and understanding of the intricate affairs of Central Europe. Its publication—it is not too much to say—should prove a landmark, and that in more ways than one. First,

it brings to the study of this section of Central Europe an objectivity and an impartiality which are models for the treatment of such problems. Secondly, it throws a great deal of fresh light upon the complexities and difficulties of the nationality problems of Central and Eastern Europe, not only in their political and economic aspects, but in those which are inherent in the conception of nationality itself. It is often not possible to draw in practice that clear hard and fast line between one nationality and another which would so facilitate a solution in such cases. From this it follows that whatever political solution is ultimately adopted must involve a large measure of approximation, thus giving ample ammunition to the critics of a settlement whether they be partisans of one side or of the other.

But Dr. Rose's book does not treat only of the difficulties of the problem. By giving an account of how a solution was sought by the League of Nations, and ultimately worked out, he makes a constructive contribution to the literature of international statesmanship, a subject which each year, almost each day, assumes an ever greater importance. Finally, one should add, Dr. Rose's book makes a noteworthy addition to the history of the Upper Oderland—an area on which but little historical light has been shed before.

Dr. Rose is well equipped for the task he assumed, and his conclusions are by no means the result of a mere hasty acquaintance with his subject. In his knowledge both of the German and Polish languages he has an essential basis for his studies in this special area. Of great importance, too, is his manifest ability to win the confidence of those of every class whose views and whose recollections were likely to be of service to him in his work. But, further, he possesses that gift so essential to the historian of being able to appraise the relative importance of different events and influences. His book thus, while covering a great deal of ground, is not burdened with detail that is unnecessary for its purpose.

At first sight it might perhaps be questioned whether the story of Upper Silesia in the last two centuries can properly be called a drama at all. The title calls for some justification. Dr. Rose sets out the dramatic "plot," of his story in the opening pages of the book. First the steam engine applied in mining, and then the steam railway some sixty years later brought to the surface in Upper Silesia social problems which, superadded as they were to existing differences of language and religion, gave rise to the strong political cleavage between the Polish population and their German masters, which eventually made the retention of a large section of Upper Silesia within the German Reich an impossibility.

This combination of the language, the religious and the social factors determined—as Dr. Rose tells us—the fate of what is now Polish Upper Silesia. These combined influences would probably have brought about the present result anyhow sooner or later, even apart from the World War and the Treaty of Versailles. But the establishment of the revived

Polish Republic as a political reality made the early separation of a large part of Upper Silesia from Germany a pressing matter.

Then followed the League of Nations settlement. The Convention of 1922 was a notable achievement in every way—perhaps the finest single piece of work the League has accomplished. It sought to deal on broad principles of equity with a problem which seemed all but insoluble. The settlement was widely criticised at the time, not only by both parties immediately concerned, but elsewhere, especially in the British Isles, where the facts at issue have never been very clearly understood. In reality, throughout the period since the settlement the difficulties have steadily diminished, particularly since 1926, and more than ever since the establishment of the Nazi régime in Germany. The economic difficulties attending the division of the territory, of which so much was heard at the time, were actually the first to go. The arrangements set up by the League stood the test both of the relatively prosperous period of 1927 to 1929 and of the years of great depression that followed. It is in the sphere of private relations that the difficulties of the settlement have proved to be of longer duration. The Mixed Commission and the Tribunal of Arbitration set up under the Convention have, however, done a great deal of patient and valuable work. Dr. Rose also states: "Both Powers (i.e. Germany and Poland) have co-operated better than could be foreseen, in achieving a *modus vivendi* that impresses one the more the longer one observes it." As the years passed, the number of appeals to these authorities have diminished. Differences have decreased or been settled without the help of outside agencies. It is Dr. Rose's judgment that, in 1937, when the fifteen years period under the Convention runs out, a marked reduction would be possible and desirable—and, indeed, in practice seems inevitable—in the restrictions on the sovereign rights of the two States on either side of the frontier within the plebiscite area.

J. H. PENSON.

*Dolazak Slovena na Mediteran.* (The Coming of the Slavs to the Mediterranean region.) By Dr. Petar Skok, Split, 1934. 276 pp.

*Dalmatia kroz vekove.* (Dalmatia through the centuries.) By Ljubo Karaman, Split, 1934. 176 Pp. and 67 pp. of illustrations.

IN the course of the last year the *Jadranska Straža* (*The Adriatic Sentry*) of Split, published four books in the second "circle" of its *Pomorska biblioteka* (*The Maritime Library*). Among these the two above-mentioned books are perhaps of a wider and more general interest than the *Adriatic Anthology*, by Niko Bartulović and *Makarska and its Littoral*, by Jakša Pavelić.

Dr. Skok, who is professor of Romance philology at the University



of Zagreb, gives a detailed account of how the Slavs came to the Balkans, mainly in the sixth and seventh centuries of our era, and how they gradually spread over the greater portion of the Peninsula, as far as the Bosphorus in the east, Korea in the south, and Istria in the west. But while they remained in possession of the greater portion of the eastern shores of the Adriatic, they were pushed back from the western shores of Istria by the Italians, and from the shores of the Ionian and the Ægean seas in the south by the Albanians and the Greeks respectively. The reason for these setbacks was, in the author's opinion, the lack of strong homogeneous Slav masses in the corresponding hinterlands, while the Slav settlements in Korea, having been thinly distributed, were bound to be absorbed by the Greeks.

In dealing with the Mediterranean peoples before the coming of the Slavs, Professor Skok touches also the question of the origin of the Roumanians. He holds the view that, linguistically, they are the descendants of the romanised Illyrians and Thracians. Since the Roumanian language contains many elements in common with the Albanian, the ancestors of the Roumanians and the Albanians must have lived together on the territory of former Dardania, or what is now loosely called Macedonia.

There are no documents to tell why this romanised population of permanent abode turned into nomadic shepherds between the seventh century and the end of the tenth, for as such they were recorded in contemporary Byzantine sources, and were known to all Balkan peoples as the Vlachs. There are also no documents to confirm whether any romanised Dacians had remained on the territory conquered by Trajan, but abandoned by Aurelius a century and a half later, owing to the constant barbaric invasions over the Danube. Nevertheless, Roumanian scholars maintain the view that after Aurelius's departure much of the romanised population remained in Dacia, and was later on increased by constant infiltration of the romanised nomadic shepherds from the Balkans. It stands to reason that the population of Dacia was increased also by the Slavs coming from the north. But while these Slavs were gradually absorbed by the Roumanians, from the fourteenth century onwards, the nomadic Vlachs in the Balkans were absorbed by the Slavs; the result, however, was that no Slavs survived in Roumania, but a handful of nomadic Vlachs survived and preserved the Roumanian language in the Balkans to this day. These Vlachs, known also as the Romani, were of two types; one, the continental, lived in the interior of the Peninsula; the other, the maritime, settled in the cities along the eastern shores of the Adriatic. The continental type left no impression on the newly arrived Slavs, for they were forced to cede to them the plains and valleys and find refuge in the mountains where they continued to live as nomadic shepherds. The maritime type, on the other hand, exercised a considerable influence upon the Slavs and impressed upon them the Mediterranean culture.

After the Slavs had been converted to Christianity both these types mixed freely with them, so that by the end of the 15th century the maritime type had been completely absorbed, while the continental type gravitated towards the north, after the formation of the Roumanian State. Only small settlements remained in the Balkans under the names of *Vlasi*, *Cincari* and *Čiči*.

Professor Skok's book contains much interesting linguistic information, and his bibliographical and other notes at the end of each chapter are useful to students of Balkan peoples.

The author of *Dalmatia through the Centuries* is an historian, but his chief interest lies in the history of Dalmatian Medieval art. Hence, in addition to giving a brief history of Dalmatia from the earliest times up to the end of the World War, he pays special attention to art; in the first place to the early Croat ecclesiastical architecture and to the simple decorative relief work in stone during the period of the native rulers. He does not agree with Professor Strzygowsky's "interesting and witty" theory as to the origin of the stone vaults and small cupolas over the few tiny Croat churches built in the ninth and tenth centuries, and still in existence on the Croat Littoral. While Strzygowsky believes that the Croats had brought from their original home in the Carpathian mountains to Dalmatia their mode of constructing stone vaults and carving in stone the threefold semi-circular garlands, Lj. Karaman is of the opinion that the stone vaults and cupolas were the work of the native Croat builders, who found it easy to bridge the walls of tiny churches by such vaults and cupolas much earlier than was done in the west of Europe, where the building of vaults in stone over churches of vast dimensions was a far more difficult task. Already in the middle of the 11th century when, in Dalmatia too, large churches were built, the native builders had to abandon stone vaults and turn to constructing basilicas.

As to the relief work in stone, Professor Karaman believes it to have come to Dalmatia not from the Croats' original home, but from northern Italy at the time when Christianity was brought to the Croats from Italy, i.e. at the end of the 8th century.

He refers also to the "golden period" of Dalmatian art in the 13th century. By that time the Slavs had filtered into Dalmatian cities in very large numbers and given a fresh impetus to building. The cities vied in the erection of beautiful cathedrals. The Byzantine influence that had ruled supreme here as elsewhere, was gradually being superseded by South Italy. There, under the influence of the Arabs and the Normans, an excellent combination of Romanesque and Oriental art had been produced. This art and that which had been developed at Montecassiano in the second half of the 11th century, found their way into Dalmatia and flourished in the 13th century. One of the chief features of this period was the beautiful slender belfries, which still adorn many cities and islands of Dalmatia.

In the early 15th century Venice wrested from Hungary all the Dalmatian cities with the exception of Ragusa, or Dubrovnik, as it was, and still is, called by the Yugoslavs. The cities and all the islands remained under Venetian rule for nearly four centuries, until the fall of the Republic in 1797. During Venetian rule the Gothic art penetrated into Dalmatia and it came from three sources; from South Italy, from Lombardy, and from Venice. By the end of the 15th century the so-called *Gotico fiorito* had spread the whole length of the Dalmatian coast. It was also brought to perfection by a native builder and sculptor, Juraj Dalmatinac. He and his numerous pupils left many beautiful works which have been admired to the present day.

Almost at the same time as in Venice the art of the Renaissance burst out also in Dalmatia, and by the end of the 15th century it was well developed in all the Dalmatian cities. In the course of the 16th century Dalmatian art, as a whole, was practically in the hands of the native builders and sculptors.

The art of painting began to develop, and many oil paintings done by native artists in the fifteenth century have come down to us. In the 16th century, however, few natives devoted their time to this art, because the work of Venetian printers had found its way into Dalmatian churches and wealthy homes.

As elsewhere, so in Dalmatia, the 17th and the 18th centuries were devoted to the baroque art, but comparatively few churches were built there in this style, probably for the reason that by this time the wealth of the Dalmatian patricians had been exhausted in the long struggle with the Turks.

During the Napoleonic period Dalmatia changed hands between Austria and France, until it was finally allotted to Austria at the Congress of Vienna. Dalmatia remained under Austrian rule for just over a century, when, at the end of the World War, it became a part of Yugoslavia, thus to be ruled once more by its own people after centuries of foreign domination.

D. P. SUBOTIĆ.

*The Polish Insurrection of 1863 in the Light of New York Editorial Opinion.*

Arthur P. Coleman and Marion M. Coleman. The Bayard Press, Williamsport, Pa. Pp. 131. \$1.75.

THIS study by Professor and Mrs. Coleman is an intriguing document. Reading it, the reviewer sensed for the first time what far-reaching echoes the January insurrection of 1863 had beyond the Atlantic, or, to put it better, what unexpected interest was aroused in the New World by the Polish revolt, not because of what it was in itself so much as because of the meaning it might have for the combatants in the terrible Civil War

then at its height. The whole thing looks *prima facie* improbable; the more so as when the Powers "settled" the affairs of the Continent a few years before this (after the Crimean War), the Polish question was never mentioned. It was thus held to be buried. But no; the efforts of the North to save the Union, and the danger—real or imagined of intervention on the part of England or France, or both, sufficed in the hands of New York editors to make of the struggle in the forests of the Vistula area a *cause célèbre*.

For a time it was not certain that, whether on material grounds—cotton, or on principle, England would not throw the burden of her might into the scale; and everyone knew that Napoleon III wanted to carry still further his Mexican venture. Clearly, then, any serious complications in Europe would suffice to keep these possible intruders at home, and so greatly enhance the prospects of a Northern victory. No wonder the New York press played up the Polish question; quite obviously making capital out of it, and at least doing a good deal to educate their readers about the *terre inconnue*.

The picture is not without its ludicrous side, and the Colemans have brought this out admirably. In the main, America, the land of the free, sympathised with the insurgents; but the fact remained that of the chief European Powers, Russia, or rather the Tsar, was the only one that had shown any support of the North in fighting the confederates. Hence an *impasse*, and the editors are at one moment hoping for insurgent successes, at another telling the Poles that their case is hopeless and they should make what terms they can. Again, England professes sympathy for the rebel south; why does she not spend some of it nearer home, helping people who are in real bondage and have a far better case? Only, the admission of a parallel case at all is perilous for Northerners, since they, too, are behind the Polish patriots seeking freedom, and yet they are fighting a war to "suppress" a not dissimilar struggle near home. As for France, there are many who still remember Lafayette, nevertheless, the Emperor must be shown that the Monroe Doctrine does mean something. There is, then, nothing for it but wishful thinking: may the Poles keep up the fight until American troubles are composed, and the union is saved. Afterwards—well perhaps it is anyway an "internal problem" of the Russian Empire!

Naturally the New York press was far from being of one mind, and it would not be fair to make it all self-seeking. Following the trend from week to week, one sees a lot of blind-man's buff, but in the main much less concern about what is happening in Poland and more for the effect of it all on the new world situation. There were views all the way from those of that crusading champion of liberties "whether Irish or Pole or Negro of the human spirit," Horace Greeley in his *Tribune* (founded in 1841), through the *Times*, founded ten years later, with Republican, anti-slavery gospel but less extreme than Greeley's, to the already famous *Herald*—property and pride of James Gordon Bennett; who for nearly a

generation had been doing for the press of the day what, *mutatis mutandis*, Lord Northcliffe did for the journalism of the 20th century. Add partisan newspapers like the *World*, on the one hand, or the *Post*, with its gentle poet editor, W. C. Bryant, on the other, and one sees what a variety of lights would be thrown on every phase of the issue.

In a brief review no detailed account of what was written is possible. Suffice to say that at least some editorials reveal a well-informed group of writers, probably far more so than they would have been half a century later. Particularly the *Tribune* sought to get behind the surface of things, raising more than once the whole matter of nationality, its claims and its sufferings, as against the Imperialism that had been set up by the Congress of Vienna. Emphasis was laid on the roots of the struggle as going far back into history, and at the same time reaching out in the present to include, e.g. the Finns, not to mention other subject peoples. And right here what strikes one is the widespread, but in the light of subsequent events, rather silly notion abroad in the U.S.A., that Russia was very soon and on broad lines to develop into a State with free institutions, and the essence of liberty and equality for all. The immediate reason for this was doubtless the recently proclaimed emancipation of the serfs. This aberration reached its height in the urgings of the press that a lot should be made of the visit in October to New York harbour of the Russian "fleet." An orgy of preachment, *pro* and *contra*, came of this episode; and the "sobering-up" the morning after is instructive. The *Herald* did a complete somersault, and it was not the only case of indifference to consistency. Along with the *World*, the *Journal of Commerce* spoke its mind on the tendency of Americans to "go Russian," or indeed anything else where visiting "notabilities" are concerned. Nor did the *Journal* make any bones of its sold backing of the Polish interests; rejoicing that the peace of Europe is again "disturbed" in so worthy a cause.

For actual comments on events, whether the capture of Langiewicz or the proposals of the Powers which Gorchakov so roundly turned down, or the efforts of the Emperor to call a European Congress, the reader must go to the book itself. And here is the only stricture the reviewer has to pass on the authors. Knowing, as they do, how sadly inadequate the knowledge of even educated Anglo-Saxons is in regard to Central European matters, they should have inserted, as Chapter Two, a simple but clear account of the events of the insurrection in their sequence—of what happened, and why. The reader would then have had the picture before him in its fulness, whereas he is now driven to search for his information. Apart from this, the work is of the careful sort that Professor Coleman is known always to do.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

*Poland—and her Economic Development.* By Dr. Roman Gorecki. London, (Allen and Unwin), 1935.

If there are still people who think that Poles are constitutionally fitted to be artists, philosophers or gamblers, but nothing else, let them read this book with care. The author was President of the National Economics Bank when he wrote it, and has since become Minister of Industry and Commerce. A man of deeds, not of words—a fact reflected on every page. The book has barely 25,000 words, and every one counts. There are nearly forty full- or half-page illustrations to the text; and if one takes with it the Short Statistical Handbook sent out yearly by the Bureau of Statistics in Warsaw, one can have an answer to most questions about Poland's material status today.

In five chapters, the second being much the longest, we pass in review the natural resources of the land, the hard road Polish "housekeeping" has trodden since 1918, the status of agriculture and industry, communications and commerce, and the fight with the depression. Dr. Gorecki starts from the late Marshal's dictum about the rivalry of labour that is now succeeding the one of blood and arms in Europe; and he shows us briefly Poland at work. In this connection it is of note that the Warsaw police, as of January, 1936, report 3,000 beggars rounded off the streets in three years. As the three guiding principles of public policy he gives us:—

(i) The maintenance of a stable currency (Poland really belongs to the Gold Bloc).

(ii) The favouring of everything that will build up internal capitalisation—as against borrowing outside.

(iii) The adjusting of budgets, and industry in general, to meet the world crisis.

It must be said that Polish banking has passed with distinction the test put on it when the Credit Anstalt and other crashes came in Central Europe, and is respected since then by patrons everywhere as never before. Unable to borrow in the boom years of the twenties, because the west was not prepared to believe in her, Poland has cause now to rejoice at the fact; though some hold that the time has come when foreign capital for investments in roads and water-power is needed. Her national debt is relatively tiny, and has grown of late within the country while decreasing abroad. The two loans floated in 1933 and 1934, not without a good deal of vigorous propaganda, have been both an economic and a political triumph. An increase of confidence both in the zloty and in the administration has followed. It is, nevertheless, only fair to add that the policy of deflation, i.e. of adherence to the gold standard, is subject to a fire of criticism all the time; and that many would be glad to adjust the zloty to the prevailing sterling level. If the German mark goes, this may have to be done.

There are two great issues, or problems, about which we would gladly have had more information from Dr. Gorecki. First, the admittedly prevalent *étatisme*, i.e. the competition of State enterprises with private ownership in industry, a development that was perhaps unavoidable under the circumstances when the new State was getting under way, but which is not felt to be wholesome now. Secondly, the unhealthy low standard of living in rural Poland. The fact is that the farmer can neither purchase goods, which is bad for industry, nor pay his taxes, which is bad for the Treasury. It is good that the new régime is setting itself to deal with this evil as its major task.

Two slips ought to be noted by every reader. On page 21, in line 7, three zero's must be added before "gold francs," and on page 98, the 1930 figures show a plus and not a minus result. The graphs are most instructive, and the index serves well.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

*A Manual of Russian Pronunciation.* By S. C. Boyanus. London (Sidgwick and Jackson), 1935. Pp. 124.

THIS is a work of great importance, in that for the first time in any language, including Russian, the various types of Russian sentence intonation are fully explained, dissected and illustrated. In addition to examples constructed *ad hoc* to bring out the rules given, texts from Pushkin, A. Tolstoy, and Chekhov, exemplifying the narrative, descriptive and conversational styles respectively, are included with the pronunciation of every word phonetically shown and with a complete record, a kind of "running commentary," of the sentence intonation figured by a system of dots and dashes, which is simpler and more efficient than the old-fashioned one of pianoforte notation. For this part of the work Professor Boyanus has had the advantages of an excellent ear and his theatrical experience, but he has also greatly profited by the example, though model might be a better word, of the distinguished work on English intonation by Armstrong and Ward.

The pronunciation recorded is that of the author himself, and is an adaptation of the best elements common to educated speakers of Moscow and Leningrad; the transcription used is largely identical with that introduced by Professor Jones in the manual on Russian pronunciation written by Professor Trofimov and himself. This noteworthy pioneer work is not superseded by Professor Boyanus' publication, which is less detailed in the analysis of sound production; indeed, as the author says in his modest introduction, their book should be in the hands of all serious students of spoken Russian. A learner who has digested both books will notice different pronunciation norms, and will thus be in a position to pass good

judgment on any Russian he may hear spoken by natives over a very wide geographical area.

The book is most tastefully got up, and the paper, and print, but particularly the printing of the Russian words, is a delight to the eye.

N. B. JOPSON.

*Petite grammaire russe.* By Lucien Tesnière. Paris (Henri Didier), 1934. Pp. 176.

By its ingenious synoptic tabulation and the artful utilisation of up-to-date printing devices this grammar strikes a note of real innovation. The writer, already known as one of the most brilliant and enterprising among the younger Slavonic philologists, presents in it the fruits of his ten years' experience of teaching Russian. In the short space wherein he has compressed his labours there is an astonishing amount of information, practical, accurate and time-saving, and without the ballast of antiquated historical philology so often foisted upon students of Russian. Although there are no "lessons" and consequently no "exercises," the book remains eminently practical owing to the care used in the selection of sentences exemplifying rules enunciated with the precision of a learned grammarian and the patience of a practised teacher. Nothing could be more complete and present a cleaner lay-out than the pages on the formation of words (composition and derivation), and nothing more indicative of the careful thoroughness of Professor Tesnière's method than the scheme on pp. 112-3, which he heads with the term "syntax of categories."

In parts the language will be difficult to those not trained in grammatical method and terminology (a key to which is provided), but the machine-like accuracy of the exposition will entirely counterbalance what only the slovenly and ill-educated mind could call obscurity.

Russian is, and must remain, a hard language, and it is greatly to the author's credit that he has not tried to slur over or omit the difficulties. The consonant and vowel alternations of the root are handled with insight and clarity, and the variation of the accent is throughout treated with the utmost thoroughness and with those pictorial aids which form so novel a feature of the whole book. The pronunciation, although accurately indicated, is not dealt with on an elaborate scale, presumably because the book is intended to be used by a student who has the services of a *viva voce* teacher. The spelling is that in general use before the 1917 reforms. This decision will be regretted by many; but it is in line with the author's intention to give a grammar of written, rather than spoken, Russian, to give a learner all that is indispensable for the understanding of texts of moderate difficulty.

N. B. JOPSON.



*Historja języka polskiego w zarysie* (An outline history of the Polish language) By Stanisław Słoński. Lwów-Warszawa (Książnica-Atlas Press), 1934. Pp. 176.

THIS little book, primarily intended for the non-specialist Pole interested in linguistic questions and his own language, provides, as experience in the "School" has shown, an admirable introduction for the foreign student of Polish to the standard and more advanced treatises of the great Polish philological school, whose chief, Professor Rozwadowski, has been so recently taken from us. There is nothing quite comparable to it either in Polish or in other languages. It is larger than the volumes in the Göschel series, and the material is not so compressed nor so technical as that found in the majority of the volumes in the Winter (Heidelberg) collection. After giving an account of Polish and the other languages in the Slavonic group of the Indo-European family, the author considers dialectical divergences and the changes undergone in Polish sounds and meaning, and ends the second chapter with a discussion of "correctness" of linguistic usage. He then sets out in simple language and in some detail the rise of Polish from common Slav. An exposition of the linguistic development throughout the centuries then follows, and is consistently kept from lapsing into a dull routine of sound laws and morphological changes by quotations from, and an appraisal of, the earlier literature (with some facsimiles).

Although avoidance of any detailed account of the repercussion in Polish of the Indo-European accent and intonations is undoubtedly wise in a book for beginners, some illustrations of the less controversial findings of modern Slavonic philology in this thorny field could perhaps have been given without unduly bewildering the learner. It was doubtless also in order not to overweight the subject-matter that Dr. Słoński omitted references to Lithuanian and the other Baltic languages, in spite of their close and instructive relationship to Slavonic.

Not the least of the attractions of the book is its pleasant style, often adorned with a delicate humour and a telling choice of examples.

N. B. JOPSON.

*Canadian Overtones.* By Watson Kirkconnell. Winnipeg (Columbia Press), 1935. Pp. 104.

THIS slim anthology contains a surprising stock of racial and biographical information as well as of poetry. Professor Kirkconnell treats us to more of those delicately-wrought renderings of his from the poetry of the lesser-known European languages which will be familiar to readers of the *Review*. In a trenchant preface he puts up a plea, which has something pathetic for all its restraint and eloquence, for the due recognition of a class of poetry which in bulk has for the last thirty years exceeded the

total of Canadian poetry published in French, and in quality and quantity surpasses that of Western Anglo-Canadians also. Some of the work of these unknown Icelanders, Swedes, Norwegians, Hungarians, Greeks and Ukrainians (this is the imposing repertory so modestly offered us) is buried in newspapers founded by these Canadian emigrants, and we all owe Professor Kirkconnell a debt of real gratitude for sorting out the pearls he has sought and found. Many of the poets have, however, won a very wide appreciation of a skill and intuition that in some few among them approximates to genius. The Canadian Icclander, S. G. Stephansson, was accorded a royal reception by the whole nation when he visited Iceland in 1917, and he has been hailed by a competent authority—with whom Professor Kirkconnell is tempted to agree—as the greatest poet in *any* language that has yet appeared in *any* of the British Dominions.

The Ukrainians of Canada are outnumbered only by those of Anglo-Saxon, French and German stock, and they have naturally not remained inarticulate. Specimens of the poetry of more than a dozen of these Canadian Ukrainians are given, and even if the heights of the great Stephansson are nowhere touched, their work represents a noteworthy achievement, deserving an interest which goes beyond that of magazine files. The "100 per cent. Canadian" of Ukrainian descent who glories in his new and free birthright will find a source of spirituality in the poetry of a Fedik or a Danylchuk, no less noble than in the English poetry known to his grandchildren, if indeed material, "go-get" interests have left any time for poetry at all.

N. B. J.

*Mai Angol Dekameron* (Present-day English Decameron). Nyugat Publishing Company. (Place, date and price not quoted.) Pp. 303.

THIS volume is one of a series designed to give the Hungarian public an adequate impression of the development in the period after the war of the short story abroad. Representative selections of the short story art from France, America, Germany and England have already appeared in editions parallel with the pleasantly printed and got-up English anthology here noticed, and similar Russian, French, Italian and Spanish "decamers" are in the press.

The volume devoted to England contains a short introduction by Vernon Duckworth Barker, and stories by Aldington, Galsworthy, R. Hughes, Joyce, Lawrence, K. Mansfield, Maugham, Sitwell and H. G. Wells. The writers have themselves selected the story which they consider their best, and each story is prefaced by a short biography and a photograph of its writer. The translation has been made by six Hungarians and appears, on a cursory examination, to be very competently done.

N. B. J.

*La Charte Constitutionnelle de l'Empire russe de l'an 1820.* By Georges Vernadsky. Trans. Serge Oldenbourg. Paris (Librairie du Recueil Sirey), 1933. Pp. viii + 283.

THE reign of Alexander I was a period of futile constitutional projects. Of the various plans submitted to the Emperor the one of Count N. Novosiltsov has been only casually referred to in historical literature. Professor Vernadsky has made an exhaustive study of this subject, which will prove of valuable assistance to students of this period. In his work the author first gives the historical background of the constitutional project. In the first part he briefly discusses the political problems the administration of Alexander I had to face. Following it is an account of Novosiltsov's project itself and the influence of other constitutions upon it, especially those of the United States, the French Charter of 1814 and the Polish constitution of 1815. This is analysed with scholarly thoroughness and in great detail. The second part of the book comprises an analysis of the constitution proper and an extensive bibliography.

In 1818, during his visit in Warsaw, Alexander I instructed Novosiltsov, at that time Imperial Commissioner in Poland, to draw up a plan for political reforms in Russia. In accordance with the Emperor's instruction the project was submitted in 1820, and was first revealed in 1831 by the Polish revolutionary government. Novosiltsov's project was far from being the "liberal constitution" which Alexander in his youth had dreamed of granting to his people. Its only striking feature was the federal principle it embodied, which soon became the subject of serious controversy between the two leaders of the Decembrist movement, Nikita Muravyev and Pavel Pestel. Yet even this conservative document was laid aside by the Emperor. Its rejection is ominous of the remaining years of Alexander's reign.

The work of Professor Vernadsky may be recommended to all students of early 19th-century Russian history. It will be especially useful to those interested in the Decembrist movement, which was a direct outcome of the failure on the part of the government to yield to the mildest constitutional proposals.

*University of California.*

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR.

*Four Patterns of Revolution.* By E. T. Colton, New York City, Association Press, 1935.

ANYTHING that Dr. Colton writes is worth careful reading. This book is intended for the thinking American public, with which the author is in constant touch, and which has been jolted out of any complacency it cherished with respect to what is going on in our troubled world, by the serious collapse of its boasted economic system (some folk say, of its social and moral foundations as well!) But the volume is of value for

all who like the comparative method in dealing with social forces, and its succinctness is a great virtue.

The author has been a student of Russia and of things Russian for at least twenty-five years. His *XYZ of Communism* was highly praised by competent critics on both sides of the Atlantic; not the least because the writer's antagonism to many of its claims did not keep him from being fair to the good in it. In *Four Patterns* we are treated to surveys of (i) the now accepted "Russian experiment," (ii) the Fascist régime in Italy, (iii) the National Socialism of Hitler; and, with this background (iv) the New Deal in the U.S.A. of the second Roosevelt. In the eighty pages given to the USSR an analysis is attempted of the major areas of planning and achievement that are significant of the new way taken; due attention being given to the things of the spirit as well as to material gains. In warmly commending the book to all who read about what the other half of the world is doing, the reviewer would note just two things; that Dr. Colton sees a distinct trend of late toward a dynamic in the Soviet order that would be called nationalism anywhere else, and that he speaks of Soviet Foreign Policies in the plural. This is worth pondering. The Association Press has made a good piece of work of the production, and the index is a real help.

WILLIAM J. ROSE.

*Slouch Hat.* By Malcolm Burr. Foreword by Field Marshal Lord Milne. Illustrated. (Allen & Unwin.) 15s. net.

THIS is a most attractive and unusual book. Dr. Burr is a living proof that a rolling stone *can* gather moss, not only in the field of botany but in many other directions. Already before the War, some mysterious affinity seems to have drawn him to the Southern Slav lands, and the first hundred pages are devoted to a pleasant account of his wanderings in Dalmatia and Montenegro. The War brought him to Salonica as Assistant Landing Officer, and he was set to organise a labour corps out of Serbian refugees after the great retreat of 1915. A relationship of real affection soon grew up between him and his men, to whom the book is dedicated, and to the survivors of whom he remains a legendary figure. But after all he was only one of many British men and women who came to be on terms of closest mutual sympathy and understanding with the Serbs, in spite of their completely different temperament and traditions. The camp of Dr. Burr soon became a clearing station for every variety of language, race and occupation; and he was able to practice to the full his taste for racial and philological studies; but no one was ever less of a pedant, and his learning is always tempered with wit, sometimes even of the spicy order.

It is impossible to indicate in a short review the wealth and variety of anecdote. Roast sucking pig, bakshesh, wolves, Balkan cooking, and

Balkan birds (looked at from the angle of the ornithologist rather than the gourmet), gypsy fiddlers, bandits, monastic habits on Athos, are only a few of the topics dealt with. Two extracts must suffice.

(1) How to say "no" in Greek "It is not sufficient merely to utter the negative *οχι*. You must at the same time close the eyes with a bored expression, incline the head backwards, and with a curl of the upper lip like a sneer make a slight click of the tongue and gently breathe out the word. It is really unnecessary for the actual word to be pronounced at all, for it is the gesture that matters."

(2) "The rascal was up before me one morning, charged with hitting another man over the head with a tent-pole."

"Didst thou strike him, Obrad?" I asked.

"I did, *Gosp' Kapetane*."

"And why didst thou strike him, Obrad?"

"He cursed my mother, *Gosp' Kapetane*, and that is foolishness, for my mother lies in the black earth (pointing to the ground), so his cursing is of no avail. Still, I smote him."

R. W. SETON-WATSON.

*Adam Mickiewicz, Philosophe Mystique.* By Édouard Krakowski. 323 pp. 2nd ed. Paris, Mercure de France, 1935.

MR. KRAKOWSKI'S book treats of Mickiewicz from the philosophical and mystic standpoint, entering into only such biographical and literary details as illustrate his main theme. With the exception of *Forefathers' Eve* and some of his shorter poems, Mickiewicz's poetical works are of a concrete rather than an abstract character. It is true that such poems as *Pan Thaddeus*—Mr. Krakowski somewhat strains a point in regarding that epic of bygone manners as an expression of the poet's philosophy—and *Konrad Wallenrod* have an ethical background, inasmuch as they are founded on a deep-seated patriotism. Yet if we confined ourselves to Mickiewicz's poetry, we should penetrate but a little way into the depths of his philosophic thought. For when Mickiewicz filled the Chair of Slavonic Literature in the Collège de France his lectures became the vehicle of the philosophy which he gave to his nation. He himself valued these lectures more highly even than his two poetical masterpieces, *Forefathers' Eve* and *Pan Thaddeus*, because they were the medium of the leading idea of his soul, to which he sacrificed everything else in life. Developing into mystic discourses, his lectures ended by incurring the suspicions of the government of Louis Philippe, with the result that the poet was deprived of the Chair from which he had preached his hopes for Poland and the human race. It is mainly the ideas which Mickiewicz promulgated in these lectures that Mr. Krakowski sets himself to elucidate.

He contends that Mickiewicz's gifts as a poet have tended to cast his philosophy into the shade, although he will as surely live in the history

of his nation's thought as in that of her song. From his early youth Mickiewicz's nature inclined to mysticism, leading him in the years of his exile first to the feet of Oleszkiewicz in Petersburg, later to the mystics he studied in Paris, and finally to Towiański. In this attraction to mysticism he was the child of his epoch. The information given by our author upon the widespread interest in mysticism and illuminism rife in the society of Petersburg and Paris at the time, throws a good deal of light on the influences that surrounded the poet. We have also interesting information on the connection of the various branches of Freemasonry with the Liberalism, and, therefore, with the Polish nationalism of Mickiewicz's youth. We gain a clearer conception of his poetry and philosophy when we realise the mental and spiritual confusion which reigned in all these branches of ideas, in European society and politics, and in the inconsistencies of the Romanticism into which Mickiewicz, together with the other young poets of his epoch, stepped.

On the other hand, in his search for the influences that affected Mickiewicz the author is apt to wander rather disconcertingly from the chief figure of his book into by-paths. Especially we could have spared his dissertations on the poet's colleagues, Quinet and Michelet, which are out of proportion to the dimensions of the book, and have but little bearing upon the subject.

On the burning question of Mickiewicz's adherence to Towianism we have a very interesting chapter. So much has been made of the influence exercised by Towiański that there is a tendency to believe that the Lithuanian mystic swept the poet into a new religious system in which he became enslaved body and soul; enslaved to a man immeasurably and in every respect his inferior, but possessed of some unaccountable power over men and women, that appears to have been a species of magnetism. However, putting aside the domestic circumstances that caused the poet to regard Towiański as an emissary of God, it was, so Mr. Krakowski contends, the very fact that Mickiewicz recognised his own convictions in the creed offered him by Towiański which made him accept the tenets of Towianism with the ardour of an apostle. In regard to the personality of Towiański, he inclines to the belief, held by many during the mystic's lifetime, including members of the French government, that the latter was a Russian agent; to which theory the famous affair of the letter to Nicholas I gave some colour.

A valuable feature of Mr. Krakowski's book is his use of the hitherto unpublished correspondence between Louis Philippe's Ministry of Instruction and the French police on the subject of Towianski and the poet's relations with him; this is printed in the appendix. Although the author necessarily introduces the Napoleonic legend into his subject, he does so mainly from the political standpoint. We think more should have been said about the Napoleonic cult which, as in the case of Krasinski, who founded upon Napoleonism a great part of his Messianistic faith in the future of his nation and of humanity, was a

keynote of Polish national mysticism; and which, in Mickiewicz's system, gave Napoleon a place in the Divine scheme only lower than that of Christ.

Curiously enough, beyond a passing reference there is no mention in Mr. Krakowski's work of the *Book of the Polish Pilgrimage*, which for generations after it was written influenced Polish souls strongly. So lately as the Russo-Japanese war this little volume was found in the pockets of Polish soldiers lying dead on the battlefield. Still more recently it was a moral support to the Polish prisoners in Siberia during the Great War. Mickiewicz's philosophy, says Mr. Krakowski, despite apparent contradictions and divagations, always retained a systematic direction. It was never pessimistic. Mr. Krakowski calls it the philosophy of heroism. It urged the soul and the nation to action. Hence, to quote from the admirable conclusion of his study, Mickiewicz, who, as the author puts it in an earlier chapter, presents the twofold aspect of a "persecuted man, watched by the French police, and of the spiritual sovereign of a nation in servitude," is no teacher of an episode, but "the eternal master."

MONICA M. GARDNER.

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